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THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
FOR THE SECOND HALF-YEAR OF 1917



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
22 ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

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JOURNAL
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1917

I
THE MINOR FRIARS IN CHINA

By A. C. MOULE

I. EXTRACTS FROM THE CHRONICLE OF THE RIGHT
REVEREND JOHN SURNAMED OF THE MARIGNOLLI
OF FLORENCE BISHOP OF BISIGNANO.

THE only complete manuscript of this *Chronicle of the Bohemians* which is known to exist is a folio paper volume written partly in the fourteenth and partly in the early fifteenth century. My efforts to see the MS. itself have so far been unsuccessful, and the following extracts are translated from the text printed by Gelasius Dobner in his *Monumenta Historica Boemiæ nusquam antehac edita*, etc., 6 tom. 4to, Pragæ, 1764-85. The *Chronicle* is in tom. ii, 1768, pp. 79-282. It is entitled *Chronicon Reverendissimi Joannis dicti de Marignolis de Florentia Ordinis Minorum Bysinianensis Episcopi . . .*, and begins: *Incipit Processus in Cronicum Boemorum*, ending, on p. 282, *Et sic est finis hujus Cronice Boemorum*. The MS., it should be said, was formerly in the library of the Church S. Crucis majoris at Prag, and is now in the University Library in that city. The same Library possesses a volume (I.C. 24), of about the same date, of extracts from various works, one of which has the

following rubric (on fol. 202 r^o): Sic continentur excerpta pauciscula Cronice Boemorum quam de mandato domini Caroli quarti Romanorum Imperatoris collegit frater Iohannes dictus Marignolis de florentia ordinis minorum Bysinianensis Ecclesie Episcopus Et qui anno domini m^occc^o xxxviii^o a domino papa benedicto xii^o fuit legatus cum alijs sibi adiunctis ad Caan summum Imperatorem omnium Tartarorum unde de Capitulo cuius Rubrica est de paradiso hec notabile est excerptum. Through the kindness of the Librarian and Secretary of University College, London, I have been able to examine this MS.; but the excerpts, which occupy less than two pages, contain nothing to our purpose. There is also an imperfect MS. in the Library of St. Mark's at Venice, Class X, Codd. Latt. cLxxxviii, fols. 243-263. The *Chronicle* was probably composed by John, at Prag, in 1354 or 1355. It was first printed, as has been said, by Dobner in 1768, and again in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, tom. iii, fasc. 4-6, published at Prag by the Nadání Palackého in 1882. The parts relating to John's own travels in the East were translated into German by J. G. Meinert in *Abhandlungen der königlichen Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Band vii, Prag, 1820, and into English by Colonel Yule in *Cathay and the Way thither*, 1866, vol. ii (new ed., vol. iii, 1914, pp. 209-269).¹

After a few pages on the early history of the world the author abruptly introduces the story of his own travels:—

- I. "For, briefly to introduce some of the things we have seen, we, brother John of Florence of the Order of the Minors, unworthy Bishop of Bisignano, in the year of the Lord one thousand three hundred and thirty-four was sent with others by holy Pope Benedict the twelfth with Apostolic letters and gifts as nuncio and legate to the Khan, the chief ruler of all the Tartars, who has dominion as it

¹ For a more complete bibliography see *Cathay*, new ed., vol. iii, p. 208, where, however, the *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum* is not mentioned.

were over half the oriental world, whose power and great quantity of cities, lands, tongues, riches, and rule of in a manner infinite peoples, exceed all telling. We left Avignon in the month of December, we reached Naples at the beginning of Lent, and there until Easter, which was at the end of March,¹ we waited for the Genoese ship to come with the messengers of the Tartars whom the Khan had sent from the very great city of Khanbalig to the Pope to arrange for the sending of ambassadors, and to open the road, and to make a treaty with the Christians, because he greatly honours and loves our faith. The chief princes also of his whole Empire, more than thirty thousand, who are called Alani, and govern the whole Empire of the East, are Christians in fact or in name and call themselves slaves of the Pope, ready to die for the Franks, for so they call us not from Francia but from Franquia.² The first Apostle of these people was brother John surnamed from Monte Corvino, who, at first a soldier, judge, and teacher of the Emperor Frederick, after seventy-two years became a most wise and learned Minor Friar.³

* ¹ Easter fell, I believe, on 28 March in the year 1339. It was certainly in 1338, not 1334, as he himself is made to say, that John left Avignon. See below, p. 15, and above.

² Yule translated "not indeed from France, but from Frank-land". *Franquia* does not occur, I believe, in *Du Cange* or the other glossaries of medieval Latin; and *Frank-land* is not to be found in the Oxford English Dictionary. From the analogies in *Du Cange* it would seem likely that *Francia* and *Franquia* were exactly synonymous (*Franquesia* = *Franchesia*; *Franquitas* = *Francitas*); and it appears that *Francia* would be more likely to mean "Europe" than "France" (*regna Christianorum, id est, Franciam peterem*, cited in *Du Cange*, col. 679). *Frankland* (cf. *Du Cange*, cols. 672, 684), though defined as *terra Francorum*, seems to mean a free-holder or free-hold land. In Raynouard's *Lexique Roman* the forms *Franquetat*, *Franquesa*, *Franquir*, all have reference to freedom and not to the Franks. It seems to me to be possible that John meant to say "They call us Franks not because we come from Francia (Europe) but because of our freedom (*franquia*)". But this is not the only sentence in which neither his thought nor his language is perfectly clear.

³ *Frederick* is almost certainly a mistaken interpolation. The Emperor Frederick died in 1250, when John of Monte Corvino was a little boy of

On the Kalends of May, however, we arrived at Constantinople by sea, and we were in Pera until the feast of St. John Baptist, not idly, for we had a mighty controversy with the Patriarch of the Greeks and their whole Council in the palace of St. Sophia, where God worked a new miracle in us, giving us a mouth and wisdom which they were not able to resist, and they were compelled to confess that they were necessarily schismatics, offering no cloak for their condemnation except the intolerable arrogance of the Roman Bishops. Thence we sailed over the Moorish Sea [the Black Sea] and in eight days reached Caffa [the Crimea], where are Christians of many sects. Thence we came to the first Emperor of the Tartars, Usbeg, and presented the letters, robes, a war-horse, *cytiac*,¹ and the Pope's gifts; and after the winter, well fed, clothed, and with magnificent presents, and with his [i.e. Usbeg's?] horses and expenses, arrived at Armalec² of the Middle Empire, where we built a Church, bought a burial ground, made fonts, sang masses, baptized many persons, preaching freely and publicly, notwithstanding that the year before a Bishop and six other minor friars, sparkling with miracles, had suffered solemn martyrdom in the same place for Christ; and their names were: Brother Richard the Bishop, a Burgundian by nation, Brother Francis of Alexandria,

three or four years old; but John was actually employed in the service of an Emperor (Michael Palæologus), and we cannot help suspecting that the fact that we first hear of him as a Minor Friar and in the Emperor's service in the year 1272 has something to do with the obscure words "post LXXII. annos", which Yule boldly rendered "seventy-two years previously". The Venice MS. reads: *p[er] lxxii annos*. Cf. *Cathay*, vol. iii, p. 211. For John of Monte Corvino cf. *Cathay*, vol. ii (new ed., vol. iii), *passim*; and JRAS., July, 1914, pp. 533-99, etc.

¹ *Cytiacum* is not in *Du Cange*, but is supposed to represent the Greek *κυτός* (also called in Latin *Sabaïum*), a drink made of fruits, presumably fermented.

² Almalig, the capital of Dure Temur of the house of Chagatai. This Middle Empire of Central Asia is not to be confused with the Middle Kingdom.

Brother Pascal a Spaniard, who was a prophet and saw heaven opened and foretold martyrdom for himself and his companions, and that the Tartars of Sarai must be destroyed by a flood, that Armalec would perish on account of their martyrdom, that the Emperor would be killed on the third day after their martyrdom, and many other glorious things; Brother Laurence of Ancona, Brother Peter, an Indian Brother their interpreter, and Gilottus a merchant. In the third year after our departure from the court, about the border, as we retired from Armalec we reached Cyollos Kagon, that is to say, the sandhills which the winds make, beyond which no one before the Tartars thought the earth habitable, nor used it to be thought that there was any earth beyond. The Tartars, however, by the will of God, crossed with wonderful industry, and were in a vast plain where it is called by the philosophers the Torrid Zone and impossible to cross, which, nevertheless, the Tartars have crossed, and I too twice; about which in the Psalm of David: *He maketh the wilderness*, etc. And having passed over this we came to Khanbalig, where is the chief Seat of the Empire of the East, concerning the incredible greatness of which, and the people, and the array of soldiers, let silence be kept. But the great Khan, when he saw the war-horses, and the Pope's presents and his letter with its seals, and King Robert's too, with the gold, and us, rejoiced with great joy, thinking all very good, indeed the best, and treated us with the highest honour. When, however, we entered into the presence of the Khan dwelling in the glorious palace, I was in full vestments with a most beautiful cross which went before me, with candles and incense, singing *I believe in one God*; and when the chant was ended, I gave a full benediction, which he received with humility.¹ And so we were sent to an Imperial apartment,

¹ We owe to De Mailla and Gaubil, and more recently to E. H. Parker and P. Pelliot, references to Chinese books which give us the date of the

which had been prepared for us in honourable fashion, two princes being assigned to us who ministered to us most liberally in all our needs, in food and drink, and down to paper for lanterns, waiters and servants from the court being deputed; and so they served us continually with infinite respect for about four years, providing costly clothing for us and our attendants. And if I were to count up all aright, he spent more than the value of four thousand marks for us. We were thirty-two persons. There were, moreover, many glorious disputations made with the Jews and other sects; but a great harvest of souls has also been made in that Empire. The Minor friars have also in Khanbalig a Cathedral Church immediately adjoining the Palace, and a proper residence for the Archbishop, and several other Churches in the city, and bells, and they all live of the Emperor's table in the most honourable style. Seeing, however, that in no way was I willing to remain, the Emperor allowed me to return to the Pope, with expenses from him for three years and presents; and [requested] that I or another regular Cardinal with full powers should be sent quickly, and he

audience of Marignolli and his party. In the *Yüan Shih*, c. xl, fol. 6^r, we read: 二年 . . . 七月 . . . 是月拂郎國貢異馬長一丈一尺三寸高六尺四寸身純黑後二蹄皆白. "The second year . . . the seventh month (August, 1342) . . . This month the kingdom of Fu-lang (the Franks) presented a remarkable horse. The length was eleven feet three inches, the height six feet four inches; the body was entirely black, the two hind hoofs both white" (cf. *Yüan shih lei pien*, c. x, fol. 16). A painting of the horse was long preserved at Peking. Monsieur H. Cordier, in the new edition of Yule's *Cathay*, vol. iii, p. 214, says, referring to a recent article in the *T'oung-pao* (see p. 26), "Professor Pelliot has a good many documents drawn from Chinese sources about this great horse, and he can trace the picture in the Imperial Palace up to the beginning of the nineteenth century"; and again, "From Chinese sources, Pelliot has come to the conclusion that Marignolli's audience took place on the 19th August, 1342." In a letter of the 23 April, 1913, Professor Pelliot told me that the authority for the date was the 圭齋集 *Kuei-chai-chi*, a book which no English library seems yet to possess.

should be a Bishop, for all the orientals, whether they are Christians or not, hold that office in the highest reverence, and he should be of the order of the Minors, because those are the only Priests which they know, and they think the Pope is always such, as was that Pope Jerome¹ who sent them the legate whom the Tartars and Alani revere as a Saint, brother John of Monte Corvino of the order of the Minors, of whom above. We were moreover in Khanbalig about three years. Thence we directed our way through Manzi with a magnificent provision for our expenses from the Emperor, and about two hundred horses; and we saw the glory of the world in such a multitude of cities, lands, hamlets, and things as no tongue can sufficiently express. And from the feast of St. Stephen to Palm Sunday we crossed the Indian sea to the most noble city of India, by name Columbum, where the pepper of the whole world is produced. . . . Nor does it grow wild, but in gardens; nor are the Saracens the masters, but the Christians of St. Thomas. . . . Thence [from the island of Saba] we passed over the sea to Ceylon, a glorious mountain which is opposite to Paradise. . . .

“The History of the Mountain of Ceylon.

“ . . . And first it must be seen how we got there and in what manner, secondly concerning the state of it. For first of all, when we were dismissed by the chief Emperor, the Khan, with very great gifts and provision for expenses, and tried to pass through India, the other road by land being closed on account of wars, and the passage was by no means open, it was ordered by the Khan that we should come through Manzi, which once used to be called Greatest India. Manzi, moreover, has cities and people without number; and the things are incredible to us, if I had not seen a wealth of all things, of fruits which the Latin land never bears, and thirty thousand of the greatest cities, not counting infinite hamlets and towns. And

¹ Nicholas IV, Girolamo Musci, Bishop of Palestrina.

among them is a most famous city, by name Campsay,¹ more wonderful, more beautiful, more wealthy, and

¹ 杭州 Hang-chou, still apparently in 1347 called by foreigners 京師 Ching-shih (Campsay, Kinsay, etc.) or the *Capital*, as it had been in fact from A.D. 1138 to 1276. In saying this we assume that the identification of Kinsay with the Chinese Ching-shih is correct, but it does not seem to be quite certain that this is the case. Yule supposed that the question was practically settled by the fact that "in the Chinese Atlas, dating from 1595, which the traveller Carletti presented to the Magliabecchian Library, that city [Hang-chou] appears to be still marked with this name [Ching-shih], transcribed by Carletti as *Camse*" (*Marco Polo*, 1903, ii, p. 193). Without knowing what the Atlas in question is or whether the characters are really 京師 (Ching-shih), it is difficult to express an opinion on this; but we may remark that in the well-known Chinese Atlas, the 廣輿圖 *Kuang-yü-t'u*, of rather earlier date (1561), the name is 杭州 Hang-chou. Now the sound of the characters 杭州 (Hang chou) in the local speech, which is said to date from the days when Hang-chou was the Sung capital (cf. 七修類稿 *Ch'i-hsin-lei-kao* in 西湖志 *Hai-hu-chih*, c. xlviii, fol. 3 v°), is 'Ang-tsé', which would be very nearly represented by *Camse*. The official use of 京師 Ching-shih to denote the capital of the empire is perhaps more characteristic of the T'ang than of the later dynasties, but the term was in common use (in books) in the thirteenth century. If we take two books written, probably at Hang-chou, in that century, the 都城紀勝 *Tu-ch'êng-chi-shêng* of 1235 and the 夢梁錄 *Mêng-liang-lu* of 1274, we shall find *Ching-shih* frequently in the seventeen leaves of the former and occasionally in the three volumes of the latter, and always meaning the true capital, 汴梁 Pien-liang (often in the latter called 汴京 Pien-ching), and not Hang-chou. In the Preface of the *Tu-ch'êng-chi-shêng* the author writes 皇帝駐蹕於杭而杭山水...視京師其過十倍矣 "The Emperor settled at Hang, and the scenery of Hang is ten times more beautiful than that of Ching-shih". Elsewhere in this book Hang-chou is called 行都 Hsing-tu or 都城 Tu-ch'êng, but in the *Mêng-liang-lu* it is constantly called 杭 Hang (c. xiii, fol. 1: 南渡以來杭爲行都), 杭城 Hangch'êng (c. xii, fol. 1 r°: 杭城之西有湖) or 杭州 Hang-chou (c. xii, fol. 15 r°: 杭州裏河船隻皆是落御頭船), and more rarely 臨安 Lin-an (the official name from 15 December, 1129, until 1278, c. x, fol. 1 v°: 臨安府治); whilst the natives are 杭人 Hang jên (c. vii, fol. 2 r°: 杭人猶以門稱之). The 乾道臨安志 *Ch'ien-tao Lin-an chih*, c. A.D. 1170, though it has less opportunity for introducing the popular name of the place, yet records the distance

greater with a greater population, and more riches and delights, buildings—and especially temples of idols, where

from the 行在所 Hsing-tsai-so (i.e. Hang-chou, the Emperor's temporary or provincial lodge) to 東京 Tung Ching and 西京 Hsi Ching, the Eastern and Western Capitals. This official title (行在所) appears in the *Mêng-liang-lu* (c. vii, fol. 1 v^o): 遂稱為行在所 and of course in the 宋史 *Sung Shih*, c. lxxxv, fol. 5 v^o. The title Ching-shih is not applied to Hang-chou in the Geographical sections of the *Sung Shih*, i.e., *Yüan Shih*, c. lxii, fol. 1, or *Ming Shih*, c. xlv, fol. 9; nor, as far as I have observed, in the historical portions of the *Sung Shih*, where Lin-an or Hsing-tsai is used, or of the *Yüan Shih*, where Pien-liang is frequently referred to as 南京 Nan Ching, its title under the Chin dynasty. The conclusion suggested above, that Hang or Hang-chou has been the popular colloquial name of the place from the Sui dynasty (cf. *Chiu T'ang Shu*, c. xl, fol. 7 v^o) down to the present day, and certainly was so during the years in question of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is confirmed by a rather hurried survey of a score of small books of the Sung and Yüan dynasties about Hang-chou which are preserved in the 武林掌故叢編 *Wu-lin chang ku ta'ung pien*. Among these the only exceptions seem to be in the 古杭雜記 *Ku Hang tsai chi*, the 古杭雜記詩集 *Ku Hang tsai chi shih chi*, and the 錢塘遺事 *Ch'ien-t'ang i shih*, all of the Yüan dynasty. These, while using Hang, Hang-chou, Hang jén, and Lin-an, contain also such phrases as 京城騷動 "The capital city was shaken" (*Tsai chi*, fol. 1; in the story of an earthquake in the 天目 T'ien-mu hills near Hang-chou) or the ambiguous 京師為之語曰 "The capital made up the following saying" (*Tsai chi shih chi*, fol. 17 r^o); while the *Ch'ien-t'ang i shih* calls the place 京 Ching two or three times, 京師 Ching-shih perhaps six times, and 京城 Ching ch'êng frequently. The question is whether the Western name is not at least as likely to be a transcription of Hang-chou as of Ching-shih. The principal forms of the Western names are, as far as I can gather, these:—Chesai, Quinsai, Quiensay, Chisai in Marco Polo; Cansay, Cansaia, Cansana, Chansay, Campsay, Chansana, Ahamsane, Cansave, Guinzai, Casale, Casay in Odoric; Cassai in Pegolotti and the *Portulano Mediceo*; Cassay in the *Livre du Grant Cuan*; Campsay in Marignolli; Khing-sai in Rashid ed-Din; Khin-zai or Khan-zai in Wassaf; Khin-za in Abulfeda; and Khan-sa in Abulfeda and Ibn Batuta. Monsieur E. Blochet, to whose kindness I owe some of these forms, tells me that the aspirate in *Khing* or *Khan* is no objection to their standing for an unaspirated word like 京 *ching* in Chinese, although it is true that Rashid always writes Namking for the Chinese 南京 Nan-ching; and also that the aspirated forms are supposed to be older than the unaspirated, though none of them can apparently be traced further

are a thousand and two thousand monks living together—than any city which is in the world or perhaps has ever been. Where the writers write that there are ten thousand noble bridges of stone with carvings and statues of armed princes, it is incredible to one who does not see, and yet perhaps they tell the truth. There is also

back than the middle or end of the thirteenth century. That the termination *sai* or *sa*, which it will be seen is almost invariable, is not a good representation of the Northern sound of 州 *chou* (Marco's *giu* or Odoric's *zu*) is obvious, but Hang-chou was one of the places like Zaitun and Cinkalan, which was likely to be known to travellers by the name given it by Arab and Persian traders, who would approach it not from the north but by sea from the south, and would learn its name in the pronunciation of its own or of some southern dialect. Thus it is to be noticed in support of the traditional view that the sounds of 京師 *Ching-shih* at Zaitun might have been precisely *King-sai*. On the other hand, it is clear that when Odoric calls 揚州 *Yang-chou* *Iamzai* (v.l. Janzu, Ianzi, Jancus, Jamathay, etc.), he seems to make it at least possible that 杭州 *Hang-chou* should have been transcribed as *Campsay*.

A note may here be added on the date at which Hang chow became the temporary capital. From the *Sung Shih*, cc. xxv-xxix, we learn that Kao Tsung first reached Hang chow on 5 March, 1129. He stayed until 9 May, and was there again from 21 to 28 November. He then went to 越州 *Yüeh chow* (Shao-hsing) till early in January, 1130. After wandering about south-eastern Chekiang by sea and land, he returned to Yüeh chow on 29 May and stayed there till 29 January, 1132. He reached Lin-an (Hang chow) on 2 February, 1132, and stayed there until 10 November, 1134, when he went to 平江 *P'ing-chiang* (Su chow). On 22 February, 1135, he came back to Lin-an, staying till 28 September, 1136, when he returned to P'ing-chiang. On 1 April, 1137, he reached 建康 *Chien-k'ang* (Nanking); and on 3 April, 1138, he returned to Lin-an, "and fixed his capital there." Chapter xxix ends with the words 是歲始定都于杭 "From this year the capital was fixed at Hang". The *Sung Shih*, c. lxxxv, fol. 5v°, makes Kao Tsung reach Lin-an in the intercalary eighth month (Sept.-Oct.), 1129. The account in the *Ch'ien-t'ang i shih*, c. i, fols. 3v°-4v°, differs from the above in some details only. The *Ch'ien-tao Lin-an chih*, c. i, fol. 1r°, refers the decree establishing the capital at Lin-an to the third month (April-May), 1138. The same book, c. i, fol. 7r°, says that the name was changed to Lin-an on 15 December, 1129, whereas the *Sung Shih*, c. xxv, fol. 7v°, gives the date as 1 August.

The Venice MS. reads Mancì or Manzi where Dobner prints Mauzi; cf. *Cathay*, etc., vol. iii, p. 216.

Zaitun,¹ a wonderful harbour of the sea, a city incredible to us, where the Minor friars have three very beautiful Churches, most excellent and wealthy, a bath, and a warehouse, the depository for all the merchants.² They have also some very beautiful bells of the best quality, two of which I caused to be made with great ceremony, of which the one, namely the larger, we ordered to be called *Johannina* and the other *Antonina*, and placed in the midst of the Saracens. And we departed from Zaitun on the feast of St. Stephen, and on Wednesday of the Greater Week we arrived at Columbum. Next, wishing to sail to St. Thomas the Apostle and thence to the Holy Land,³ we went on board Junks from Lower India, which is called Nimbar, on the vigil of St. George, and were tossed by so many storms that sixty times or more we were, so to speak, plunged under the water down to the bottom of the sea."⁴

II. THE MISSION FROM TOGHAN TEMUR AND THE CHIEFS OF THE ALANI TO THE POPE.

Of Marignolli's journey, which, as we have seen, was undertaken in response to a mission from the great Khan,

¹ Though the origin of the Persian name Zaitun or Zayton is not certain, there is no doubt that the place is 泉州 Ch'üan-chou on the Fukien coast. For the churches of the Minor Friars there see JRAS., July, 1914, pp. 538, 564-7, and *Cathay*, vol. ii, 1913, p. 183.

² With *balneum fundatum* compare: *Molendinum & balnea juxta Fundam mercatorum*, quoted by Du Cange s.v. *Funda*. Dufresne quotes several examples of *Fundatum* in the same sense, namely, a *fondaco*, godown, or warehouse.

³ Yule regarded Meinert's emendation of *terram Sabam* for *terram sanctam* as probably right. John reached Ceylon from the island of Saba (see p. 7 above).

⁴ According to Yule's calculation John left Zaitun on 26 December, 1346, or, more probably, 1347, and reached Columbum in the Spring of 1348. The dates would then be: *Dominica olearum* (Palm Sunday), 13 April; Wednesday in the Greater Week (Holy Week), 16 April; the Vigil of St. George, 22 April. For 1347 the corresponding dates would be, I believe, 25 March, 28 March, and 22 April.

Nimbar may be, as Yule suggests, a mistaken transcription of Dobner's for Minibar. The Venice MS. reads more correctly Minubar or Mynibar; cf. *Cathay*, vol. iii, p. 230.

we know very little beyond what he himself tells us. Wadding barely notes the arrival of the party at Khanbalig in 1342 and their return to Avignon in 1353,¹ but at the same time he gives from the Papal Registers, where they are preserved, copies of the letters brought by the Tartar envoys and of the Pope's replies, and we here translate the former together with selections from the latter and add some notes on the Alani derived from the *Yüan Shih*. The envoys are described as "Andrew the Frank with fifteen companions" or as "Andrew and William of Nassium (?) and Thogay an Alan of Cathay",² of whom no independent information seems to have been discovered. No one who has seen the Mongol Khans' decrees, translated by Monsieur Chavannes in the *T'oung-pao* for 1904 or 1908, will doubt the genuineness of the letters from the Khan and the Chiefs of the Alani to the Pope, which are as follows:—

- II. "In the strength of the omnipotent God, the command of the Emperor of Emperors.

"We send our envoy Andrew the Frank with fifteen companions to the Pope the lord of the Christians, to

¹ *Annales Minorum*, 2nd ed., tom. vii, p. 258: "Horum [domiciliorum] numerum auxerunt, & Fratribus majorem advexerunt opinionem frater Joannes de Florentia, & socii, Legati missi a Benedicto ad magnum Chamum Imperatorem, qui a Principibus Orientis honorifice habiti, pervenerunt hoc anno [1342] ad civitatem Cambaliensem"; and tom. viii, p. 87: "Sub hujus anni [1353] finem venit ex Tartaria frater Joannes de Florentia, de quo alias egimus, missus a magno Chamo, ad Pontificem Romanum datis litteris, obsequio & reverentia plenis."

² Cf. Cordier in Yule's *Cathay*, vol. iii, p. 179: "'Scribitur littera salvicunductus pro Andrea et Guillelmo de Nassio et Thogay Alano de Cathayo nunciis imperatoris Tartarorum super certis fidei catholicam tangentibus ad sedem apostolicam destinatis et cum litteris sursalibus ejusdem sedis remissis. Dat. Avenione, xiii kal. julii, anno quarto.' Reg. vatic. 62, f. xxxii v°, quoted in *Lettres inédites de Marino Sanudo l'ancien* in *Bib. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, lvi, 1895, p. 29." Thogay suggests the Chinese form 塔海 T'a-hai, which is found as the name of a Christian, but not, I think, of an Alan, in the fourteenth century: cf. *Chih-shun Chên-chiang chih*, c. xix, fol. 11 v°.

Franchia beyond the seven seas where the sun sets, to open the way for the frequent sending of envoys by us to the Pope and by the Pope to us, and to ask the Pope himself to send us his blessing and always to make mention of us in his holy prayers, and to accept our commendation of our servants the Alani, who are his Christian sons; also that they bring to us from the setting of the sun horses and other wonderful things. Written in Khanbalig in the year of the Rat, the sixth month, the third day of the moon."¹

"In the strength of the omnipotent God and in honour III. of the Emperor our lord.

"We, Futim Juens, Caticen Tungii, Gemboga Evenzi, Joannes Juckoy, salute the holy Father our lord the Pope with our heads laid on the earth, kissing his feet, seeking his benediction and grace, and that he will make mention of us in his holy prayers and never forget us. Let this moreover be known to your Holiness, that for a long time we were instructed in the catholic faith, and wholesomely governed and very much comforted by your Legate Brother John, a valiant, holy, and capable man, who nevertheless died eight years ago. In which years we have been without a governor and without spiritual consolation; although we have heard that you have made provision for another legate, who however has not yet come. Wherefore we beseech your Holiness to send us a good, capable, and wise legate who may care for our souls; and that he may come quickly, because we fare ill without a head, without instruction, and without consolation. And we also beseech your Wisdom to give a gracious reply to our lord the Emperor, so that, as he too asks, a quick and good road may be opened for the

¹ *Ann. Min.*, tom. vii, p. 209, with marginal note: "Ex secret. an. 4. epist. 131"; *Cathay*, vol. iii, p. 180. The date is 11 July, 1336. The Emperor is Toghan Temur or 順帝 Shun Ti, 1333-68, the last of the Yüan dynasty.

frequent sending of messengers from you to him and from him to you, and so that friendship may be made between you and him. For if you do this, great good will result for the salvation of souls and for the exaltation of the Christian faith, because his favour in his own Empire can produce numberless blessings, and his wrath numberless evils; and we beg that you may commend to him us your sons and our brethren and other believers who are in his Empire, because if you do so you will do the greatest good, since it has so happened that three or four *envoys* have come at different times from you to the aforesaid Emperor our lord, and have been graciously received by him and honoured and rewarded; and from that time the said Emperor has had no answer from you or from the Apostolic See, though they promised on each occasion that they would bring back answers from you to the aforesaid lord. Wherefore may your Holiness make provision that this time and henceforward he may have a definite reply from you and an envoy, as befits your Holiness; for the Christians in these parts are put to great shame when falsehood is found among them. Written in Khanbalig, in the year of the Rat, the sixth month, the third day of the moon."¹

To these letters, according to Wadding, the Pope sent the following replies, dated on 13 June, 1338:—

1. Magnifico Principi, Imperatori Imperatorum Omnium Tartarorum illustri gratiam in præsentì, quæ perducatur ad gloriam in futuro. *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 210; marg.: *Ibid.* ep. 198.

2. Dilecto filio nobili viro Fodim Jovens Principi Alanorum. *Venientes nuper*, etc. *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 211; marg. *Ibid.* ep. 199, with note on p. 212: His per omnia similes scripsit ad Chyansam Tongi, ad Chembogam Vensii,

¹ *Ann. Min.*, tom. vii, pp. 209, 210, with margin: "*Ibid.* ep. 132"; *Cathay*, vol. iii, p. 181. See p. 31, n. 1.

ad Joannem Yochy, ad Rubeum Pinzanum Principes Alanorum, singulis ad singulos epistolis exaratis.

3. Magnifico Principi Chansi Imperatori Tartarorum de medio Imperio. *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 212; marg.: Ibid. ep. 204.

4. Dilectis filiis, nobilibus Viris Carasmon, & Johanan, Magni Principis Chansi Imperatoris Tartarorum de medio Imperio, familiaribus. *Latanter de vobis*, etc. *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 213; marg.: Ibid. ep. 205.

5. Magnifico Principi Usbech, Imperatori Tartarorum, & magno filio Chyiscani gratiam, etc. *Exultanti percepimus*, etc. *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 213; marg.: Ibid. ep. 209.

The above letters were sent off by the hands of the Mongol envoys in July; and on 31 October, 1338, the Pope caused the following letters to be written that they might be carried by his own envoys:—

1. Dilectis filiis Nicolao Boneti sacre Theologie Professori, Nicolao de Molano, Joanni de Florentia, & Gregorio de Hungaria Ordinis Fratrum Minorum. *Votis zelantes ferventibus*, etc. *Datum Avenione II. Kal. Novembris anno IV.* *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 214; marg.: Ibid. ep. 364.

2. Magnifico Principi Imperatori Imperatorum omnium Tartarorum. *Quamvis commissa*, etc. *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 216.

3. Magnifico Principi Chansi Imperatori Tartarorum de medio Imperio. *Dudum ad notitiam*, etc. *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 217; marg.: Ibid. epist. 366.

4. Magnifico Principi Usbech, etc. *Dudum ad notitiam*, etc. *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 217. This is the same as the letter to Chansi just above, and is not given in full by Wadding.

5. Spectabili viro Tynbech primogenito magnifici Principis Usbech. *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 218; marg.: Ibid. epist. 368.

6. Dilecto filio Eliæ Hungaro Ordinis Fratrum Minorum. *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 218; marg.: Ibid. epist. 369.

7. Dilecto filio nobili viro Fodim Jovens, Principi Alanorum fidelium, in Imperio Tartarorum consistentium. *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 219; marg.: Ibid. epist. 370. A note at the end says: Eodem modo scripsit ad reliquos, quos supra nominavimus Principes Alanorum.

We now proceed to translate the whole or parts of three out of these twelve letters, as follows:—

IV. "To the Magnificent Prince, famous Emperor of Emperors of all the Tartars, grace in the present to lead to glory in the future.

"The envoys of your Highness who lately came into our presence we received with smiling face and joyful mind, and heard them favourably and kindly. The reason was that as well from that which the envoys themselves laid before us, being understood through a faithful interpreter employed for this purpose, as from the tenor of your Magnificence's letter which they showed us, we understood and clearly gathered that you, who bear great devotion to the holy Roman catholic and Apostolic Church which is committed to our rule, and to us who though unworthy hold the place of God on earth, and humbly commend yourself to our prayers, out of reverence for us and for the same Church have hitherto treated and still treat with benevolent favour and timely kindness our beloved sons the noblemen Fodim Jovens, Chyansam Tongi, Chemboga Vensii, Joannes Yochoy, and Rubeus Pinzanus, Princes of the Alani, and other Christian Alani who dwell in your Empire. In thanking you abundantly both for this and for the mission of the envoys, which has given us great pleasure, we particularly ask and exhort your Greatness that your Sublimity may be willing from reverence for us and for the aforesaid Church to continue and increase kindness and favour of this sort towards the aforesaid Princes of the Alani and other Christians sojourning in the same Empire; and may it please your

Greatness to grant full permission that Bishops and Catholic monks and other Christians may be able throughout the said Empire to have, freely found, build, and maintain Churches, Basilicas, and Oratories, in which the services of divine praise may be performed according to the rite and manner of the above-mentioned Roman Church, and the saving sacrifice be offered for the sins and offences of the people, and that the word of God and the truth of the catholic faith, without which no one can be saved, may be able to be preached in the same places everywhere by the same Bishops, monks, and other Christians who have authority for this. We moreover humbly and devoutly pray and will pray for you and for your health, and that He who lights every man that comes into this world may so deign to enlighten your mind with the light of His love and grace that you may come to know Him truly and may receive the light of faith through which you may be abundantly filled with grace in the present, and in the future life may obtain the reward of eternal happiness. Further, since your Sublimity, in offering us with sincere affection, as we believe, friendship, and demanding it from us, has sought that your envoys may be sent to us for this purpose and ours to you, we wish your Greatness to know that this is pleasing and acceptable to us, and that we will receive your envoys whenever they come sent to us, with favour and gladness. And we are arranging to send envoys or legates of our own to your presence and to those regions, who will tell you more fully about our good will and other matters which concern the health of your soul. We ask therefore that you receive the same our envoys, when they reach you, in peace, and so patiently and kindly hear them that the seed of life to be sown in the field of your heart may bring forth rich fruit whose sweetness you, being numbered among the redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, may taste at length in the heavenly home and be

satisfied with them for ever. Dated at Avignon on the Ides of June in the fourth year."¹

V. "To the magnificent Prince Chansi, Emperor of the Tartars of the Middle Empire, grace in the present to lead to glory in the future.

"Joyful reports, very pleasing and welcome to God and to us who, though unworthy, take His place on earth, have brought it to our notice that you, who are counted worthy to be a great Prince, of your wonted kindness (which the most High, from whom all good things proceed, has given you) towards the Christians who live in your Empire and those too who visit it, have always hitherto treated them with favour and kindness, and still so treat, bestowing on them favours, gifts, and privileges as occasion arises. And in no less degree, as we have learned with delight, you have received with favour and kindness our venerable Brother Nicholas the Archbishop and our beloved sons the Brothers of the Order of Minors, who were lately sent to those regions by our predecessor Pope John XXII of blessed memory, stretching out to them a hand of liberality and munificence, and even, from reverence of God, giving them leave to repair the ruined Churches and to build new ones also, and to preach freely to those who wish to hear the word of God; for which things we render thanks to your highness. . . . Dated as above."²

¹ *Ann. Min.*, tom. vii, pp. 210, 211, with marginal note: "Ibid. ep. 198." The date is 13 June, 1338. Notice the later date (19 June) given on p. 12, n. 2 above.

² *Ann. Min.*, tom. vii, p. 212, with marginal note: "Ibid. ep. 204." The date is Avignon, 13 June, 1338. The identification of Chansi has given commentators great difficulty. Yule (*Cathay*, iii, p. 35) is inclined to identify him with Jinkishai or Jinkshi, who began to reign in 1334 or 1335; but the names and dates of the Chagatai Khans who had their capital at Almalyg seem to be as yet very uncertainly known; cf. also Bretschneider, *Notices of Mediaeval Geography*, etc., pp. 175-81. Nicholas the Archbishop was the successor of John of Monte Corvino as Archbishop of Khanbalig. We gather from this letter that he had reached Almalyg before 1337, and his name is not among those who were put to death there about midsummer in 1339 or 1340. There is, I believe, no reason

"To the beloved son, the nobleman Fodim Jovens, VI. Prince of the faithful Alani who dwell in the Empire of the Tartars.

"Amongst the other incumbent anxieties of the pastoral office which is rightly committed to us from above, we believe this to be pleasing and acceptable in the eyes of the divine Majesty, if we give the help of consolation to those who, redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, profess the catholic faith, especially amongst foreign nations; and cause strangers from the faith itself, without which there is no grace or salvation for any, to be attracted and induced by righteousness of speech and life to accept and hold the faith. And so, having understood the reports of the envoys of you and of the other Princes of the faithful Alani dwelling in the Empire of the Tartars, who were recently sent over to our presence, to the effect that though there are in those regions many Bishops and monks who have been sent there formerly by the Apostolic See, earnestly engaged about the aforesaid work with faithful and loving zeal; yet because in respect of the harvest, which is acknowledged to be great in the same regions, the labourers are few, it would be very fitting that others should be sent, we remember that we wrote in our different letters to you and to the same Princes that we were intending to seize an opportunity to send to those regions guided by divine grace other men who were learned in the law of the Lord, by whom, together with others sent thither at other times, as is aforesaid, the work of this ministry might be able wholesomely to be carried on. Since, however, in our desire to carry this our intention into effect, we have provided for the dispatch of the beloved sons, Nicholas Boneti, S.T.P., Nicholas of to think that he ever reached Khanbalig, and it was probably at Almalig, or between Almalig and Khanbalig, that he died, as is said (I do not know on what ancient authority), in 1338. Cf. *Cathay*, vol. iii, p. 14, where Cordier quotes Gama (*Series Episcoporum*, 1875, p. 126): "Nicolaus, O.S. Fr., elect. 18. IX, 1333; +1338."

Molano, John of Florence, and Gregory of Hungary, of the Order of the Minor Friars, to the aforesaid regions for the exercise of this ministry; we ask your Nobility and particularly exhort you in the Lord that, from respect for us and the same See, your Nobility may be willing to accept our special commendation both of themselves and of the other Brothers and their companions and servants whom they bring with them or may have. And that they and other monks to be deputed by them, or by others who have authority for that purpose from us or their superiors, may be able freely to preach the word of God and to do other things which pertain to divine worship in those regions, [we trust that] you may use the good offices of your care, and thereby obtain more richly from Him who rewards all good deeds the prize of an eternal recompense. Dated as above."¹

The Alani, who are mentioned by Lucan (8, 223; 10, 454), Pliny (4, 12, 25, § 80), Seneca (*Thyest.* 629), and other ancient authors, seem to have been a Scythian tribe settled on the northern slopes of the Caucasus. The Chinese are said, on vague and doubtful authority, to have known them in the later Han dynasty as 奄蔡 Yen-ts'ai or 阿蘭聊 A-lan-liu, but in the Yüan dynasty they generally used the name 阿速 A-su, which is no doubt the same as Rubruquis' Aas or Akas.² Alan troops seem to have served the Mongol Khans from Chingis

¹ *Ann. Min.*, vii, p. 219, with marginal note: "Ibid. epist. 370." The date above is "Avenione II. Kal. Novembris anno IV", that is, 31 October, 1338.

² *Hou Han Shu*, c. cxviii, fol. 61^r: 屬康居民俗衣服與康居同; cf. Bretschneider, *Notices of Mediaeval Geography*, pp. 258-63. The old map of the 經世大典 *Ching-shih-ta-tien* and the Appendix (西北地) to c. lxiii of the *Yüan Shih* call the Alani 阿蘭阿思 A-lan-a-ssü. For Rubruquis cf. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, etc., vol. i, p. 102: Vpon the euen of *Pentecost* [7 June, 1253], there came vnto vs certaine *Alanians*, who are there called *Acias* [marg. "Or, Akas".—Rockhill reads *Aas*], being Christians after the maner of the *Grecians*, using greeke bookes and Grecian priests.

onwards, and an imperial guard of A-su in two divisions, left and right, was formed in 1272, and its name was modified in the years 1286 and 1309. This guard was still in existence in 1330.¹

No attempt is here made to extract all the numerous mentions of the Alani from the *Yüan Shih*, but the following notes taken from the biographies (傳) of those who were certainly or possibly members of the tribe will be of some interest.

The first person to be noticed is 捏古剌 Nieh-ku-la (? Nicholas), who surrendered to Mangu with thirty men of the 也里牙阿速 Yeh-li-ya A-su, whoever they may have been. His son 阿塔赤 A-t'a-ch'ih, a *Chiliarch* in the *Left Alan Guard* (左阿速衛千戶), who died in the reign of Jên Tsung, and grandson 教化 Chiao-hua, who succeeded to his father's dignities and served with 燕帖木兒 Yen T'ieh-mu-êrh in 1328, are both briefly mentioned. Chiao-hua's son 者燕不花 Choyen-pu-hua has his biography given at rather greater length. He distinguished himself several times in battle, and was rapidly promoted through a number of different posts, ending with 大司農丞 *Ta-ssü-nung-ch'êng*. In 1328 we find him leading a body of 400 Alan troops and, a little later, one of six hundred. He is mentioned again under the date 23 December, 1336, and has been identified by Professor Pelliot with Chemboga Vensii who wrote to the Pope (p. 13 above), and no doubt rightly so. None of his many titles (except possibly 溫都赤 *Wên-tu-ch'ih*) seem to suggest anything like Vensii.²

¹ *Yüan Shih*, c. lxxxvi, fols. 6 v^o–7 v^o.

² *Yüan Shih*, c. cxxiii, fols. 7 v^o–8 r^o; c. xxxix, fol. 2 v^o. Bretschneider, *Notices of Med. Geog.*, p. 262, considers that Yeh-li-ya (Elias) is probably the same as Yeh-lieh (p. 24 below), but the dates do not seem to tally perfectly. For the passages about Chemboga see below, Texts VII. VII. In the modern notes (校勘記, c. i, fol. 19) to the 至順鎮江志 *Chih-shun Chên-chiang chih*, we find a stray allusion to Chemboga: 廿二史劄記云者燕不花在英宗時爲進酒

Nieh-ku-la's biography is followed by that of 阿兒思蘭 A-êrh-ssū-lan, who served Mangu, with his sons 阿散異 A-san-chên and 捏古來 Nieh-ku-lai, grandson 忽兒都答 Hu-êrh-tu-ta, and great-grandson 忽都帖木兒 Hu-tu-tieh-mu-êrh who distinguished himself fighting against Kaidu, was granted a post in the *Left Alan Guard*, and died in 1311. Nieh-ku-lai had taken part in Khubilai's expeditions against Yün-nan (哈刺章 Karajang) and the Sung Empire.¹

杭忽思 Hang-hu-ssū, a man of the A-su tribe, was ruler of the country of A-su. When Tai Tsung (Ogotai) reached his territory, Hang-hu-ssū came at the head of his people to surrender to him. He was granted the title of 拔都兒 Pa-tu-êrh and a golden tablet, and was ordered to bring a body of his countrymen for active service. He picked out a thousand A-su warriors and put his elder son 阿塔赤 A-t'a-ch'ih in command of them. After distinguished service against the Sung in Chiang-nan and elsewhere, A-t'a-ch'ih is said to have been killed by treachery when he was drunk, apparently at 鎮巢州 Chên-ch'ao chou (now 巢縣 Ch'ao hsien in An-hui) in 1274. In the separate biography of A-t'a-ch'ih (c. cxxxv, fol. 5r^o: 阿塔赤) the exact manner of his death is not mentioned; and on the other hand a very similar story is told of the death of 世烈拔都兒 Yeh-lieh pa-tu-êrh, who seems to have entered the service of Ogotai with Hang-hu-ssū. In any case the story of an Alan officer having been thus put to death at about this time may well have combined with the disaster which befell Khubilai's troops outside Ch'ang-chou to form the foundation of Marco Polo's account of the massacre of a whole regiment of Alani who had "lighted upon some

寶兒赤 "The *Êrh-shih-ssū shih ta chi* says: Cho-yen-pu-hua was Borchî or Cupbearer in the days of Ying Tsung."

¹ *Yüan Shih*, c. cxxiii, fol. 8r^o; cf. c. i, fol. 6v^o, where the same name is written 阿昔蘭 A-hsi-lan.

good wine" in Ch'ang-chou in 1275. Hang-hu-ssü, who is called 昂和思 Ang-ho-ssü in his son's life, was murdered in his own country, which then passed to the care of his wife 外麻思 Wai-ma-ssü and of his younger son 按法普 An-fa-p'u. A-t'a-ch'ih's son 伯荅兒 Po-ta-êrh held a post in the *Right Alan Guard*, and died in 1300. Po-ta-êrh's elder son 幹(幹)羅思 Wo-lo-ssü held important military posts and was granted in 1328 the Tiger-tablet with three pearls (三珠虎符).

"The younger son 福定 Fu-ting inherited his father's VIII. appointments as Huai-yüan ta-chiang-chün. Afterwards he was promoted to be *Darugha* (i.e. one of the three chiefs of the staff) of the *Right Alan Guards*, with control of the Hou-wei-chün (*Yüan Shih*, c. lxxxvi, fol. 4r^o). In the fourth year of Chih-ta (1311) his elder brother Tu-tan was appointed to the second post in the *Right Alan Guards* and Fu-ting resigned his position in the Hou-wei and was promoted (?) to be *Tung-chien* of the Ch'u-mi-yüan (Board of Military Affairs). He was ordered to lead a body of one thousand men to guard Ch'ien-min-chên.¹ Afterwards he received the title of Ting-yüan ta-chiang-chün [one degree higher than Huai-yüan], with the office of *Ch'ien* in the Ch'u-mi-yüan, and second rank in the Hou-wei-chün-chün, and *Ti-tiao* and *Darugha* of the *Right Alan Guards*. In the second year (? 1315) he received the title of Tzū-shan tai-fu, with the office of *T'ung-chih* in the Ch'u-mi-yüan. In the latter Chih-yüan period (1335-40) he was appointed a President of the Ch'u-mi-yüan."² We find another mention of Fu-ting under the 11th month of 1335 as follows:—

"On the day *mou-hsü* (5 December) the former President IX. of the Ch'u-mi-yüan, Fu-ting, and Shih-la-pu-hua Sa-êrh-

¹ The headquarters of the 千戶所 Ch'ien-hu-so of Ch'ien-min-chên were at 東口 Tung-k'ou in 大寧路 Ta-ning lu in Manchuria. *Yüan Shih*, c. lxxxvi, fol. 5r^o.

² *Yüan Shih*, c. cxxxii, fol. 1.

ti-ko were ordered to return to the capital. Previously the two men had been unjustly degraded on a charge of plotting to assassinate Yen T'ieh-mu-êrh before the Emperor (Toghan temur) had been enthroned, and were consequently now reinstated."¹ The two passages are not perfectly consistent, as the latter implies that Fu-ting had been President of the Ch'u-mi-yüan before the accession of the Emperor in 1333, and the former says that he received that appointment in the Chih-yüan period. We can hardly doubt that this Chih-yüan-shih Fu-ting is the Futim Juens whose name is first of the four Alan chiefs who addressed the Pope in 1336. As a descendant of the "ruler of the country of A-su" he may have been, as M. Pelliot points out, the actual chief of the Alani in China in 1336. The names of Johannes Juckoy and Rubeus Pinzanus have not yet, I think, been traced in native works; and the titles (if they are titles) are more difficult to identify than the names. Tungii suggests 同知 *T'ung-chih*, and Pinzanus 平章 *P'ing-chang*.

玉哇失 Yü-wa-shih of the A-su tribe was the son of 也烈拔都兒 Yeh-lieh Pa-tu-êrh, who joined his chief, probably Hang-hu-ssü, in submitting to Ogotai. Yeh-lieh pa-tu-êrh was famous for having caught a tiger, which had attacked him, by the tongue and killed it with his knife. He was fighting in Ssü-ch'uan in 1258, and Mangu formed a new regiment of Alani for him to command. Under Khubilai he was engaged in various campaigns, ending with the subjugation of the cities of the Yang-tzū Valley. In one of these cities the Sung governor surrendered, and then revolted again, and having enticed Yeh-lieh inside the walls, entertained him at a feast and made him drunk and killed him. His elder son 也速歹兒 Yeh-su-tai-êrh fell in the attack on 揚州 Yang-chou, and the younger, Yü-wa-shih, succeeded to the command of the Alan troops and followed Bayan

¹ *Yüan Shih*, c. xxxviii, fol. 7^{re}.

against the Sung, and joined later in expeditions against Nayan and Kaidu. After winning great distinction he died suddenly in the daytime in the summer of 1306, and was succeeded in turn by his son 亦乞里歹 I-ch'i-li-tai and his grandson 拜住 Pai-chu.¹

拔都兒 Pa-tu-êrh was a member of an A-su family which had settled at 上都 Shang-tu, and he had elder brothers named 兀作兒不罕 Wu-tso-êrh Pu-han and 馬塔兒沙 Ma-t'a-êrh-sha. Khubilai put him in command of a thousand Alani. He died in 1297 and was followed by his son 別吉連 Pieh-chi-lien, who was alive in November, 1328, and grandson 也連的 Yeh-lien-ti.²

口兒吉 K'ou-êrh-chi of the A-su tribe joined Mangu's army with his father 福得來賜 Fu-tê-lai-tz'ü and twenty families of A-su soldiers. In 1308 he was appointed to a post of the second rank in the *Left Alan Guard*, and died in 1311. He was succeeded by his son 的迷的兒 Ti-mi-ti-êrh, who led his troops to join 王爪失 Yü-chao-shih (? Yü-wa-shih) against Nayan; Ti-mi-ti-êrh's "son" 香山 Hsiang-shan served Wu Tsung X. (1307-1311) and Jên Tsung (1311-1320) in the body-guard. In the ninth month of the first year of T'ien-li (October, 1328) he fought at I-hsing and killed seven of the enemy. From morn to dusk he scattered the enemy in thirteen places. For his services he was granted a gold girdle and received an appointment as *Tu-chih-hui-shih* (second rank on the staff) of the *Left Alan Guards*". Hsiang-shan has been identified by M. Pelliot with Chyansam of the Pope's letter (p. 13 above); and so three of the four or five strange-looking names connected with the embassy of 1336 have been verified from these perfectly independent and contemporary native sources.³

¹ *Yüan Shih*, c. cxxxii, fols. 2v^o-3r^o.

² *Yüan Shih*, c. cxxxii, fols. 3v^o-4r^o.

³ *Yüan Shih*, c. cxxxv, fols. 3v^o-4r^o. The biography of 阿荅赤 A-ta-ch'ih on fol. 5r^o adds very little to what has been said of him above, p. 22. Cf. *Cathay*, vol. iii, p. 182, note.

失刺拔都兒

Shih-la Pa-tu-êrh, the son of 月魯達某 Yüeh-lu-ta-mou, who served Mangu, was of the A-su tribe and a commander of A-su troops which he led in Bayan's expedition against the Sung and against Nayan. He died in 1302 and was followed by his son 那海產 Na-hai-ch'an, who had a post in the *Right Alan Guards* and was given the title of 明威將軍 Ming-wei-chiang-chün in 1325.¹

徹里

Ch'ê-li of the A-su tribe was the son of 別吉八 Pieh-chi-pa, who served Mangu, and was appointed to the *Left Alan Guards* in 1309. He was followed by his son 失列門 Shih-lieh-mên, who is mentioned under the year 1328.

The above notes taken, as has been said, from the biographies of the A-su or Alani, who were all, *re vel nomine* as John says, Christians, by no means exhaust the allusions which may be found in the *Yüan Shih* and other books of that period either to the Alani or to the other Christians who were in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries comparatively plentiful in the Mongol Empire.

The best general summary (with some very interesting details) of the great mass of information which is now becoming available on the subject of medieval Christianity in the Far East will be found in an article which I had not seen when the above notes were written, namely Professor Paul Pelliot's "*Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême Orient*", which appeared in the *T'oung-pao* for December, 1914.

LATIN AND CHINESE TEXTS

- I. MONUMENTA HISTORICA BOEMIE NUSQUAM ANTEHAC EDITA
Tom. ii, Pragaë, MDCCLXVIII.

p. 84. Nam ut ex visis aliqua breviter inseramus. Nos frater
Johannes de Fflorencia Ordinis Minorum indignus Episcopus

¹ *Yüan Shih*, c. cxxxv, fol. 6 v°.

Bysinianensis, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo tricesimo quarto, a sancto Papa *Benedicto* duodecimo cum aliis missus fui cum Apostolicis literis & donis nuncius & legatus ad *Kaam*, summum omnium *Thartarorum* Imperatorem, qui tenet quasi dominium medietatis orbis orientalis, ejus potestas & copia civitatum, terrarum, linguarum, diviciarum, & regiminis infinitorum quodammodo populorum excedit omnem narrationem. Recessimus de *Avinione* mense *Decembris*, pervenimus *Neapolim* in principio quadragesimae & ibi usque ad *Pascha*, quod fuit in fine *Marcii*, expectavimus navigium *Jaunensium* venturum cum nunciis *Thartarorum*, quos misit *Kaam* de *Cambalec* maxima civitate ad Papam, pro mittendis | legatis p. 85. & ad aperiendam viam, & fedus componendum cum *Christianis*, eo quod multum honorat, & diligit fidem nostram. Summi etiam principes sui Imperii tocus, plus quam triginta millia, qui vocantur *Alani*, & totum gubernant imperium orientis, sunt *Christiani*, re vel nomine, & dicunt se *Sclavos Pape*, parati mori pro *franquis*, sic enim vocant nos, non a *francia*, sed a *franquia*. Horum primus Apostolus fuit frater *Johannes* dictus de monte *Corvino*, qui primo miles, judex & doctor *Friderici* Imperatoris post LXXII. annos factus frater Minor doctissimus & scientissimus Pervenimus autem in *Constantinopolim* per mare in Kalendis *May*, & fuimus in *Peyra* usque ad festum Sancti *Johannis baptiste* non ociose, quia summam disputationem habuimus cum Patriarcha *Grecorum*, & toto concilio eorum in pallacio Sancte *Sophie*, ubi Deus fecit in nobis novum miraculum, dans nobis os & sapienciam, cui non potuerunt resistere, & se necessario esse Scismaticos confiteri compulsi sunt, nihil in sue dampnationis pallium pretendentes, nisi superbiam intollerabilem Presulum *Romanorum*. Inde navigavimus mare *Maurum*, & in octo diebus pervenimus in *Caffa*, ubi multarum sectarum sunt Chri | stiani. Inde ad primum *Thartarorum* Imperatorem p. 86. *Usbec* pervenimus, & obtulimus literas, pannos, dextrarium, cytiacam, & dona *Pape*, & post hiemem bene pasti, vestiti, & remunerati magnifice, & cum ejus equis & expensis pervenimus in *Armalec* Imperii medii, ubi fecimus Ecclesiam, emimus aream, fecimus fontes, cantavimus missas, baptizavimus plures, libere, & publice predicantes, non obstante, quod anno precedenti solempne martirium passi sunt ibidem pro *Christo* Episcopus,

& sex alii fratres minores, miraculis coruscantes, quorum nomina: frater *Rychardus* Episcopus, nacione *Burgundus*, frater *Franciscus* de *Allexandria*, frater *Paschalis* *Hyspanus*, qui fuit Propheta, & vidit celum apertum, & predixit sibi, & Sociis suis martirium, & *Thartaros* de *Saray* destruendos diluvio, *Armalec* perituram, propter ipsorum martirium, Imperatorem illum tercio die occidendum post ipsorum martirium, & multa alia gloriosa: frater *Laurencius* de *Ancona*, frater *Petrus*, frater *Indus* interpres illorum, & *Gilottus* mercator. Anno tercio post nostrum recessum de curia circa fines de *Armalec* recedentes pervenimus ad *Cyollos Kagon*, id est, ad montes arene, quos faciunt venti, ultra quos ante *Thartaros* nullus putavit terram habitabilem, nec putabatur ultra aliquam terram esse. *Thartari* autem voluntate Dei mirabili industria transierunt, & fuerunt in campo maximo, ubi

p. 87. dicitur *torrida Zona*, & inpertransibilis a Philosophis, | quam tamen *Thartari* transierunt, & ego eciam bis, de qua in psalmo *David*: posuit desertum &c. Qua pertransita pervenimus in *Cambalec*, ubi est summa Sedes Imperii Orientis, de cujus magnitudine incredibili, & populo, ordine militum sileatur. Maximus autem *Kaam* visis dextrariis, & donis Pape, & literis bullatis, & Regis eciam *Roberti* cum auro, & nobis, gavisus est gaudio magno, valde reputans bonum, ymo optimum omne, & summe nos honoravit. Ego autem solempniter indutus cum Cruce pulcherrima, que me precedebat cum luminaribus & incenso cantando: *Credo in unum Deum*; intravimus coram illo *Kaam* in glorioso pallacio residente, & cantu finito, largam dedi recipienti humiliter benediceionem. Et sic missi fuimus ad Imperialem aulam, nobis honorabiliter preparatam, assignatis duobus principibus, qui nobis in omnibus necessitatibus abundantissime ministrabant in cibis & potibus, & usque ad papirum pro laternis, deputatis servitoribus & ministris de curia, & sic per annos quasi quatuor servierunt infinitis semper honoribus, vestibis preciosis pro nobis & familiis extollendo. Et si bene omnia computarem, ultra valorem expendit quatuor millium marcarum pro nobis, eramus persone triginta due. Fuerunt autem disputationes facte contra *Judeos*, & alias sectas multe & gloriose, sed & multus animarum fructus in illo Imperio factus est. Habent etiam fratres *Minores* in *Cambalec* Ecclesiam

Cathedralem immediate juxta palladium, & solempnem Archiepiscopatum, & alias Ecclesias plures in civitate, & campanas, & omnes vivunt de mensa Imperatoris honorifice valde. Videns autem Impe[ra]tor ille, quod nullo modo volui remanere, p. 88. concessit, quod cum suis annorum trium expensis & donis redirem ad Papam, & cito ego, vel alius mitteretur Cardinalis solempnis cum plenitudine potestatis, & esset Episcopus, quia illum gradum summe venerantur omnes orientales, sive sint *Christiani*, sive non, & esset de ordine Minorum, quia illos solos cognoscunt Sacerdotes, & putant Papam semper talem, sicut fuit ille *Jeronimus* Papa, qui misit eis legatum, quem Sanctum venerantur Thartari & Alani, fratrem *Johannem* de monte *Corvino* ordinis *Minorum*, de quo supra. Fuimus autem in *Cambalec* annis quasi tribus, inde per *Mauzi* iter nostrum direximus cum expensis Imperatoris magnificis, & equis quasi ducentis, & vidimus gloriam mundi in tot civitatibus, terris, villis & rebus, que nulla lingua posset reprimere sufficienter. A festo autem Sancti *Stephani* usque ad *Dominicam olivarum* per mare *Indicum* pervenimus ad nobilissimam civitatem *Indie* nomine *Columbum*, ubi nascitur piper tocius orbis . . . nec nascitur in desertis, sed in or[tis], nec Saraceni sunt Domini, p. 89. sed *Christiani* Sancti *Thomæ* . . .¹

. . . Deinde perreximus per mare ad *Seyllanum* montem p. 90. gloriosum, ex opposito paradisi, . . . | . . . *Gyon* qui circuit p. 91. terram *Ethiope*, ubi sunt modo homines nigri, que dicitur terra *Presbiteri Johannis* . . .

De monte Seyllano hystoria.

p. 95.

. . . Et primo videndum est, quomodo pervenimus ad eum, & qualiter, secundo de eius condicionibus. Primo namque cum nos dimissi a *Kaam* Summo Imperatore cum donis maximis & expensis transire per *Indiam* temptarem, alia via per terram clausa propter guerras, & nullomodo pateret transitus, preceptum

¹ The Prag fragment (see p. 1) reads: pervenimus dominica olivarum ad nobilissimam ciuitatem Indie nomine Columbam, vbi nascitur piper tocius orbis . . . nec nascitur in desertis set in ortis nec saraceni sunt domini set xpistiani sancti thome qui habent stateram ponderis tocius mundi de qua pro meo officio tanquam legato pape habebam omni mense florenos illius monete primo centum, in fine mille. In the last sentence Dobner's text reads *fan* (i.e. the Indian *fanam*) for *florenos*.

fuit *Kaam*, quod veniremus per *Mauzi*, que olim maxima *India* vocabatur. Habet autem *Mauzi* civitates & populos sine numero, & nobis incredibilia sunt, nisi vidissem copiam omnium rerum, fructuum, quos nunquam gignit terra *latina*, & civitates maximas triginta millia, exceptis villis, & oppidis infinitis. Et inter illas est civitas famosissima nomine *Campsay* mirabilior, pulchrior, dicior, & maior cum maiori populo, & pluribus divitiis, & deliciis, edificiis, & maxime ydolorum templis, ubi sunt M. & duo millia religiosi simul habitantes, quam aliqua civitas, que sit in mundo, vel forte fuerit unquam. Ubi scribunt scribentes esse decem millia poncium nobilium de lapide cum sculpturis & ymaginibus principum armorum, incredibile est non videnti, & tamen forte non menciuntur. Est etiam *Zayton* portus maris mirabilis, civitas nobis incredibilis, ubi fratres Minores habent tres Ecclesias pulcherrimas, optimas & ditissimas, balneum fundatum, omnium mercatorum depositarium, habent etiam campanas optimas & pulcherrimas, quarum duas ego feci fieri cum magna solempnitate, quarum unam, videlicet maiorem *Johanninam*, aliam *Antoninam* decrevimus nominandas, & in medio *Saracenorum* sitas. Recessimus autem de *Zayton* in festo Sancti *Stephani*, & in quarta feria majoris ebdomade pervenimus ad *Columbum*. Deinde volentes navigare ad Sanctum *Thomam Apostolum* & inde ad terram sanctam, ascendentes *Junkos*, de inferiore *India*, que *Nimbar* vocatur in vigilia Sancti *Georgii* tot procellis ferebamur, quod sexaginta vicibus vel amplius fuimus quasi demersi sub aqua usque ad profundum maris.

II. In fortitudine Omnipotentis Dei, Imperatoris Imperatorum Præceptum.

Nos mittimus Nuncium nostrum *Andream Francum* cum quindecim sociis ad Papam, Dominum Christianorum in *Franchiam* ultra septem maria, ubi sol occidit, ad aperiendum viam nunciis sæpe mittendis per nos ad Papam, & per Papam ad nos, & ad rogandum ipsum Papam, ut mittat nobis suam benedictionem, & in orationibus suis sanctis semper memoriam faciat de nobis. Et quod *Alanos* servitores nostros, filios suos *Christianos*, habeat recommendatos. Item quod adducant nobis ab occasu solis equos, & alia mirabilia. Scripta in *Cambalee* in anno Rati mense sexto, tertia die lunationis.

In fortitudine omnipotentis Dei, & in honore Imperatoris III.
Domini nostri.

Nos Futim Juens, Caticen Tungii, Gemboga Evenzi, Joannes Juckoy, sanctum Patrem Dominum Papam nostrum, capitibus ad terram positis, pedes osculantes, salutamus, petentes benedictionem suam & gratiam, & quod in orationibus suis sanctis faciat de nobis memoriam, & numquam obliviscatur nostri. Hoc autem sanctitati vestræ sit notum, quod longo tempore fuimus informati in fide Catholica, & salubriter gubernati, & consolati plurimum per Legatum vestrum fratrem Joannem, valentem, sanctum, & sufficientem virum, qui tamen mortuus est ante octo annos, in quibus fuimus sine gubernatore, & sine spiritali consolatione, licet audierimus, quod providistis de alio legato, ille tamen nondum venit. Quare supplicamus Sanctitati Vestræ, quod mittatis nobis bonum, sufficientem, ac sapientem Legatum, qui curam habeat de animabus nostris, & quod cito veniat, quia male stamus sine capite, sine informatione, & sine consolatione: supplicamus etiam sapientiæ vestræ, quod Domino nostro Imperatori respondeatis gratiose, ita quod aperiatur via, sicut & ipse petit, expedita & apta nunciis sæpe mittendis a vobis ad ipsum, & ab ipso ad vos, & ad conferendam inter vos & ipsum amicitiam: quia si hoc feceritis magnum bonum subsequetur pro salute animarum, & pro exaltatione fidei Christianæ, quia favor ejus in imperio suo facere potest innumera bona, & indignatio ejus innumera mala, & ideo recommendetis nos sibi, filios vestros, & fratres, & fideles alios, qui sunt in imperio ejus, quia si ita feceritis, bona maxima facietis, cum ita factum fuerit, quod ex parte vestra diversis temporibus tres vel quatuor nunc iverunt ad præfatum Imperatorem Dominum nostrum, a quo gratiose recepti fuerunt, & honorati & remunerati; & ex tunc dictus Imperator nullum a vobis, vel a Sede Apostolica responsum accepit, licet singuli promiserunt se a vobis responsa ad præfatum Dominum reportare. Quare provideat Sanctitas vestra, quod hac vice, & deinceps habeat certum a vobis responsum & nuncium, sicut decet Sanctitatem vestram, quia magna verecundia est Christianis in partibus istis, quando mendacia inveniuntur in ipsis. Scripta in Cambalec in anno Rati, mense sexto, tertia die lunationis.¹

¹ These letters may be found also in Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1691, tom. xvi, an. 1338, p. 80, and in Mosheim, *Historia Tartarorum*

IV. Magnifico Principi, Imperatori Imperatorum Omnium Tartarorum illustri gratiam in præsentī, quæ perducatur ad gloriam in futuro.

Celsitudinis tuæ Nuncios ad nostram nuper præsentiam venientes vultu sereno & læta mente recepimus, eosque favorabiliter audivimus & benigne. Sane quia tam ex iis, quæ proposuerunt ipsi Nuncii coram nobis per fidelem interpretem ad hoc adhibitum intellecta, quam ex tenore litterarum tuæ magnificentiæ nobis exhibitarum per ipsos percepimus, & collegimus manifeste, quod tu ad sanctam Romanam, Catholicam, & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, nostro commissam regimini, & ad nos, qui licet immeriti locum Dei tenemus in terris, devotionem magnam gerens, teque nostris humiliter orationibus recommendans, Job

Ecclesiastica, 1741, Appendix, p. 168. Through the great kindness of Dr. L. D. Barnett, of the British Museum, I am able to give here the chief variations between Wadding (as printed above from his second edition) and Raynaldus' earlier text, as regards letters II and III. In the former, *for Nuncium read Nuntium*; *for Andræam read Andream*; *for Papam, Dominum Christianorum in Franchiam read Papam Dominum Christianum in Franciam*; *for nunciis read nuntiis*; *for nobis. Et read nobis, et*; *for equos, & read equos &*; *for Ratimense sexto read Rati mense, sexto* [? Rati, mense sexto]. In the latter, *for Juens read Joens*; *for Tungii read Tuncy*; *for Juckoy, sanctum read Jukoy sanctum*; *for positis, pedes read positis pedes*; *for numquam read nunquam*; *for notum quod read notum, quod*; *for Joannem, valentem read Joannem Valentem*; *for gubernatore, & read gubernatore &*; *for audierimus read audiverimus*; *for legato, ille read legato: ille*; *for male read ovile*; *for consolatione; supplicamus read consolatione. Supplicamus; for gratiose, ita read gratiose; ita; omit expedita; for feceritis magnum bonum subsequetur read feceritis, magnum bonum sequetur*; *for bona, et indignatio ejus innumera mala, & read bona &*; *for sibi, filios vestros, & read sibi filios vestros &*; *for ejus, quia read ejus quia*; *for facietis, cum read facietis. Cum*; *for nunc iverunt read nuntii venerint* [Mosheim, who reads nuntii venerint, has a note to say that Wadding reads non iverunt. He refers possibly to Wadding's first edition.]; *for remunerati; & read remunerati, &*; *for vobis, vel read vobis vel*; *for promiserunt read promiserint*; *for nuncium read nuntium*; *for sexto, tertia read sexto tertia*. In the Pope's letter which follows, which Dr. Barnett has also kindly collated, the differences are almost all small matters of spelling or punctuation. The only other changes are these: *for tam ex iis read tam ex his*; *for super his read super iis*; *for respiciunt read respiciunt*. Letters V and VI below are not given in full by Raynaldus, who, however, has in the same place (p. 80) a long letter from the Pope to Fatim and his friends in which he expounds the creed.

nostram & ejusdem Ecclesiæ reverentiam, dilectos filios nobiles viros Fodim Jovens, Chyansam Tongi, Chembogam Vensii, Joannem Yochoy, & Rubeum Pinzanum Principes Alanorum, & alios Alanos Christicolas, in tuo degentes Imperio, benevolis favoribus, & opportunis gratiis pertractasti hactenus, & pertractas. Nos tam ex his, quam de missione Nunciorum ipsorum admodum nobis grata, tibi referentes gratiarum uberes actiones, magnitudinem tuam rogamus attentius, & hortamur, quatenus benevolentiam, & favores hujusmodi erga præfatos Alanorum Principes, & alios Christicolas in eodem Imperio commorantes, continuare pro nostra & Ecclesiæ prædictæ reverentia velit tua sublimitas & augere; & ut Antistites, & religiosi Catholici, & Christiani alii Ecclesias, Basilicas, & Oratoria, in quibus juxta ritum & morem supradictæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ divinæ laudis peragantur officia, & offeratur pro delictis & peccatis populi hostia salutaris, per dictum Imperium habere, libere fundare, construere valeant & tenere, possitque ubique ibidem ab eisdem Antistitibus, Religiosis, & aliis Christicolis auctoritatem habentibus, super his verbum Dei, et veritas fidei Catholicæ, sine qua nemo potest salvus fieri, prædicari, placeat tuæ Magnitudini licentiam elargiri. Nos autem pro te tuaque salute, & ut ille, qui omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum illuminat, sic illustrare dignetur suæ caritatis & gratiæ lumine mentem tuam, quod eum cognoscas veraciter & lumen recipias fidei, per quam in præsentī abundanter replearis gratia, & in futura vita æternæ beatitudinis assequaris præmium, oramus & orabimus humiliter & devote. Porro cum tua sublimitas affectu sincero, sicut credimus, nobis amicitias offerens, & illas a nobis postulans, petieris, quod tui ad nos & nostri ad te Nuncii super his destinentur, scire Magnitudinem tuam volumus, quod hæc nobis placabilia sunt, & accepta, & Nuncios tuos quandocumque ad nos transmissi venerint, recipiemus favorabiliter & lætanter. Nostros vero Nuncios seu Legatos ad tuam præsentiam & partes illas mittere disponimus, qui te de nostra benevolentia, & aliis, quæ tuæ salutem animæ respicient, plenius informabunt. Quæsumus igitur, ut eosdem Nuncios nostros, cum ad te venerint, placide suscipias, sicque patienter audias & benigne, quod spargenda in agro cordis tui vitæ semina fructus producant uberes, quorum dulcedinem tandem connumeratus inter redemptos pretioso Christi sanguine,

in cœlesti degustes patria, & eis æternaliter satieris. Datum Avenione Idibus Junii anno IV.

- V. Magnifico Principi Chansi Imperatori Tartarorum de medio Imperio gratiam in præsentî, quæ perducatur ad gloriam in futuro.

Læti rumores Deo & nobis, qui locum ejus, licet immeriti, tenemus in terris, multum placabiles, & accepti ad nostram notitiam perduxerunt, quod tu, qui magnus Princeps existere dignosceris, ex solita benignitate, quam tibi dedit Altissimus, a quo cuncta bona procedunt, erga Christianos in tuo degentes Imperio, & ad illud etiam venientes, favorabiliter & benigne pertractasti hactenus, & pertractas, eis favores, gratias, & privilegia, prout occurrit opportunitas, largiendo, & nihilominus sicut animo percepimus exultanti, venerabilem fratrem nostrum Nicolaum Archiepiscopum, & dilectos filios Fratres Ordinis Minorum dudum ad partes illas per felicis recordationis Joannem Papam XXII. prædecessorem nostrum transmissos recepisti favorabiliter & benigne, ad ipsos manum liberalem & munificam extendendo, & etiam pro Dei reverentia concedendo licentiam reparandi destructas Ecclesias, & novas etiam construendi, & prædicandi libere audire volentibus verbum Dei, super quibus tuæ Celsitudini gratiarum referimus actiones, Imperialem magnificentiam attentius deprecantes, quatenus hujusmodi favores, & gratias continuare velit tua sublimitas, & etiam ampliare . . . Datum ut supra.

- VI. Dilecto filio nobili viro Fodim Jovens, Principi Alanorum fidelium, in Imperio Tartarorum consistentium.

Inter ceteras sollicitudines, quæ nobis ex debito commissi desuper officii Pastoralis incumbunt, hoc divinæ majestatis oculis gratum fore credimus & acceptum, si redemptis pretioso Christi sanguine fidem Catholicam profitentibus, præsertim inter exterarum nationes consolationis impendamus auxilium, & alienos a fide ipsa, sine qua non est alicui gratia, neque salus, ut eam suscipiant & teneant, invitari & induci rectitudine sermonis & operis faciamus. Ideoque tam tuorum, quam aliorum principum Alanorum fidelium in Imperio Tartarorum consistentium, dudum transmissorum ad nostram præsentiam Nunciorum relationibus intellectis, quod licet sint in illis partibus Antistites & Religiosi multi, olim illuc per Sedem Apostolicam destinati, circa præmissa fidelibus & diligentibus studiis intendentes; quia tamen

respectu messis quæ multa esse ibidem noscitur, sunt operarii pauci, foret ut alii mitterentur multipliciter opportunum, tibi & eisdem Principibus per diversas nostras litteras meminimus rescripsisse, quod opportunitate captata, intendebamus viros alios doctos in lege Domini, per quos una cum aliis, alias illuc missis, ut præmittitur, exerceri valeret salubriter opus ministerii hujusmodi, ad partes illas, prævia divina gratia, destinare. Cum autem nos in effectum producere intentionem nostram hujusmodi cupientes, dilectos filios Nicolaum Boneti sacræ Theologiæ professorem, Nicolaum de Molano, Joannem de Florentia, & Gregorium de Hungaria Ordinis Fratrum Minorum ad partes prædictas pro exercendo hujusmodi ministerio providerimus destinandos. Nobilitatem tuam rogamus, & in Domino attentius exhortamur, quatenus tam ipsos quam Fratres alios, ac socios & familiares eorum, quos secum duxerint, seu habuerint, habere velit tua nobilitas pro nostra & ejusdem Sedis reverentia propensius commendatos. Et ut ipsi & alii religiosi deputandi per eos, vel alios, ad id a nobis vel superioribus suis, potestatem habentes, prædicare libere verbum Dei, & alia quæ ad divinum cultum pertinent, agere in partibus ipsis valeant, partes tuæ sollicitudinis interponas, & exinde apud retributorem bonorum omnium æternæ mercedis præmium uberius assequaris. Datum ut supra.

子者燕不花初事仁宗爲速古兒赤英宗時 VII.
 爲進酒寶兒赤天曆元年迎文宗于河南賜
 白銀綵段命爲溫都赤九月往居庸關料敵
 道逢二軍謂探馬赤諸軍曰今北兵且至其
 避之者燕不花恐搖衆心卽拔所佩刀十月進
 授兵部郎中招集阿速虎符領軍六百與
 兵部尙書授雙珠木兒至檀子山與
 州會丞相燕帖木農丞
 戰敗之遷大司農丞

二年...十一月...壬戌命同知樞密院
 事者燕不花兼宮相都總管府達魯花赤領
 隆鎖衛左阿速衛諸軍

- VIII. 次子福定襲職官懷遠大將軍尋改右阿速
 衛達魯花赤兼管後衛使福遷親軍進樞
 充右同僉軍衛密將右樞密院事後至元開進
 密院事
- IX. 十一月...戊戌召前知樞密院事福丁失
 刺不花撒兒的哥還京誣貶故正之
 謀誅燕鐵木兒爲所誣
- X. 子香山事武宗仁宗直宿衛天曆元年至九月
 兵興從戰宜興擊處以功賜金帶一授左阿速
 敵兵凡指揮使

II

VISVAMITRA, VASISTHA, HARISCANDRA, AND SUNAHSEPA

By F. E. PARGITER

IN a former paper in this Journal (1913, p. 885) I set out the kṣatriya ballad, which told of the fortunes of Satyavrata Triśaṅku, prince of Ayodhyā, as affected by the two famous rishis, Vasiṣṭha, the great priest of Ayodhyā, and Viśvaratha, king of Kānyakubja, who relinquished his kṣatriya status and became a brahman with the name Viśvāmitra. This paper carries on their story in connexion with Triśaṅku's successors.

Vasiṣṭha had secured the banishment of Satyavrata as an outcast, obtained possession of the kingdom, and kept it. At that time Viśvāmitra had placed his queen and family in a hermitage not far from Ayodhyā, and was absent performing austerities in order to become a brahman. Twelve years of drought occurred, during which Satyavrata maintained Viśvāmitra's family. Then Viśvāmitra returned, having become a muni, and in gratitude championed Satyavrata's right to the kingdom. He overcame Vasiṣṭha's opposition, placed Satyavrata on the throne, and was chosen by Satyavrata as the royal priest in supersession of Vasiṣṭha. Had it not been for his aid Satyavrata would have perished in exile, Vasiṣṭha would have maintained himself in the kingdom, and, whether he ever placed Satyavrata's son on the throne or not, the real power would no doubt have remained in the hands of this stern and ambitious priest. The famous kṣatriya dynasty of the Aikṣvākus would have faded away, and the rule would have passed into the hands of the great brahman family of the Vasiṣṭhas, just as in modern times Śivaji's dynasty was supplanted by its brahman Peshwas. These events constituted a great crisis in the fortunes of

the Aikṣvāku dynasty, and we can well perceive that the kṣatriya ballad had a deep and lasting interest for the Aikṣvākus, so that it was preserved as a part of their genealogy, as appears in six Puranas.

Two verses were cited as suggesting that this Vasiṣṭha had the personal name Devarāj. They say that a Vasiṣṭha named Devarāj or Bhūtakṛt had preserved all creatures alive during a period of drought, and it was pointed out that the allusion could not well apply to any time of drought except this period. This identification may be amplified. There are two other statements which connect a Vasiṣṭha with such a period. One runs thus¹:—Of yore in the Tārakāmaya war between the gods and asuras, when the world was smitten with drought and the gods were distraught, Vasiṣṭha maintained the people by his austerities; providing food, etc., he kept them alive. That allusion appears in a brahmanical account of the Vasiṣṭha family and is purely fabulous, because that war occurred in mythical time and connexion, and what is apparently the oldest version connects it with Soma's abduction of Bṛhaspati's wife Tārā.² That Vasiṣṭha cannot be meant in the two verses cited, because they plainly refer to some person who is historical according to tradition, for they occur in two lists of kings and other men who earned heaven by their signal good deeds, as expressly stated at the end of the lists.³ The other statement relates to the Vasiṣṭha who was priest to king Saṁvarana of the Paurava line much later. It says⁴—

¹ *Brahmaṇḍa* iii, 8, 88-90; *Vāyu* 70, 81-82; *Līṅga* i, 63, 80-82; which have almost the same statement.

² *Brahmaṇḍa* iii, 65, 29-34; *Vāyu* 90, 28-33; *Brahma* 9, 20-23; *Harivaṁśa* 25, 1341-5; *Viṣṇu* iv, 6, 8-11; *Padma* vi, 211, 16-22. Or Soma's performance of the rājasūya, *Harivaṁśa* 192, 11098. A different story in *Matsya* 172, 10 ff.; *Padma* v, 37, 116 ff.; *Harivaṁśa* 43, 2379 ff. Other accounts in *Brahmaṇḍa* iii, 72, 79-80; *Vāyu* 97, 80; *Matsya* 47, 48-9.

³ *Mahābhārata* xii, 234, 8611-12; xiii, 157, 6272-4.

⁴ *Id.* i, 173, 6615-30.

Sahvarana, after marrying Tapatī, placed Vasiṣṭha as regent of his kingdom, and going to the hills devoted himself to his wife; a drought occurred for twelve years, the crops failed, and the people suffered dreadful calamities and wasted away; so Vasiṣṭha brought the king back to his capital Hastināpura, and then rain fell and everything revived. That Vasiṣṭha did not keep the people alive, and it was only the king's return that saved them; hence he is ruled out.

The Vasiṣṭha Devarāj or Bhutakṛt mentioned in those two verses can therefore be only this Vasiṣṭha, who governed the kingdom of Ayodhyā in the twelve years' drought during Satyavrata's exile.¹ This identification is corroborated by the remarkably simple and appropriate explanation it offers, how the quarrel between Viśvāmitra and Devarāj (Vasiṣṭha) was afterwards mythologized into a contest between Viśvāmitra and Indra in the Rāmāyaṇa, as pointed out in the former paper. It will be found also to supply a simple explanation of another incident, and perhaps a third, regarding Indra in the story of Śunahśepa discussed here.

It was also said that Viśvāmitra raised Satyavrata Triśanku to the sky. After discussing the various versions of this statement, I offered the suggestion that Viśvāmitra as the royal priest may have given him on his death celestial dignity by naming a constellation Triśanku after him, as some public reparation for the indignities inflicted on him by Vasiṣṭha. Wilson remarked on this story²—"This legend is therefore clearly astronomical, and alludes possibly to some reformation of the sphere by Viśvāmitra, under the patronage of Triśanku, and in opposition to a more ancient system advocated by the school of Vasiṣṭha." This suggestion postulates a good

¹ *Devarāj* was a name, for it is given as such to the early Aikṣvāku king Vikukṣi: Matsya 12, 26; Agni 272, 18.

² Translation of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bk. iv, ch. 3, note.

deal. To give a name to a celestial body is far easier than to reform the sphere, and celestial objects have been habitually named after terrestrial beings in India as well as in other countries. There was a celestial body named *Trisāṅku*, for, putting aside the absurd physical phenomenon alleged in the *Rāmāyaṇa* fable (i, 60, 18-32),¹ another passage therein speaks of *Trisāṅku* as a *graha* (planet?) situate with Mars, Jupiter, and Mercury in the moon's path,² and the last verse cited in the ballad in the former paper also connects *Trisāṅku* as a *graha* with the moon.

We may now proceed with the traditions. *Satyavrata*'s son was *Hariscandra*, and his son was *Rohita*, as mentioned in the same six *Puranas* which give the former story, and their text collated³ runs thus, referring to *Satyavrata* :—

tasya *Satyarathā* ⁴ nāma bhāryā *Kaikaya-varīśa-jā*
kumāraṃ janayāmāsa Hariscandram a-kalmaṣam
sa vai rājā Hariscandras Traisāṅkava iti smṛtaḥ
āhartā rājasūyasya samrād iti ha viśrutaḥ
Hariscandrasya tu suto Rohito nāma vīryavān.

Other *Puranas* say briefly that *Trisāṅku*'s son was *Hariscandra*, and his son was *Rohita*, or, more fully, *Rohitāśva*⁵; but three erroneously turn *Satyavrata*'s wife *Satyarathā* into a son *Satyaratha* and interpose him, making *Hariscandra* his son, and *Rohita* his son.⁶

It is well to make clear the position of affairs at

¹ Also alluded to in *Mahābhārata* xiii, 3, 189.

² *Rāmāyaṇa* ii, 41, 10—

Trisāṅkur Lohitāśvaś ca Bṛhaspati-Budhāv api
dāruṇāḥ Somam abhyetya grahāḥ sarve vyavasthitāḥ.

³ *Brahmāṇḍa* iii, 63, 115-17; *Vāyu* 88, 117-19; *Brahma* 8, 24-6; *Harivamśa* 13, 754-6; *Śiva* vii, 61, 20-2; and *Līṅga* i, 66, 10-11 (which omits the third and fourth lines). Unimportant variations are omitted.

⁴ *Satyaratā* in *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vāyu*; *evatā* in *Līṅga*. *Kūrma* i, 21, 2 calls her *Satyadhana*.

⁵ *Viṣṇu* iv, 3, 15 and *Garuḍa*, 138, 26-7 (which say *Rohitāśva*); *Kūrma* i, 21, 2-3; *Bhāgavata* ix, 7, 7-9.

⁶ *Matsya* 12, 37-8 and *Padma* v, 8, 142 (which agree); *Agni* 272, 26-7 (which says *Rohitāśva*). Also *Padma* vi, 21, 10.

Ayodhyā when Satyavrata Trīṣaṅku died and Hariścandra succeeded him, as revealed by the kṣatriya ballad discussed in the former paper. Vasiṣṭha had lost the office of royal priest and was in disgrace. Viśvāmitra held that office and was all-powerful, so that (as is said) he raised Trīṣaṅku to the sky in spite of Vasiṣṭha (line 72). Hariścandra had been brought up in the palace during his father's exile, because Satyavrata was banished alone (ll. 8-14, 48), and because Vasiṣṭha's proposal that he would install the son in the kingdom (l. 50) implied that the son was living and within his control. As Satyavrata was a very young man when banished (ll. 4, 35), Hariścandra was a child then. As Vasiṣṭha had charge of the royal seraglio during the exile (ll. 33, 34), Hariścandra would have been educated completely under his control and guidance, and would have been a youth when Satyavrata was restored, and probably but a young man when his father died. Vasiṣṭha was filled with rage and hatred against Viśvāmitra for the ruin of all his ambition; and one way in which he sought revenge was to deny Viśvāmitra's brahmanhood.

Certain inferences can obviously be drawn from these facts according to the most ordinary motives and conduct. Viśvāmitra, as the royal priest in power, would have placed Hariścandra on the throne. But, as this prince had been educated during twelve most impressionable years of his boyhood under Vasiṣṭha's superintendence, he could not have outgrown the influence which this stern and domineering priest had exercised over him, and Vasiṣṭha would have seen a prospect of achieving vengeance against Viśvāmitra through him. Obviously, therefore, Vasiṣṭha would have directed the most strenuous efforts to preserve that influence and sow discord between Hariścandra and Viśvāmitra, in order to oust Viśvāmitra and regain his old position. He would not, of course, have been immediately successful, because of the odium of his

cruel behaviour to Satyavrata. Time would have been necessary to mitigate that, effect estrangement between the king and Viśvāmitra, and secure Viśvāmitra's downfall; and till then Viśvāmitra remained the royal priest. These inferences are elementary and patent on the facts disclosed by the ballad, and they go further. Viśvāmitra stood alone. The efficacy of his priestly functions depended on the validity of his brahmanhood, and every brahman in Ayodhyā would have followed Vasiṣṭha in denying that, regarding him as an interloper who was robbing them, the true brahmans, of their rights and also of their fees and livelihood. This constituted the sting of his brahmanhood. Viśvāmitra's position, therefore, was precarious, and could endure only as long as Hariścandra could withstand the unanimous opposition of Vasiṣṭha and the brahmans of Ayodhyā—a very severe ordeal. Every priestly act performed by him would have been called in question by them, and obviously they would win, in no long time. The break would probably come over some important religious ceremony. Viśvāmitra would be obliged to go, and would depart in high displeasure. What follows corroborates these inferences.

Hariścandra celebrated the rājasūya sacrifice, as stated in the fourth line of the genealogy set out above, and as mentioned in the Mahābhārata and elsewhere.¹ It constituted his consecration as king,² or rather declared his paramount sovereignty as a *sumrāj*.³ It was performed by Viśvāmitra, as is plainly implied in some passages,⁴ and as he would naturally do, being the royal priest. A story based on this ceremony is told in the Mārkaṇḍeya

¹ Mahābhārata ii, 12, 488-98, which gives a glowing account of his majesty and this sacrifice. Also Harivaṃśa 122, 11100; Mārkaṇḍeya 7, 25, 39, 40.

² Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii, p. 219.

³ Mahābhārata ii, 12, 491, 497-8; and line 4 of the genealogy quoted above.

⁴ Mārkaṇḍeya 7, 25, 36, 39; 8, 9.

Purana.¹ It is a wild brahmanical fable on its very face; its main incidents are absurd; and its tenor is untrue, because it excludes and makes impossible the story of Rohita and Sunahśepa which will be narrated. Yet it is based on the true occurrence of the rājasūya, and is developed out of the statements made impliedly, that Hariścandra had not given Viśvāmitra the fee therefor, and that Viśvāmitra had not forgotten that slight.² Those statements appear as the background of the fable, and allege what might naturally have occurred in the circumstances described above. Viśvāmitra dealt implacably with him, as if they were completely estranged, and his severity is the dominant feature in the story. The rest of the fable is just the absurdity produced when the brahmans, with their lack of the historical sense, fabricated edifying religious tales out of some incident in historical tradition.³ Those statements give the general position, that the king and Viśvāmitra had become estranged and Viśvāmitra had quitted him in displeasure; and this is no doubt true, for it harmonizes completely with the natural outcome of the conditions at Ayodhyā described above. The Mārkaṇḍeya adds the corroboration that the violent hostility between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha arose out of the rājasūya,⁴ culminating in a further fable of a terrific fight between them as birds.⁵ This reference to the rājasūya cannot mean the so-called rājasūya at which

¹ Ch. 7 and 8. Muir gives an abstract of it, *Sanskrit Texts*, i, 88 ff. It calls Rohita *Rohitāśepa* wrongly (S, 58, 179, 260).

² *Id.* 7, 25, 36-41; 8, 9, 40-3.

³ Hariścandra's caṇḍālhood there (also alluded to in Padma ii, 12, 122) appears to be a misplacement of Satyavrata's degradation in exile, which is called caṇḍālhood in the Rāmāyaṇa (i, 58, 10), Viṣṇu (iv, 3, 13) and Bhāgavata (ix, 7, 5).

⁴ Mārkaṇḍeya 8, 270; 9, 27.

⁵ *Id.* 9. Also alluded to elsewhere, as in Bhāgavata ix, 7, 7; Harivaṃśa 192, 11100. The statement in Mārkaṇḍeya 9, 6, that Viśvāmitra destroyed Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons, is another instance of the lack of the historical sense, for it does not apply to these two rishis, but to two of their descendants long afterwards in the reign of king Sudās or Saudāsa; Bṛhaddevatā vi, 28, 34.

Śunaḥśepa was the victim (discussed *infra*), because no enmity arose therefrom; that ended amicably: and moreover Rohita is a child in this fable, after the rājasūya, not a full-grown young man as at that sacrifice. The Mahābhārata account shows that the rājasūya had nothing to do with Śunaḥśepa.¹

Viśvāmitra had thus been ousted. The Rāmāyaṇa corroborates this, for it says that after he raised Triśaṅku to the sky Viśvāmitra went away to Puṣkara and performed severe austerities²; and it is probable that after that discomfiture he returned with assiduity to the performance of austerities. This would help to explain the brahmanic stories of the extraordinary austerities he underwent in order to establish his brahmanic status. With his departure Devarāj Vasiṣṭha would naturally have regained the royal priesthood, and have been the chief counsellor of Hariścandra.

We come now to the well-known story about Hariścandra and Rohita, which ends in the proposed sacrifice of Śunaḥśepa, or Śunaḥśepha as often written. Of this there is no ksatriya version. All the accounts are more or less of brahmanical complexion. The genealogies all pass it over unnoticed, except that in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which is largely brahmanical. The best-known version is that in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (vii, 3, 1 ff.) and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (xv, 17-25), which are almost identical.³ Their version is given condensed concisely by Śaḍguruśiṣya in the Vedārthadīpikā on Rīgveda i, 24. They all style Hariścandra an Aikṣvāka rightly, and also Vaidhasa. This title is explained by the commentary on

¹ Mahābhārata ii, 12, 491-8.

² Rāmāyaṇa i, 61, 3-4; 62, 1-2.

³ The two texts are published together as an Appendix in Max Müller's *History of A.S.L.* The story is discussed there, pp. 408-420; by Roth in *Indische Studien*, i, 457; ii, 112; and in SBE. xlv, pp. xxxiv ff. It is noticed by Professor Macdonell in his *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 207; and by Professor Keith in JRAS. 1911, p. 988.

the Brāhmaṇa as "son of Vedhas, a king", though no such Aikṣvāka king appears to be known; and by that on the Sūtra as "descended from Vedhas, Prajāpati". *Vedhas* and *Prajāpati* are both applied to the Sun, and *Vaidhasa* seems to be an equivalent of *Vaivasvata*, stating rightly that he belonged to the Solar race. Their story runs thus:—

Hariścandra had no son, and by Nārada's advice besought the god Varuṇa for a son, promising to offer a sacrifice to him with the son. Varuṇa granted his prayer and Rohita was born. Varuṇa immediately demanded the sacrifice, but the king begged for a respite till the child was ten days old, and Varuṇa consented. After ten days Varuṇa repeated his demand, but the king obtained a further respite till the child cut his first teeth; and similarly he obtained successive reprieves from Varuṇa's reiterated demands till those teeth dropped out, till the permanent teeth appeared and till the boy was invested with the accoutrements of a kṣatriya. Then he told his son of his vow, but Rohita refused to submit and departed to the forest. Varuṇa then seized the king and the king fell ill of dropsy. Rohita heard of that and returned at the year's end, but Indra in human form met him and advised him to return to the forest. So Rohita went there and returned at the year's end, but Indra again persuaded him to go back. This happened at the end of every year, till Rohita went back to the forest for his sixth year.¹ There he met a rishi, Ajigarta Sauyavasi, with a wife and three sons, all starving,² and offered to buy one of the sons for a hundred cattle. Ajigarta refused to part with the eldest, and his wife with the youngest, and they sold him the second son, Śunahśepa. Rohita returned with him, saw his father, and said he had bought

¹ The Sūtra says, the seventh year.

² The Sūtra says Ajigarta was about to eat one of his sons, apparently Śunahśepa.

Śunaḥśepa as a victim in his own stead. So the king proposed the substitution and Varuṇa accepted it, a brahman being better than a kṣatriya. The king then proceeded to celebrate the rājasūya with Śunaḥśepa as the victim. Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha, and Ayāśya were the several priests. As no one would immolate Śunaḥśepa, his father Ajigarta bound him to the post for a hundred cattle, and proceeded to slay him for a hundred more. Śunaḥśepa then uttered various verses and hymns to various gods. Indra gave him a golden chariot, his bonds became loose and he was freed; and the king also was cured of his disease. Śunaḥśepa uttered more hymns and completed the sacrifice. Then the question arose, whose son he was to be, and the great rishis said he was to choose for himself, so he chose Viśvāmitra as his father. He refused his father Ajigarta's entreaties to return to his Āṅgīrasa family, and repudiated him because of his unnatural conduct. He was then called Devarāta, as the gods had given him to Viśvāmitra, and Viśvāmitra placed him above his own sons, making him his eldest son.

The Bhāgavata (ix, 7, 7-27) tells the same story, curtailing greatly all the final portion about the sacrifice. It says Indra appeared as an aged brahman and persuaded Rohita to go back to the forest year by year. It does not call the sacrifice a rājasūya, but merely says—"by the human sacrifice being freed from his abdominal disease Hariścandra sacrificed to Varuṇa and the other gods"; and adds that Indra gave the king a golden chariot. It makes no mention of Ajigarta's part at the sacrifice, nor even says explicitly that Śunaḥśepa was released. This Purāṇa also notices Viśvāmitra's adoption of Śunaḥśepa Ajigarta in ix, 16, 30-32.

The Brahma Purāṇa (ch. 104) tells much the same story, but narrates it in connexion with certain tirthas on the R. Godāvarī in a mātmya of that river; and in their laudation says—Hariścandra propitiated Varuṇa there.

Rohita departing to the forest went there, he bought Śunahśepa there, and there the sacrifice took place. That is, of course, all misapplied for the purposes of the mähātmya, but in other respects the story largely agrees, except that—it says nothing about Rohita's returning year by year and being persuaded to go back to the forest, it does not call the sacrifice a rājasūya, nor make mention of Ajigarta's part thereat or of Śunahśepa's uttering hymns. On the other hand, it says—a heavenly voice declared beforehand that the sacrifice would be complete without Śunahśepa; when he was bound to the post, Viśvāmitra made an announcement about the sacrifice, but added "let the munis and gods preserve him", and all agreed; and the gods, especially Varuṇa, directed that the sacrifice would be complete without slaying him.

The Mahābhārata summarizes the story thus¹:—Reika's son Śunahśepa, who became the victim at Hariścandra's sacrifice, after earnestly propitiating the gods was delivered from the great sacrifice; he obtained sonship to wise Viśvāmitra.

The Rāmāyaṇa (i, 61 and 62) tells the same story, but in very different form, calling the king Ambariṣa:—Some time after king Triśaṅku was raised to the sky, king Ambariṣa wished to offer a sacrifice, but Indra carried off the sacrificial victim, and the brahman told the king he must bring that victim back or a man. The king searched for it everywhere without success, and then came across the Bhārgava rishi Reika with his wife and sons at Mt. Bhṛgutuṅga.² He asked Reika to sell one of the sons as a victim. Reika withheld the eldest and his wife the youngest, and the second son, Śunahśepa, then offered

¹ xiii, 3, 186-7; the only passage where Śunahśepa is mentioned. For *Hariscandra* in the Calcutta edition read *Hariścandra*.

² Bhṛgutuṅga is placed in the North region, apparently not far west of the sources of the Ganges; Mahābhārata i, 215, 7812-13, iii, 90, 8394-6, and 130, 10555.

himself. The king bought him for a thousand cattle and immense riches, and took him off in his chariot. He halted at Puṣkara, and Śunaḥśepa saw his maternal uncle Viśvāmitra there and besought him to save him. Viśvāmitra asked his sons to offer themselves instead, but they refused, and he cursed them. He then taught Śunaḥśepa two hymns, which he should sing at the sacrifice and whereby he would be saved. The king took Śunaḥśepa to the sacrificial ground and bound him to the post. Then Śunaḥśepa praised Indra and Viṣṇu. Indra granted him long life, and the king completed the sacrifice.

This story is manifestly a very distorted version. The king was not Ambariṣa, unless that was a second name of Hariścandra; and that is possible, because the *Līṅga* (ii, 5, 6) narrates that Triśaṅku's son was Ambariṣa, but its tale is late and didactic. The name of the rishi differs. The story has obviously been tampered with, the most objectionable incidents being removed. Thus it says nothing about the vow, nor consequently of Varuṇa's insistence on a human sacrifice, but instead makes the trouble arise out of a piece of wanton mischief committed by Indra, and the human victim is merely suggested as an alternative. It does away with the inhumanity of the rishi's selling his son by making Śunaḥśepa offer himself as a victim. This version may be certainly put aside as a perversion, like its preceding story of Triśaṅku which was considered in the former paper; and no other authority, as far as I am aware, supports it.¹

The story as given by the Brāhmaṇa, the Śūtra, the Vedārthadīpikā, and the Brahma and Bhāgavata Puranas, which all agree substantially, may now be considered. In all these books the story, though of brahmanical complexion, is not like many brahmanical tales, marred by exaggerated, absurd, and impossible particulars. Its

¹ Vasistha's Lawbook, xvii, 30-2, says king Hariścandra bought the son of Ajigarta Sauyavasi: SBE. xiv, 87. See p. 61, note ⁴.

incidents are narrated in a matter-of-fact way and are all possible, with nothing superhuman in them except the references to Varuṇa and Indra (as to which suggestions will be made), so that it may relate what actually happened. Hence it may rightly be reviewed in the light of ordinary motives and conduct. Accordingly I shall take the story as the plain tale it professes to be, deal with it stage by stage, set out the facts alleged in each stage, point out the inferences and conclusions that arise naturally therefrom, and consider the circumstances, motives, and conduct that they obviously suggest. So treated, the story constitutes another interesting chapter in the traditional history of Ayodhyā.

King Hariścandra was childless and made a vow that if Varuṇa would bestow a son on him he would sacrifice the son to him. Accordingly he obtained a son Rohita, and Varuṇa demanded the sacrifice as soon as the babe was born. These are the facts alleged. It was certainly an extraordinary vow, to promise to sacrifice his son at its birth; and it seems hardly credible he should have made it, for the yearning of childless kings for sons is often mentioned as intense, and the sacrifice of a son earnestly prayed for would have violated that yearning with the most poignant anguish. It was not a religious rite, such as the immolation of infants, but an altogether exceptional vow. It is not comparable with the proposed sacrifice of Isaac, because they differ radically in circumstances, motives, and conduct. A king might sacrifice a son to gain some far greater benefit, and such a deed is alleged of Sahadeva's son Somaka,¹ king of North Pañcāla, who (it is said) sacrificed his only son Jantu in order that he might obtain a hundred sons. That deed is comparable with the sacrifice by Mesha, king of Moab, of his eldest son.² The story of Somaka is narrated in the

¹ The *kumārāḥ Sāhadevyaḥ* of Rīgveda iv, 15, 7-10.

² 2 Kings iii, 26-7.

Mahābhārata,¹ and is briefly alluded to in five Puranas²; but the present story is quite different, because the sacrifice of Rohita had no such ulterior object, and the vow was purely disastrous like Jephthah's rash vow.³

However, let us accept the vow as alleged. The question immediately arises, who suggested it? It seems incredible that the king himself could have conceived such a self-destructive idea, and it is more probable that someone else suggested it. We cannot say who could have done so⁴; but in a religious matter of this kind the king would certainly not have acted without consulting his great family priest Vasiṣṭha, and only strong influence could have induced him to add the vow of sacrificing his dearest hopes. One inference then appears clear, that Vasiṣṭha knew of the vow and allowed it to stand till the son was born.

When Rohita was born Varuṇa demanded the sacrifice, but the king succeeded by repeated excuses in staving off his reiterated demands, till Rohita was invested with the accoutrements of a kṣatriya, which the Brahma says was in his 16th year. What are the obvious inferences from these facts? The demands would have been made by some priest speaking in Varuṇa's name. Could anyone have gone on pressing such a demand on the king for fifteen years without Vasiṣṭha's cognizance? The king did his utmost to escape from the sacrifice. Obviously it was meant to be real; otherwise, if it were only formal and nominal and Rohita would not be actually immolated,

¹ Mahābhārata iii, 127, 10471-123, 10499.

² In the genealogy of the North Pāñcāla dynasty. The oldest version is in Vāyu 32, 209-10 and Matsya 50, 15-16, which agree. The Viṣṇu (iv, 19, 18) is brief, makes no mention of the sacrifice, and modifies Jantu's position. Brahma 13, 100 and Harivaṃśa 32, 1792-3 (which agree) modify the version further, strike out the reference to the sacrifice, and alter Jantu's position completely.

³ Judges xi, 30-5.

⁴ Here we probably miss the aid a kṣatriya version would have given.

there was no reason why the king should not have complied, satisfied Varuṇa, and regained his son. It was thus a matter of the greatest religious importance. Here again he could not have gone on temporizing all those years without consulting Vasiṣṭha and seeking for sympathy and aid from him. Vasiṣṭha was the priest who, from his commanding position, could and should have saved him by devising some means for propitiating Varuṇa without the actual performance of such an inhuman deed, because, as the story says, that was actually done ultimately without much difficulty when a brahman was substituted for Rohita. Yet the accounts give no suggestion that he took any such line of conduct, though the matter was a vital one to the king and the dynasty. It is incredible that he could have had nothing to do with it all those years. The inference then is obvious, Vasiṣṭha either permitted the demand or acquiesced in it; he did nothing to propitiate Varuṇa or save the king; and thus he virtually supported the demand that Rohita should be sacrificed.

This is not an argument from mere silence which is of no import. The silence is extraordinary. This religious matter concerned Vasiṣṭha most intimately as the royal priest during fifteen years. We should expect to hear of him in connexion with it; yet he is never even alluded to. The silence is contrary to all ordinary conduct, unnatural, and therefore highly significant. He cannot be absolved from the ordinary inferences. Nor does this conclusion do him injustice. As shown in the former paper, he had acquiesced in the harsh punishment of Satyavrata, and had sternly and relentlessly enforced it during twelve years of famine. What he was now doing was precisely similar; he acquiesced in an unwise vow and allowed the demand for the sacrifice of Rohita during fifteen years, making no effort to save Rohita. The sacrifice could not be forced, for fear of the king and the kṣatriyas. It could

only be brought about by steady pressure on the king to make him carry it out himself, and that steady pressure Vasiṣṭha allowed and did nothing to mitigate.

We now come to the third stage. When Rohita was accoutred as a kṣatriya, the king told him of the vow. Rohita refused compliance and departed to the forest. The king then fell ill, as a punishment from Varuṇa. Rohita heard of that and returned¹ at the year's end to see his father, but was dissuaded by Indra in human form and persuaded to go back to the forest. This was repeated at the end of each year till Rohita departed to the forest for the sixth or seventh year. Let us study these incidents. Rohita's refusal was natural, and, boy though he was, his best way of escape was to face exile. Grief for the departure of his only son, after all the anxiety of the past years, would naturally have preyed on the king and produced illness. The terms used denote dropsy; yet perhaps in the crude diagnosis of those days they may not mean more than some complaint with abdominal enlargement. It would be a natural remark to say that Varuṇa had punished him for failing in his vow.

Rohita would naturally have returned to see his father, and the hard forest life would have produced homesickness. Someone met him, dissuaded him and induced him to go back to the forest. The first question that arises is, was this advice friendly or unfriendly? The advice was to go abroad and keep on moving about, as that was in various ways better than remaining still, according to the Brāhmaṇa and the Sūtra. No doubt

¹ The Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra say "returned to the village", even when he returned finally with Śunahśepa to his father at Ayodhyā. This seems a brahmanical touch. The brahmins who composed such works lived away in the forests and were practically conversant only with villages. Would a kṣatriya ballad have called Ayodhyā a *grāma*? This word suggests that the author of this brahmanic version knew nothing of towns. The Bhāgavata says "village" at first, but afterwards "city".

these statements must not be pressed too far, because they may be a late brahmanical exposition framed to fill in details; yet, looked at in any way, there was nothing friendly in the advice. To urge on a very young prince, who had been nurtured as an only son amid the best conditions in Ayodhyā, indefinite years of hard wandering, with no suggestion of alleviation ultimately, was little better than mocking at his youthful feelings and natural expectations. On the first occasion the adviser said Indra would be his friend, but the story nowhere says or even implies that Indra¹ ever befriended him in any way during the exile. Indra never alleviated his hard lot nor suggested any means of deliverance. Plainly the advice was not friendly.

Who, then, was this adviser? The Bhāgavata says he was an aged brahman, and the Vedārthadīpikā and the commentaries on the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra say, a brahman. The circumstances corroborate this. He could not have been an ordinary person. Only some one of acknowledged position, either a brahman or a kṣatriya, could have turned a prince away. No one of the royal house nor even a kṣatriya would have been likely to keep the boy away from seeing his father, for Rohita might well have seen him and departed again. That person could then only have been a brahman, as is stated. He is said to have been Indra in human form, but a strange brahman, who professed to be Indra, would hardly have made Rohita repress his filial longings and go back into exile. The brahman must have been one whom he knew, and whose advice he could not well have flouted. No brahman could have done that five years and kept it secret from Vasiṣṭha's cognizance, because the king was ill, the chief power naturally devolved largely on Vasiṣṭha, and Rohita's movements would have been a matter of great concern at Ayodhyā. Vasiṣṭha, then, must have known that Rohita

¹ Nor if Indra means Devarāj Vasiṣṭha himself, see p. 54.

was sent back, and have at least acquiesced in it, for reasons similar to those given above.

The circumstances point to Vasiṣṭha himself as this brahman, for he was then of mature age, and the gratuitous introduction of Indra, who had no concern with this matter, suggests that "Indra" here is a misunderstanding of Vasiṣṭha's name Devarāj, just as it was pointed out in the former paper that confusion between the two names turned the contest between Viśvāmitra and Devarāj (Vasiṣṭha) about Triśanku into the absurd Rāmāyaṇa fable of a great conflict between Viśvāmitra and Indra. Vasiṣṭha could easily have kept himself informed of Rohita's movements by the well-known use of spies and have met him on his return. It is not derogatory to him to suppose that he did that, for he would have done only what a god is said to have done. The fact that the story brings in a god as a brahman to intervene in a matter that did not concern him, is an implied declaration that this brahman was no ordinary or strange person, but one of high position, just such indeed as Vasiṣṭha. Rohita could not well have disregarded Vasiṣṭha's own injunctions, and only such authority could have sent him back to the forest year after year, although his home-longings must have grown stronger as his exile was protracted. If Devarāj did that, it was an easy piece of brahmanical confusion to say that Indra appeared in human form and did it. The introduction of Indra without cause into these, otherwise matter-of-fact, incidents strongly suggests some such misunderstanding. This conclusion does no injustice to Vasiṣṭha, for it merely shows that he was repeating towards Rohita much the same treatment as he had dealt to Satyavrata, namely, keeping him away from Ayodhyā and in practical exile continuously.

A further consideration of the circumstances suggests a reason for such conduct. Who was interested in keeping Rohita in exile? No one but those who had been

demanding that he should be sacrificed. If he could not be sacrificed, the next best course was to keep him in exile. The king was ill and Vasiṣṭha was in power. If the king died and Rohita was continuously absent to escape being sacrificed, the kingdom would obviously fall into Vasiṣṭha's hands, and it would be difficult for Rohita to return and claim it with Varuṇa's demand impending over him. Had Rohita been sacrificed, the kingdom would have fallen into the hands of Vasiṣṭha or his family on the king's death; and so also if he escaped but were kept in continuous exile. Either way the outcome would be to Vasiṣṭha's advantage and no one else's. These are simple and obvious reflections. Vasiṣṭha therefore knew to what result these manœuvres tended, and, if he did not actively direct them, he certainly did nothing to counteract them. It is an elementary maxim, that a man intends the results to which his actions naturally and obviously lead. Plainly, then, Vasiṣṭha intended that Rohita should be got rid of in one way or the other, and that he should recover the kingdom which he had lost through Satyavrata's restoration. His position now was stronger, for Rohita's predicament was worse than Satyavrata's, because Satyavrata had been only banished, but Rohita's very life was forfeit under a demand asserted in the name of a god.¹

In the fourth stage Rohita went back to the forest for his sixth or seventh year. There he met the rishi Ajigarta with his wife and three sons, all starving, and bought the second son Śunahśepa for a hundred cattle. A hundred cattle seem to have been an ordinary price for a man, judging from other allusions. He returned with him to Ayodhyā, and the king proposed and Varuṇa

¹ This outcome would be even clearer if, as seems probable, there was no other near heir to the throne; for Satyavrata had been an only son, so was Rohita, and, though the story does not definitely say so, yet its general tenor suggests that Hariścandra also was an only son.

(that is, his priest) accepted the substitution of Śunahśepa as the victim. Rohita would have been anxious to find some way of deliverance, and it would have been a very natural thought on meeting the wretched brahman family to buy one of the sons as a victim in his own stead. They in their starving condition might have clutched at relief by accepting his offer. By it one member would die but all the rest would escape; otherwise death faced them all, as they were.¹ This time nothing kept Rohita away from his father, though the old reasons were still good for Indra's trying to dissuade him. Varuṇa (that is, his priest) accepted the substitution, because sacrificially a brahman was better than a kṣatriya. Nothing is said about Vasiṣṭha here, and naturally so; for, whether he had been at the back of all the scheming or not, neither he nor anyone else could oppose the substitution without betraying that the aim had been, not the offer of a fitting sacrifice, but the life of Rohita himself. Obviously there was no choice for anyone but to consent.

We have now reached a point where the foregoing exposition of the facts alleged may be tested. If that be sound, what would be the natural consequences? Obviously Vasiṣṭha's interest in the performance of the vow had ceased. The immolation of a poor brahman youth could bring no benefit or advantage to him or anyone, and would be revolting to all the priests at the ceremony. The substitution had completely altered the whole position. A human sacrifice was no longer of any

¹ This is practically the view that Manu takes when he says, "Aṅgarta when famished approached to kill his son, and did not sin because he was seeking relief from hunger" (x, 105)—evidently following the Sūtra story (p. 45, note ²). In commenting thereon Medhātithi ineptly explains (as I understand it) that Aṅgarta did not eat raw flesh or carrion (*kravyāda*); but Kullūka and Rāghavānanda refer this to Aṅgarta's preparing to slay his son at the sacrifice, quite forgetting that he was no longer famished then, since he had received a hundred cattle for selling his son and another hundred for binding him. The other commentators offer no explanation.

use. Still, manifestly, that could not be openly declared, because to avow that would betray what the real intention had been. The only course now possible was to proceed formally with the sacrifice, and yet devise some plan for announcing that Varuṇa was satisfied without the immolation, and for releasing Śunaḥśepa. Further, since the scheming had completely failed, it would be natural for Vasiṣṭha to take no prominent part in the proceedings, and prudent for him to propitiate the king, whose interests he had betrayed, covertly if not overtly, all those years. These conclusions arise naturally and obviously from the foregoing exposition, and the sequel confirms it by showing that such was exactly what happened.

We come now to the sacrifice, the details of which have been narrated above. The Brāhmaṇa, Sūtra, and Vedārthadīpikā call it a *rājasūya*, but that seems a clear mistake. The *rājasūya* marked Hariścandra's consecration as king, or *saṃrāj*, more than twenty years earlier, as already explained. This sacrifice had nothing to do with his consecration, but was merely the fulfilment of an extraordinary vow that he made after he had reigned some time and no son was born to him. Accordingly, the Bhāgavata and Brahma rightly do not call it a *rājasūya*, nor do the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. The brahmanic books have confused the two sacrifices.

The priests who officiated at it were Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, and Ayāśya; and it may be noted that Viśvāmitra's joining with those brahmans, and especially with Vasiṣṭha who had denied his brahmanhood, shows clearly that his brahmanhood was now established. Vasiṣṭha was naturally there as the royal priest. How Viśvāmitra came to be present is suggested by the Rāmāyaṇa, for it says (as mentioned above) that Śunaḥśepa appealed to his maternal uncle Viśvāmitra at Puṣkara for deliverance, and Viśvāmitra taught him two hymns. Viśvāmitra may also, quite naturally, have

followed him to Ayodhyā if they were so related, notwithstanding his former discomfiture, for his brahmanhood was now established; hence the question of relationship, which touches both him and Jamadagni, is of importance.

The Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra make Ajigarta and Śunaḥśepa *Āngirasa*s; and also call Ajigarta *Sauyavasi*, said to mean "son of Sūyavas". The Vedārthadipikā says nothing about these particulars, nor the Brhaddevatā, but the Brahma apparently corroborates them about the latter, for it relates a fable about the punishments inflicted on Ajigarta for selling his son and calls his father Suyava¹; yet it may have borrowed this name from them, for the fable is brahmanical. The brahman *varṇas* in the Puranas throw no light on these points, because they make no mention among the *Āngirasa*s² of Sūyavas or Ajigarta, nor of course of Śunaḥśepa, because he became a *Kauśika* by Viśvāmītra's adoption of him.³ All the other authorities which notice Śunaḥśepa's paternity declare, as far as I am aware, that he was a Bhārgava. Four Puranas support that statement with a different genealogy, making him second son of *Ṛcika* Aurva and younger brother of Jamadagni,⁴ thus:—

Aurvasyaivam *Ṛcikasya* Satyavatyām mahā-manāḥ
Jamadagnis tapo-vīryāj jajñe brahma-vidān varāḥ
madhyamaś ca Śunaḥśepaḥ Śunaḥpucchah kaniṣṭhakah.

¹ Brahma 150, 2, *Suyavasyātma*jo: hence in this story in 104, 45, *tu Vayasaḥ sutam* should probably be *Suyavasaḥ sutam*.

² Brahmāṇḍa ii, 32, 107-111; iii, 1, 101-113; Vāyu 59, 98-102; 65, 97-108; Matsya 196. Nor in the Bhārgava *varṇa*, see p. 59, note ¹.

³ So Brahma 10, 64; and Harivaṁśa 27, 1470, 1774 explicitly.

⁴ Brahmāṇḍa iii, 66, 63-4; Vāyu 91, 92; Brahma 10, 53-4; Harivaṁśa 27, 1456-7. They add the following lines (immaterial mistakes and variations being omitted), in which the Brahma and Harivaṁśa put the last line in front:—

Viśvāmītrasya putras tu Śunaḥśepo 'bhavan munīḥ
Hariścandrasya yajñe tu paśutve niyataḥ sa vai
devair dattaḥ Śunaḥśepo Viśvāmītrāya vai punaḥ
devair dattaḥ sa vai yasmād Devarātas tato 'bhavat
Viśvāmītrasya putrāṇāṁ Śunaḥśepo 'grajaḥ smṛtaḥ.

The Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata also say, as mentioned above, that Śunahśepa was Rēika's son. Rēika was a famous Bhārgava rishi¹; hence this genealogy makes Śunahśepa a Bhārgava, and four Puranas say so explicitly.² It seems therefore that all these authorities must outweigh the statement in the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra that Śunahśepa was an Āṅgīrasa, just as they show that the latter are wrong in calling the sacrifice a rājasūya.

If the two statements about Śunahśepa's paternity be put together (and a total mistake in so famous a story seems hardly credible), it would follow that Rēika and Ajigarta are one and the same person; and the allusions to them do not discredit this inference, because where either appears the other is absent. Thus in the Vedic literature Ajigarta is found in this story but Rēika not at all.³ Rēika is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and Ajigarta never.⁴ Similarly in the Rāmāyaṇa, I believe.⁵ In the Puranas Rēika is often introduced, but Ajigarta never, as far as I am aware, except in this story of Śunahśepa.⁶ Only the Brahma and Bhāgavata, I believe, mention both, Rēika (besides other allusions) as marrying Gādhi's daughter Satyavati⁷ in the genealogy of the Kānyakubja dynasty, and Ajigarta in this story; and the Brahma actually combines both versions by making Śunahśepa son of Rēika in that genealogy and son of Ajigarta in this story. It seems that Ajigarta appears in

¹ Mahābhārata iii, 115, 11046, 11055; xii, 49, 1721, 1726, 1731. Rāmāyaṇa i, 61, 16-17. Brahmāṇḍa iii, 66, 37-8. Vāyu 91, 66-8. Brahma 10, 29-30. Harivaṃśa 27, 1431-2. Viṣṇu iv, 7, 5-6. Also in the Bhārgava vaṃśa, Brahmāṇḍa iii, 1, 93-5; Vāyu 65, 90-2; and by his patronymic Aurva in Matsya 125, 15, 16, etc.

² Brahma 10, 64; Harivaṃśa 27, 1470, 1774; Viṣṇu iv, 7, 17; and so Bhāgavata ix, 16, 30, 32, though it gives him the patronymic Ājigarta.

³ See Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*.

⁴ See Sørensen's *Index*.

⁵ Rēika also in Rāmāyaṇa i, 34, 7, as Satyavati's husband.

⁶ Unless possibly it may occur in a list of rishis of all periods jumbled together, such as is sometimes introduced.

⁷ See JRAS. 1910, p. 35; 1914, p. 279.

brahmanical tales, and *Ṛeika* in kṣatriya traditions or tales that are only partially brahmanical, so that *Ṛeika* belongs to the Epics and Puranas, while *Ajigarta* is distinctly brahmanic. Now it is a curious coincidence that *Ṛeika* could appear as *Ajiga* in Prakrit form, just as, inversely, the brahmanic *Gāthi* or *Gāthīn* = the Epic and Puranic *Gādhī*. *Ṛeika* could yield *Ajiga*, but not conversely. Is it possible that, as the conduct narrated of this rishi was shameful, the brahmans took the Prakrit name and modified it to *Ajigarta*, "he who has nothing to swallow," thus making it square with the condition attributed to him? It would be a less absurd name than *Śunaḥśepa*.

It thus appears that of these two genealogies the *Ajigarta* version is brahmanic and the *Ṛeika* version kṣatriya. The latter (but not the former) makes *Viśvamiṭra* maternal uncle of *Śunaḥśepa*, as the *Rāmāyaṇa* says, because he was *Satyavatī*'s younger brother; but otherwise it raises a difficulty, because *Ṛeika* and his princess-wife *Satyavatī* could hardly have fallen into such desperate distress as is related of *Ajigarta*, and because *Jamadagni* was of the same mature age as *Viśvamiṭra*,¹ had married a princess of *Ayodhyā*² and had sons, so that he could not well have been *Śunaḥśepa*'s elder brother in the wretched circumstances alleged—much less could he as such have appeared as one of the great priests at this sacrifice of his younger brother. One can hardly discard this kṣatriya version, however, which is better supported than the brahmanic version, and the following suggestion may be offered, which solves all the difficulties except the supposed patronymic *Sauyavasi*:—*Śunaḥśepa* was not *Ṛeika*'s own son but a grandson, for the foregoing verses (p. 58) may have condensed the genealogy, as often happens³; and his father *Ajigarta* was a younger son

¹ JRAS. 1910, p. 35.

² JRAS. 1914, p. 279.

³ Thus *Rāma* is called *Ṛeika*'s son (*nandana*), instead of grandson, in *Mahābhārata* iii, 99, 8658.

of Reika and a younger brother of Jamadagni, since Reika had many sons.¹ Thus Jamadagni would be Śunaḥśepa's uncle; and Viśvāmitra would be his grandmother's brother, and might be colloquially styled his maternal uncle. Śunaḥśepa would thus be a youth as befits the story. If this were so, the presence of Jamadagni and Viśvāmitra at the sacrifice would be quite natural.

Ayāśya was an Āṅgīrasa² and is mentioned several times in the *vamśa* of the Āṅgīrasas.³ He as a leading Āṅgīrasa might have been invited and might naturally attend, if Śunaḥśepa was an Āṅgīrasa; but, if Śunaḥśepa was not such, no particular reason is apparent why he was present.

Ajigarta also is said to have been present, and that was probable, because he must have gone with Rohita to Ayodhyā to get the hundred cattle, since Rohita could hardly (as the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra say) have given them in the forest where he had none,⁴ and because he might naturally have been there to see the end of these incidents.

The ceremonies were begun, but no one was willing, according to the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra, even to bind Śunaḥśepa to the post. Why was there that great reluctance even to prepare for the sacrifice, after Varuṇa had been demanding it twenty years, and for failure in which he had stricken the king with illness? Manifestly, no one wanted this sacrifice, even those who had been demanding the sacrifice of Rohita. Ajigarta may have

¹ Brahmanḍa iii, 1, 98-9; Vāyu 65, 95; Mahābhārata i, 66, 2613. This does not preclude some etymological connexion between *Ajigarta* and *Reika*.

² Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, i, p. 32.

³ Brahmanḍa ii, 32, 110; iii, 1, 105, 106, 110; and the corresponding passages in Vāyu 59, 101; 65, 100, 101, 106, where the name is more or less corrupted. Also Matsya 196, 4, where he is called *Ajasya*. He is not mentioned in the Mahābhārata, *vide* Sørensen's *Index*.

⁴ This may explain the statement that Hariscandra *alias* Ambariṣa bought Śunaḥśepa (p. 48), because the cattle would have been the king's, and he would have ratified the transaction.

bound Śunaḥśepa and prepared as if to slay him for a consideration, as the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra say, but their whole account of the proceedings seems rather to be a brahmanic dilatation on the congenial topic of a sacrifice, because the Bhāgavata passes over this stage very curtly, and the Brahma contradicts it by saying that a celestial voice declared beforehand that the sacrifice would be complete without Śunaḥśepa. The Brahma's statement accords with the circumstances, for it is not probable, if there was a real intention at first to immolate Śunaḥśepa, that Jamadagni and Vīśvāmītra would have joined to sacrifice him if he was their near kinsman; nor that Ayāśya would have joined, supposing Śunaḥśepa was an Āṅgīrasa. The presence of these great rishis is thus, on either supposition, material corroboration of the Brahma's statement, that it had been decided beforehand that Śunaḥśepa would not be immolated. The Brahma's further statement seems therefore true, that Vīśvāmītra, after making a formal announcement, added, "Let the munis and the gods preserve him"; and all agreed.

It is manifest, then, that the sacrifice of Śunaḥśepa was from the first purely nominal and formal.¹ He was bound, he uttered one or more hymns (the Rāmāyaṇa says Vīśvāmītra had taught him two in anticipation), some one or all of the rishis declared on behalf of Varuṇa and the gods that they were satisfied, and he was freed from his bonds.² This confirms the inference drawn above from the substitution (p. 57) that the ceremony would be carried out only in form.

¹ There is nothing in Rīgveda i, 24, 12, 13, and v, 2, 7, inconsistent with this.

² The Taittirīya (v, 2, 1, 3) and Kāthaka (xix, 11) Saṁhitās say Varuṇa seized Śunaḥśepa, and he obtained deliverance from Varuṇa's bond. If this means more than that Varuṇa accepted and took him (as a substitute) and Śunaḥśepa was freed, it is a brahmanical mistake, for there was no reason whatever why Varuṇa should afflict this hapless and innocent brahman youth.

The introduction of the gods is, of course, a piece of brahmanic elaboration; but the statement calls for notice, that Indra gave a golden chariot, to Śunahśepa according to the Brāhmaṇa, Sūtra, and Vedārthadipikā,¹ or to Hariścandra according to the Bhāgavata. The latter is far more probable, because a golden chariot would have been a strange and useless present to the poor youth, but a very appropriate gift to the king. Why should Indra be said to intervene and make the present? The matter did not concern him but Varuṇa. If, then, the more reasonable Bhāgavata version be accepted, it may be suggested that Indra here is another misunderstanding of Devarāj. That Devarāj should present a golden chariot to the king was quite probable, because a costly offering was his best means of inducing the king, to whose interests he had been false more than twenty years, to condone his conduct. As the great priest and minister of Ayodhyā, who had held the kingdom twelve years during Satyavrata's exile, he must have been a very wealthy noble, well able to make such a present. The Bhāgavata is no doubt right, and the brahmanical books have probably made a mistake in this point just as in calling the sacrifice a rājasūya: if so, this explanation agrees with the third inference made in anticipation above (p. 57).

The Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra say the king was freed from his illness after Śunahśepa's release, but the Bhāgavata implies he was cured before the sacrifice. The difference is not important, for intense relief and joy at the deliverance of his son may quite possibly have brought about a speedy restoration of his health before and after the sacrifice.

No action is attributed to Vasiṣṭha at the sacrifice (apart from his status at it), though he was the royal priest. That was natural, if the foregoing estimate of

¹ So also Bṛhaddevatā iii, 103, adding ineptly the epithet "celestial".

his conduct be sound, but hardly otherwise. He avoided prominence, according to the second inference suggested above (p. 57). The leading part is assigned to Viśvāmitra in the *Brahma*, and the *Bhāgavata* adds that he bestowed a blessing on the king. It looks as if he had been the moving spirit in the happy *dénouement*. He would have brought deliverance here just as he had brought it to Satyavrata.

Viśvāmitra adopted Śunaḥśepa as his son. The account of this in the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Sūtra* may be true generally,¹ but reads rather as an amplification of the statement made in the story and elsewhere,² that the gods (that is, their priests) gave Śunaḥśepa to him; and two expressions indicate as much. They make Śunaḥśepa address Viśvāmitra as *rāja-putra* and *Bharata-ṛṣabha*. The latter is a mistake, an excellent instance of the lack of the historical sense among brahman authors. Bharata was son of Sakuntalā, who was daughter of a Viśvāmitra, and it is impossible that this, the first, Viśvāmitra (even if she were his daughter) could have been called "leader of the Bharatas"³ before they had come into existence. The term may belong to a much later Viśvāmitra, probably the Viśvāmitra who was priest to king Sudās⁴ (Sudāsa) of the North Pañcāla dynasty which was descended from Bharata.⁵ The *Brāhmaṇa* and *Sūtra* have confused the two, thus betraying the touch of a hand not ancient. The other term *rāja-putra*, though true, is wholly inappropriate in Śunaḥśepa's mouth. Viśvāmitra was much older than he, had been a king, and was now an acknowledged brahman of the highest position, the chief actor

¹ Vasistha's Lawbook goes further and says (xvii, 33-5) at first the officiating priests each wanted to have Śunaḥśepa as his son—very improbable considering his condition. SBE. xiv, 87.

² See p. 58, note ⁴; and *Bhāgavata* ix, 16, 31-2.

³ Max Müller, *History of A.S.L.*, pp. 416-17.

⁴ *Rigveda* iii, 53, 9, 12. *Bṛhaddevatā* iv, 106; perhaps 112.

⁵ JRAS. 1910, pp. 23, 26, 28; 1914, pp. 284, 288, 296.

here. To make this poor brahman youth, who desired to be adopted by him, call him by the kṣatriya title, merely "king's son", is similarly significant.

The Rāmāyaṇa (i, 62, 4) makes Śunahśepa say in his appeal to Viśvāmitra for deliverance at Puṣkara, "I have no mother, nor father, relations or kinsmen"; implying apparently that he had by the sale lost his status in his own family. This is also implied by the question that was asked, whose son he was to be (since he merited every one's pity), for it could hardly arise unless he had lost his status. If so, it was necessary that he should be adopted into another family. As he was a brahman bought by a kṣatriya, and his deliverer Viśvāmitra was a brahman of kṣatriya origin, there was an appropriateness in Viśvāmitra's adopting him. If this opinion on the question was expressed, it would be natural to say that he had been given by the gods to Viśvāmitra, and for Viśvāmitra to give him a good new name in his new family instead of his repulsive old name "Dog's-tail"; hence he was called Deva-rāta, "God-given." Moreover, as he was a brahman by birth, there was a certain propriety in Viśvāmitra's giving him precedence over his own sons, who were kṣatriyas by birth, and constituting him the eldest son—exalting him, not so much as a defender and voucher of their brahmanhood¹ (for that was now established) as in acknowledgment of his superior right by birth.

This examination of the story according to ordinary motives and conduct shows that it is quite a possible one and, when read in continuation of the story of Satyavrata Triśaṅku discussed in the former paper, quite a probable one. The earlier story is narrated in a kṣatriya ballad. Of this story there is unfortunately no truly kṣatriya account. It is related in versions that are of brahmanical


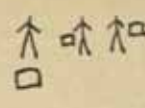
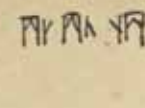

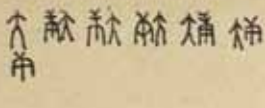
¹ Max Müller, *History of A.S.L.*, p. 416.



complexion, patently brahmanical in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra and Vedārthadīpikā, and less so in the other versions yet brahmanical even there, because the Brahma has utilized it for a brahmanical mātmya, the Bhāgavata is late and sectarian, and the Rāmāyaṇa has recast it and removed from it incidents that discredited gods and rishis. Notwithstanding this coloration, the two stories harmonize remarkably in what they say and reveal about events at Ayodhyā and especially about Devarāj Vasiṣṭha, the most powerful person there then. Hence this story does appear to relate incidents that really happened, as tested by probability and consistency. Hariścandra was a well-known king, often alluded to, and Rohita built Rohitapura according to the Harivaṃśa (13, 756).

The Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra have probably best narrated the various incidents except as regards the sacrifice. In this matter they have indulged in fanciful amplification, and have erred in calling it a rājasūya and in styling Viśvāmitra a leader of the Bharatas¹; apparently also in assigning the gift of the chariot to Śunaḥśepa and in calling him an Āṅgīrasa: while the Brahma and Bhāgavata give a simpler and more probable account here. The Brahma especially shows the existence of a different tradition that the sacrifice was formal and nominal. It has indeed taken liberties in transferring important incidents to the Godāvarī; still, that was a device of priestcraft, common and deemed legitimate, in working up the mātmyas of new tirthas: but its toning down the sacrifice to be formal and nominal goes counter to the general tendency towards progressive elaboration, and is remarkable in its disagreement with the authoritative brahmanic version in the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra on a purely priestly matter. Its deviation therefrom could hardly

¹ Quite intelligibly, as the author of this version apparently lived away in the country and knew nothing of city life (p. 52, note).


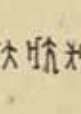
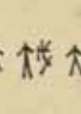
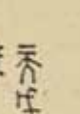
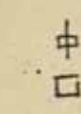
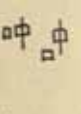
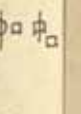
have arisen later than and in disregard of these two books, and was unnecessary for the purposes of its *māhātmya*—while it certainly accords better with the circumstances described: hence it seems intelligible only on the view that it preserves a true and ancient tradition. All the versions show the probable confusion of Devarāj Vasistha with Indra, except the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which has re-shaped the story. There can be no reasonable doubt, therefore, that this Vasistha's personal name was Devarāj.

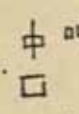
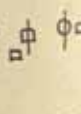
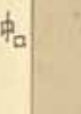
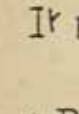
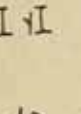











 2中
 8. Ch'ung Chi.

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




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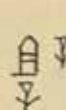
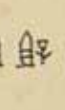

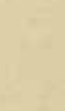
























9. Ta Mou.

10. Ch'ung Ting.

11. Pu Jen. 12. Ti Chia. 13. T'au Y.







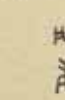











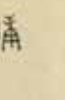

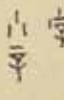
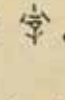
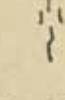
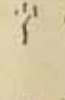


















14. T'au Hein.

16. T'au Ting.

17. Nan K'eng.



































18. Yang Chia.






19. Pan K'eng.

20. Hsiao Hein. 21. Hsiao Y.






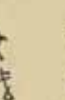
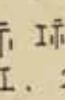








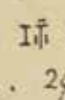
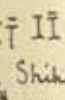
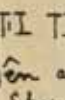
22. Wu Ting.






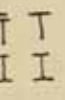
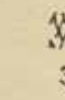
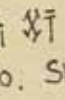
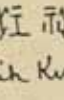
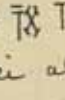
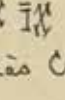
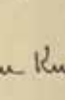
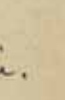
23. T'au K'eng.








24. T'au Chia.

26. K'ang Ting or K'ang T'au Ting.

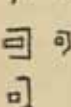
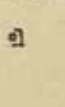
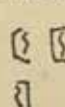
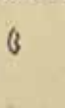
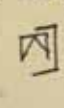
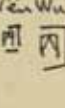



























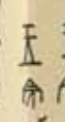
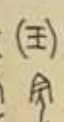
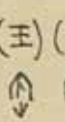
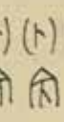
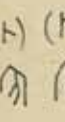
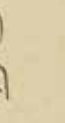
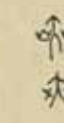
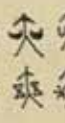
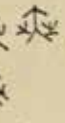
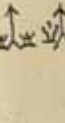
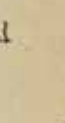
30. Shih Kuei alias Chu Kuei.

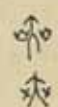
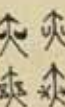
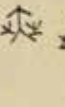
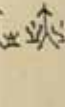

27. Wu J or Wu T'au Y.

28. Wen Ting or Wen Wu Ting.

31. Pao Ting. 31. Pao J.

32. Pao Ping.

33. Wang Pin "the Royal Guest".

34. Shih Kuei "Illustrations".

III

THE SOVEREIGNS OF THE SHANG DYNASTY, B.C. 1766-1154

By L. C. HOPKINS

IT must come some time and it shall come now, this confession of error committed and published, and by this writing recanted. The error concerns the date of the many fragments of inscribed bones exhumed in 1899 in the Honan province of North China. Contrary to the opinions of two Chinese authorities, Liu Tieh-yün and Lo Chên-yü, and of a great French scholar, E. Chavannes, I had in earlier papers attributed these relics to the period of the Chou dynasty. I now subscribe fully to the view of the above-named writers in holding them to be survivals from the previous Shang dynasty. Moreover, I am a convinced convert, and can proclaim my belief in the admirably candid words of the French politician, "*Moi, je soutiens que la chose est ainsi; et ceux qui ne pensent pas comme moi, sont des sots, des brigands, et des assassins.*"

And as we are in the way of candour, let me further say that this confession is not as meritorious as it seems, but is required by the nature of this paper. No light could be thrown on the rulers of the Shang dynasty from the inscriptions of the Honan bones unless it be assumed that the names with which we shall have to deal are those of dynastic monarchs and are used by some of their lineal descendants. If hitherto I have, to use a once-heard, never-forgotten word, "under-exaggerated" the antiquity of these inscriptions, it was not only from a desire to be on the conservative and cautious side, but specially owing to the particular influence of a term which

we shall come to in the sequel, and which, wrongly as I now believe, I took to involve Chou dynasty personages.

In pursuing this examination into the list of the Shang or Yin dynasty Sovereigns, it will be convenient to do so largely under the guidance of Lo Chên-yü, to whose zeal in the cause of Chinese archaeological research we are indebted for four volumes of photographic facsimiles of rubbings of the inscriptions on his own collection of bones. This work is entitled *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷虛書契, or Records from the Tumulus of Yin. Each volume contains two chapters or *chüan*, and references to them will be by chapter and page thus, Lo, ch. 1, p. 50. A further and most important sequel has followed later. Admirably printed and got up in Japan, with a most up-to-date photograph of the author, headed "The Master of the Shang Relics" 商遺先生, *Shang i hsien shêng*, it consists of a single large volume of 108 pages, and has for its title *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih* 殷虛書契考釋. A Critical Interpretation of the Records of the Tumulus of Yin. As this book is not divided into chapters, I refer to it only by its pages, e.g. Lo, p. 93.

I shall take as our standard of reference for the list of sovereigns the *Historical Memoirs* of Ssü-ma Ch'ien, who had, as Chavannes has shown,¹ the records of the Bamboo Books under his eyes, and seems to have considered them in the main trustworthy material. We shall see how far these memoranda of the Royal Petitioners to their ancestral protectors, fragmentary and disordered as they now are, may serve to confirm, qualify, or supplement the received series of the sovereigns of the Shang or Yin dynasty (as it was styled from the reign of P'an Kêng, the 19th of his line), according to the system of Ssü-ma Ch'ien and of the *Bamboo Books*. The list contains a roll of thirty names, as follows:—

¹ See his *Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Introduction, p. xciv, note 1.

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. Ch'êng T'ang 成湯, the
founder of the dynasty,
otherwise called T'ien I
天乙 | 15. Wu Chia 沃甲 |
| 2. Wai Ping 外丙 | 16. Tsu Ting 祖丁 |
| 3. Chung Jên 仲壬 | 17. Nan Kêng 南庚 |
| 4. Tai Chia 太甲 | 18. Yang Chia 陽甲 |
| 5. Wu Ting 沃丁 | 19. P'an Kêng 盤庚 |
| 6. Tai Kêng 太庚 | 20. Hsiao Hsin 小辛 |
| 7. Hsiao Chia 小甲 | 21. Hsiao I 小乙 |
| 8. Yung Chi 雍己 | 22. Wu Ting 武丁 |
| 9. Tai Mou 太戊 | 23. Tsu Kêng 祖庚 |
| 10. Chung Ting 仲丁 | 24. Tsu Chia 祖甲 |
| 11. Wai Jên 外壬 | 25. Lin Hsin 廩辛 |
| 12. Ho Tan Chia 河亶甲 | 26. Kêng Ting 庚丁 |
| 13. Tsu I 祖乙 | 27. Wu I 武乙 |
| 14. Tsu Hsin 祖辛 | 28. Tai Ting 太丁 |
| | 29. Ti I 帝乙 |
| | 30. Chou Hsin 紂辛 |

1. *Ch'êng T'ang* 成湯, or T'ang the Victorious as Chavannes styles him, nowhere appears under this posthumous title in the Bone inscriptions. But the *Historical Memoirs* state that his name was T'ien I 天乙. This name is equally lacking in our relics, but I argued in a previous paper¹ that this T'ien I 天乙 is a misreading of Ta I 大乙, which occurs there several times, and showed that this was also the opinion of Lo Chên-yü.

The Cycle of 60, now used for year periods, was originally applied to a sequence of days. Its range was determined by the fact that 60 is the least common multiple of 10 and 12, therefore the earliest number in which binomial groups, each consisting of one of the Ten Stems paired with one of the Twelve Branches, terminate together after a round of six of the same stems and five of the same branches. The Cycle of 60 therefore

¹ "The Archives of an Oracle": JRAS. January, 1915, pp. 58-9.

argues the prior existence of the two groups of stems and of branches.

For some reason custom decided that the posthumous or temple names of Shang sovereigns (perhaps of other classes also) should contain that one of the Ten Stems which formed part of the cycle designation of his birthday. Thus, if he were born on a day Chia Tzu 甲子, he would have Chia 甲 as the last word of his posthumous title.

These remarks may serve to introduce a pertinent note by Lo (p. 6) upon this point. He there writes: "The House of Shang, in using the name of a day as a personal name, seems to have had recourse to some single one of the Ten Stems or the Twelve Branches, without the addition of any other word. The bronze inscriptions have constant instances of such expression, as 日 甲 *jih chia*, 日 乙 *jih i*, a *chia* day, an *i* day, etc. The designations of the reigning sovereigns by the names Ta Chia 大甲, Hsiao Chia 小甲, Ta I 大乙, Hsiao I 小乙, Ta Ting 大丁, Chung Ting 中丁, are probably due to additions by later generations for the sake of distinguishing. For the 30 sovereigns of the line of Shang, according to the list in the *Historical Memoirs*, included 6 named Chia, 5 named I, 6 named Ting, 4 named Kêng, 4 named Hsin, 2 named Jên, but only one each named Ping, Mou, and Chi. If no addition had been made, later historians in their records would have had no means of showing which generation and which sovereign they referred to. But the princely successors to the throne who inherited from a father, simply styled their parent Father So-and-so. Those who inherited from an elder brother, simply styled their senior Brother So-and-so, which for their contemporaries was perfectly clear. Accordingly we may presume the expressions already particularized (in Lo's, pp. 4-5) above, Father So-and-so, Brother So-and-so, refer to sovereigns enumerated in the foregoing pages."

Here will also be the place to say that whereas four rulers of this dynasty, viz. T'ai Chia, T'ai Kêng, T'ai Mou, and T'ai Ting, are given the character 太 *t'ai* for the initial word of their names, alike in the present texts of the *Book of History*, the *Historical Memoirs*, the *Mirror of History*, and the *Bamboo Books*, yet there is no warrant for this in the contemporary inscriptions on the Bones, where 大 *ta*, great, is always used, and will govern my transliteration.

After quoting three instances of 大 乙 *Ta I* from his own collection, Lo comments as follows: "The *Historical Memoirs* write 天 乙. (So in the *Shih Wên* 釋文¹ on the *Book of History*.) The *So Yin* 索隱 quotes Ch'iao Chou 譙周 as explaining that 'T'ien, Heaven, is also 帝 *Ti*, Sovereign. The people of Yin honoured T'ang, and so styled him 天 乙'. I find," continues Lo, "that 天 *T'ien* and 大 *ta* are like in outline, and easy to confuse. Thus 大 戊 *Ta Mou* [the 9th of the dynasty] is also found in the oracular sentences written 天 戊 *T'ien Mou* (ch. 4, p. 16).² On the analogy of the names *Ta Ting*, *Ta Chia*, etc., we can tell that 大 *ta* is right, and that Ch'iao Chou's explanation is a forced one."

1a. *Ta Ting* 大 丁. The *Historical Memoirs* state that Ch'êng T'ang's heir T'ai Ting 太 丁 died before accession to the throne. The *Bamboo Books* do not mention him. But I agree with Lo's view that the 大 丁 of the Bones refers to this prince, and not to the last sovereign but two of the dynasty. The reasons will appear later. Meantime Lo's note here is, "*Mencius* and the *Historical Memoirs* both state that *Ta Ting* did not ascend the throne, and yet he is frequently mentioned in the oracular

¹ Presumably this is the relative part of the *Ching Tien Shih Wên* 經典釋文. See Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. iii, pt. i, Prolegomena, p. 205.

² The actual form there is 𠂔.

sentences. Whether this is because he was accorded the rites of sacrifice of a sovereign despite that he did not reign, or whether there is an error in the early records, we cannot ascertain."

2. *Pu Ping* 卜丙. We come now upon one of our surprises. The *Historical Memoirs* and the *Bamboo Books* agree in naming as the successor of Tang the Victorious a sovereign Wai Ping 外丙. The *Mirror of History*, on the other hand, states that he died in infancy, and omits him from the list of rulers. Now there is no Wai Ping known to the Honan Bone Inscriptions, and no Pu Ping found in the *Historical Memoirs* or *Bamboo Books*. Further, we may take note that the right-hand half of the character 外 *wai* is 卜 *pu*. It seems clear, then, that in some way there has been a misunderstanding or a miswriting of an original 卜 *pu* into the compound character 外 *wai*. Could this be due, I wonder, to the frequent practice (on the Bones at any rate) of writing the two royal names side by side? Thus, in Lo, ch. 1, p. 5, we have Pu Ping written 丙卜. In this close collocation the two characters might suggest to editors or transcribers the single seal character 外 *wai*. That, of course, would leave the 丙 *ping* out of account, and the precise history of the confusion remains unexplained. What, however, is certain, is that all the examples of this sovereign's name, and of the similar name Pu Jên 卜壬, hitherto written Wai Jên 外壬, that can be found in Lo's collection and in mine, are in horizontal alignment, not in vertical.

The brief comment made by Lo to his three examples of this royal name is: "*Mencius* and the *Historical Memoirs* both write Wai Ping 外丙. The Preface to the *Book of History* says, 'Ch'êng T'ang's decease was followed by the first year of T'ai Chia 太甲.' No mention is made of Wai Ping or Chung Jên. But these two are included by the Grand Historiographer [Ssü-ma Ch'ien], who selected from the Genealogies. As we now find the

name Pu Ping frequently occurring in the oracular sentences, it is Mencius and the Great Historian (史公) who are in the right."

3. *Chung Jên* 仲壬. Third in the list of the *Historical Memoirs* and the *Bamboo Books*, this personage is ignored by the *Mirror of History*. Nor do we find his name on the bone relics, and this absence must be noted.

4. *Ta Chia* 大甲. This sovereign is found in all the lists, including the Bones.

5. *Wu Ting* 沃丁. Although the three received lists all contain this name, it has not yet been traced in the "oracular sentences". I have, however, a strong suspicion that I have detected this Royalty passing incognito in a skilful disguise. But the proof of identity is not yet convincing enough to justify publication.

6. *Ta Kêng* 大庚. Thus styled in the *Historical Memoirs*, the *Mirror of History*, and on the Bones, the name is written Hsiao Kêng 小庚, the Lesser Kêng, in the *Bamboo Books*. It seems obvious that the latter designation must be an error, as there was no earlier ruler named Kêng to justify such a term as the Lesser Kêng. Accordingly Lo comments, "The *Historical Memoirs* agree with the oracular sentences in writing Ta Kêng; the *Bamboo Books* are in error in writing Hsiao Kêng."

7. *Hsiao Chia* 小甲. All the lists agree.

8. *Yung Chi* 雍己. Found in the received lists, but not to be discovered on the Bones. However, there is on the latter a *Chung Chi* 中己, who is unknown to the lists. I suggest that *Chung Chi* is the true and *Yung Chi* the erroneous form of the name.

9. *Ta Mou* 大戊. In all the lists. Lo cites one example, ch. 4, p. 16, where we find 𠩺, which should be read 天 *t'ien*, but may be a slip for 大 *ta* (see under No. 1). But I am bound to say that the fragment on which this scriptio occurs twice is carefully and delicately cut.

During this reign, "La dynastie Yn fut de nouveau florissante; les seigneurs lui fit retour. C'est pourquoi (*T'ai-meou*) reçut le titre de Tchong-tsong."¹

This title 中宗 *Chung Tsung* occurs once on a fragment in my collection, H. 363.

10. *Chung Ting* 中丁. In all the lists, where, but not on the Bones, it is written 仲丁.

11. *Pu Jên* 卜壬. In the previous lists this sovereign, as in the case of *Wai Ping* *alias* *Pu Ping* (No. 2), is found written *Wai Jên* 外壬. But our inscriptions prove that *Pu Jên* was the authentic title.

12. *Ho Tan Chia* 河亶甲. In the three lists, but not found under such a designation on the Bone relics. Lo Chên-yü, however, has an ingenious suggestion to make. He finds in his collection a single example of a name *Ti Chia* 帝甲, to which I can add one from my own, H. 442. He calls attention to the fact that *Tsu Chia* 祖甲, the 24th of the line, is in the work called the *San Tai Shih Piao* 三代世表, styled *Ti Chia* 帝甲. But the Bone inscriptions contain, besides *Ti Chia*, the name *Tsu Chia*. A further point against identifying our *Ti Chia* with the name in the *San Tai Shih Piao* is that, after the words *Ti Chia* on the fragment cited by Lo, occur the four characters 其逮且丁 *ch'i tai tsu ting* (apparently meaning "extending to *Tsu Ting*", the 16th sovereign). Hence, argues Lo, *Ti Chia* must have preceded *Tsu Ting*. Now preceding *Tsu Ting* there were *Ho Tan Chia* and *Wu Chia*, neither of whom appears in the oracular sentences. *Ti Chia* then, he concludes, may be one of these two.

It is soundly argued, and I can at present add nothing to Lo's reasoning.

13. *Tsu I* 且乙. Probably the most often mentioned member of the Shang dynasty on the bones. All the lists agree.

¹ See Chavannes' *Mémoires historiques, etc.*, vol. i, p. 191.

14. *Tsu Hsin* 且辛. Occurs in all the lists and on the Bones.

17. *Nan Kéng* 南庚. Also in all the lists and on the Bones.




18. *Yang Chia*. Hitherto written 陽甲, but according to Lo Chên-yü 羊甲; I suggest 𦍋甲; all having the same sound *yang*.


Lo Chên-yü has very acutely identified certain pairs of characters on the Honan Bones, presenting, it will be seen, a considerable range of variation, with the name of this sovereign, which has previously been written 陽甲. The first member of the pair, as exhibited on the Bones, varies thus, 𦍋, 𦍋, 𦍋, 𦍋, 𦍋, and Lo transcribes them all as 羊甲. On p. 2 he writes:—




“𦍋 and 𦍋 are 羊 *yang*, sheep (see the explanation in the section on characters); 羊甲 is the 陽甲 of the *Historical Memoirs*, the characters 羊 and 陽 being anciently interchanged. In the *Ku chin jên piao* 古今人表 ‘Conspectus of persons ancient and modern’, Division of the *Han Shu* or *History of the Western Han Dynasty*, we have the expression 樂陽師 *lo yang Shih*, on which an old commentator writes, ‘that is, 樂羊 *lo yang*.’ On the Stone Stele of the *sui-min hsiao-wei* 綏民校尉 Commandant for the pacifying the people,¹ occur the words 治歐羊尙書 *chih Ou-yang shang shu*, ? the chief clerk controlling Ou-yang. Here 歐羊 *Ou-yang* = 歐陽. Both cases are illustrations of the rule.”

Since the forms 𦍋 and 𦍋 are certainly 羊 *yang*, sheep, Lo has drawn the conclusion that the ampler character 𦍋 stands for the same word, and on p. 34, commenting on the numerous variants of 羊 *yang* cited from his own collection, we read:—

¹ I do not find this particular title among the *hsiao wei* enumerated in Appendix I of vol. ii of Chavannes' *Mémoires historiques*.

"The modifications of the character 羊 *yang* are very numerous, but all are pictographic. The form  depicts a sheep led by a cord. The cord is behind and not in front, because sheep walk always in front of their shepherd. The form  represents a side view. The form  also depicts the shape with the leading-cord, seen in profile."

Here I am unable to agree with Lo Chên-yü. I do not believe the last form is intended for a picture of a sheep, and the explanation of the leading-cord suggests Mary and her little lamb rather than a primitive figure of an ordinary sheep. Further, this character is clearly a rather more stylized version of the very archaic symbol , unknown to Lo, but appearing in my H. 566 as one of a series of genealogical names.¹ In this the upper part does not appear to be 羊 *yang*, sheep, at all. Again, although among the variants of the character 羊 *yang* cited by Lo are three of the supposed sheep-led-by-a-cord type, these, on reference, are all found to occur only in the sovereign's name. The word for sheep, which is frequent in our inscriptions in connexion with sacrificial victims, is never thus written either in Lo's collection or my own.

But it might be objected against me by Lo Chên-yü or another, "If you admit that the forms , , and  are all variants of the first character of Yang Chia's name, and if you further admit, as you do, that the first two of these are 羊 *yang*, sheep, how can you logically deny Lo's deduction that the last variant is equally a form of 羊 *yang*?" My answer to that would be that the first two are only abbreviations of the third and fuller form; that thus abbreviated they happen to represent the independent but homophonous character for sheep, and

¹ See "A Funeral Elegy and a Family Tree inscribed on Bone": JRAS. October, 1912, Pl. II.

were thus naturally enough employed as a sort of shorthand scription of the true character Yang of Yang Chia, the name of the Shang sovereign.

To sum up, I think Lo is right in the main, but I also think the original of the fullest form of the character is neither *sheep*, as Lo believes, nor 陽 *yang*, as hitherto written, but some third character of the same sound, and I suggest with hesitation and the utmost deference to everybody all round, that it may represent some Standard or warlike or ceremonial weapon, possibly 揚 *yang* in its sense of battle-axe.

I may add that the character is frequently found on the Bones as a place-name.

19. *Pan Kêng* 般庚, hitherto written 盤庚 *P'an Kêng*. In all the lists and abundant on the Bones, where the scription of Pan is interesting, and appears to show that the modern form should have become 般, if the ancient component parts had been strictly transcribed into their modern equivalents.

During the reign of this ruler, the capital was changed for the sixth time, and moved once more to the south of the Yellow River to Po 亳, the ancient residence of Tang the Victorious, in what is now the Province of Honan. After this move the region was known as Yin 殷, and the same name from this time was also applied to the dynasty. As the etymological sense of 般 *pan* appears to be to change position, to shift, it seems likely that Pan Kêng's name may really mean Kêng the Shifter.

20. *Hsiao Hsin* 小辛. In all the lists and on the Bones.

21. *Hsiao I* 小乙. So, too, with this sovereign, and with

22. *Wu Ting* 武丁, and

23. *Tsu Kêng* 且庚, and

24. *Tsu Chia* 且甲. An interesting point in one of the examples cited by Lo is that *chia*, nearly always 十

in these inscriptions, is here found in the form |, thus exhibiting the same variation that is seen with the numeral 十 *shih*, ten, which, as I have shown in a recent paper,¹ is almost (I now believe, quite) invariably | on the Bones, but developed into 十 later.

25. *Lin Hsin* 庚辛. This personage is so called in the *Historical Records* and the *Mirror of History*, but in the *Bamboo Books* his style is Fêng Hsin 馮辛. Neither designation appears on the Honan relics.

26. *K'ang Ting* 康丁, or *K'ang Tsu Ting* 康且丁; previously in all the lists, Kêng Ting 庚丁.

The received name Kêng Ting should of itself have rendered this title suspicious in Chinese eyes. For it consists of *two* of the Ten Stems, and is thus a sort of nomenclative monstrosity. The Honan relics now correct this error and explain how it arose.

The title in its shorter version is K'ang Ting 康丁, and K'ang 康 and Kêng 庚, characters sufficiently differentiated in modern development, were much more easily confounded in very early days. Thus, on the bones K'ang is 𠂔, and Kêng is 𠂔. Hence the mistake of the Han dynasty compilers.

But the longer title on the Bones is K'ang Tsu Ting, as to which Lo Chên-yü, on p. 104, includes the following acute observations:—

"In these passages [quoted by Lo just before that now translated] is one that 'joint sacrifice is offered to Tsu I, Tsu Ting, Tsu Chia, K'ang Tsu Ting, and Wu I'. Since this contains both the names Tsu Ting and K'ang Tsu Ting, judging by the fact that in the series of Shang dynasty reigns, after Tsu Chia and before Wu I, comes K'ang Ting [*alias* Kêng Ting], we can now tell that

¹ "The Chinese Numerals and their Notational Systems": JRAS. October, p. 759.

K'ang Tsu Ting is the same as K'ang Ting." The argument seems conclusive.

27. *Wu I* 武乙, or *Wu Tsu I* 武且乙. In all the lists styled Wu I, but Lo, p. 104, mentions that Wu Tsu I is so styled twice in his collection.

28. *Wên Ting* 文丁, or *Wên Wu Ting* 文武丁. This sovereign is styled Tai Ting 太丁 in the *Mirror of History* and the *Historical Memoirs*, but Wên Ting 文丁 in the *Bamboo Books*. In the Bone inscriptions he is apparently only twice mentioned, and then in the fuller form Wên Wu Ting, which Lo infers is the Wên Ting of the *Bamboo Books*.

This is the last of the line of Shang found mentioned in our fragments.

The name Wên Wu Ting, thus identified by Lo Chên-yü, explains the difficulty expressed in my previous paper in the *Journal* for April, 1915, "Archives of an Oracle: Notes on the Text," p. 297, where, supposing that the characters Wên Wu 文武 referred to Wên Wang and Wu Wang, the founders of the Chou dynasty, I wondered how this reference should be found "to omens from a sovereign of the ousted line" in a Chou dynasty inscription. The characters *wên wu*, however, were really part of this name Wên Wu Ting of the Shang dynasty. They made an excellent pitfall and I dropped in.

29. *Ti I* 帝乙. So named in all the lists.

30. *Chou Hsin* 紂辛. The last and worst of his line. He is called Ti Hsin 帝辛 in the *Bamboo Books*.

It would seem, then, that the latest inscriptions in any of the collections cannot have been made after the reign of Ti I—by computation B.C. 1111–1102, according to the scheme of the *Bamboo Books*.

What is not easy to understand is the absence from the Bone legends of the titles Wu Ting (No. 5), Yung Chi (No. 8), Wu Chia *alias* K'ai Chia (No. 15), and Lin Hsin *alias* Feng Hsin (No. 25). Is it due to mere chance, and

will other collections yield up any or all of them? Or is there some other explanation?

For instance, there are five names occurring in Lo's collection (and some of them also in mine), three of them once, two of them twice, which are not among the recognized sovereigns. Thus, Tsu Ping 且 丙, Hsiao Ting 小 丁, Tsu Mou 且 戊, Chung Chi 中 己, and Nan Jên 南 壬. Are we justified in tentatively assuming that Hsiao Ting may be equated with the missing Wu Ting? And is Chung Chi perhaps no other than the defaulting Yung Chi, as I have already suggested?

THE PRE-DYNASTIC ANCESTORS OF THE SHANG

Up to the present we have been dealing with the actual sovereigns of the dynasty, from the founder downwards. But Ssü-ma Ch'ien in his *Historical Memoirs* names other ancestors, ascendants of T'ang, and we shall now examine various personages whose rather cryptic designations are recorded on the Bones, and can with fair certainty be identified with Ssu-ma Ch'ien's shadowy line of ancestral dynasts.

These names on the Bones have this particular interest that, though not contemporary with the persons whose designations they record, they have the authority of later members of the same family, and are thus first-hand evidence of competent and trustworthy witnesses some generations later of the existence of these ancestors, who must have lived under the Hsia dynasty, which ended in B.C. 1766.

If, under the guidance of Chavannes,¹ we follow the family of Shang backwards from T'ang, we find that T'ang was the son of Chu Kuei 主 癸, who was the son of Chu Jên 主 壬, who was the son of Pao Ping 報 丙, who was the son of Pao I 報 乙, who was the son of Pao Ting

¹ *Mémoires historiques, etc.*, vol. i, pp. 175-6.

報丁. These names can be extracted, by violence indeed, but by justifiable violence, from the Bone inscriptions.

Lo cites from his collection three binomial names, which he transcribes as 𠄎丁 Shih Ting, 𠄎壬 Shih Jên, and 𠄎癸 Shih Kuei. He gives only one example of the first, and I have been unable to find it, but that may be due to the inevitable indistinctness of some of the rubbings as reproduced. After quoting from the *Historical Memoirs* the genealogy just given above from Chavannes, Lo proceeds:—

"Here 𠄎丁 Shih Ting is probably Pao Ting, and Shih Jên and Shih Kuei are probably 主壬 Chu Jên and 主癸 Chu Kuei. These styles of Shih Ting, Shih Jên, and Shih Kuei are probably due to Tang, after he had gained the empire, worshipping his ancestors with divine honours, just as the Chou sovereigns bestowed retrospective royalty on theirs (殆湯有天下後以神之禮祀其先猶周之追王矣)."

Except on one point I believe Lo is thoroughly right in these identifications. Doubtless the Han scholars misread, and in consequence wrongly transcribed, the more contracted variants of 𠄎 shih as 主. Thus, for instance, in some of the examples cited by Lo we have 𠄎 for 𠄎, which might well seem to warrant the reading 主 chu. But when Lo, in the case of 𠄎丁 Shih Ting, switches off Shih and switches on Pao, for the very same combination of strokes, I find it impossible to accept his contention. Is it the least likely that these Shang dynasty inscribers would at one moment have used the same characters for Shih, and at another for so different a word as Pao?

With due respect to Lo Chên-yü, I believe I have a more excellent way of solving the riddle of the ancestral Pao, and one I confess I am surprised to find has not occurred to him.

It will be observed that there are three persons named Pao to be accounted for, Pao Ting, Pao I, and Pao Ping,

and no others. Now there are in the Bone inscriptions three singular combinations, each consisting of a symbol closely resembling the half of a square bracket [], enveloping, respectively, the characters Ting, I, and Ping, *and no other characters*. Thus we have 𠄎 and 𠄏 and 𠄐, in which the partly bracketed characters are in modern form 丁 *ting*, 乙 *i*, and 丙 *ping*. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that these combinations are really the Pao Ting, Pao I, and Pao Ping of the *Historical Memoirs*.

What is harder to understand is why the Han transcribers, if we assume that they had similar forms before them, should have seen in these half-bracket shapes an early phase of the character 報 *Pao*. Certainly there is no record of any such simple outline for that character. Had they transcribed these three names as 𠄎 丁, 𠄎 乙, and 𠄎 丙, Pao Ting, Pao I, and Pao Ping, more plausibility would have been secured. But they did not. We do not know what this half-bracket character really represents, nor what is the sound of the word it stands for, nor can we judge what justification the transcribers had for writing 報. For the present, then, we must leave this name suspect but unchallenged.

THE ANCESTOR AS THE OBJECT AND ANSWERER OF PRAYERS

All the royal names we have discussed appear on the Bone relics in inscriptions recording questions put to them by their reigning descendants, commonly, regarding the date or nature of a forthcoming service of worship and sacrifice. It is a notable fact that the consort of the sovereign is frequently also specified and included in the prayer.

It is due to the acumen of Lo Chên-yü that he has been able to detect the verbal formulas in which these facts had been embodied, and to decipher the characters in which they had been at once recorded and disguised.

No wonder that I shiver when I call to mind what seemed at the time a happy, not to say brilliant, guess as to one of these characters, and communicated it to my late friend the Rev. F. H. Chalfant. It serves to enhance my own appreciation of Lo's convincing solution. Let us examine this.

Lo explains that the apotheosized ancestor was styled 王賓 *Wang Pin*, "the Royal Guest." In certain cases his posthumous or temple name follows that title. In a larger number it does not, or perhaps we should say, they do not, for often the ancestral line collectively appear to be addressed. "In the oracular sentences," writes Lo on p. 105, "the object of worship is styled Wang Pin, the Royal Guest. The worshipper being a Wang or Royal person, he who is worshipped is therefore a Royal Guest. The passage in the *Announcement concerning Lo*, in the *Books of Chou*, which runs 王賓殺禋咸格 *Wang pin sha yin hsien ko*, still preserves the phraseology of the Yin dynasty. Previous scholars who supposed the words Wang Pin to mean princely guests and the Duke of Chou, have been in error."

The passage here extracted from the *Announcement concerning Lo* is translated by Legge,¹ "The King's guests, on occasion of the killing the victims and offering the sacrifice, all made their appearance," and in a note Legge adds, "'the King's guests' denotes all the princes present and assisting at the ceremonies, and specially those representing the previous dynasties." But Lo would render it, as he does the same words on the Bones, "The King's guests, i.e. the spirits of the Royal Ancestors . . . were all present." There can be little doubt that the Honan relics have thus enabled a more correct interpretation to be given to the above passage. Not "all the princes present", but all the sovereigns past and gone, are indicated.

¹ *The Chinese Classics*, vol. iii, pt. ii, p. 452.

I mentioned above the disguise in which the character *pin* appears on the Bones. The *Shuo Wen's* analysis of 賓 *pin* is an alleged character 賓 *mien* plus 貝 *pei*, a shell, but it adds an ancient form in which, instead of the former element, we find 完 *wan*, finish. In the Honan inscriptions we find an upper part which, on the whole, seems to be 完 *wan*, and a lower element (as we now must allow it to be), consisting of 止 *chih*. But what is so misleading is that this lower half is often so far removed from the upper as to induce the reader to suppose it to be an independent character, so much so that in one example known to me the upper part is at the foot of a column, and the 止 is carried forward and heads the next column. From a comparison of many examples, I suspect that the archaic form is of the Suggestive Compound class, and does *not* contain 完 *wan*, finish, but represents a seated figure under a roof, below which is added the ideographic element 止, here, as elsewhere, contributing the idea of motion, or arrival.

But the Sovereign Ancestors were not always worshipped alone. With them were often associated their consorts. The formula employed in addressing or specifying the latter was based, firstly, on the first cycle-character of the birthday, preceded by the word 妣 *pi*, "late mother." Thus, 妣甲 *pi chia* would be "my late mother Chia", that is, my late mother who was born on one of the *chia* days of the cycle. Couplets of this kind are usually found written horizontally, and often appear to be a single compound character. But this was not all. Such couplets are themselves prefaced by the honorific word 爽 *shih*, illustrious, occasionally amplified to 有爽 *yu shih*, with the same sense. The whole formula thus means "my illustrious late mother Chia".

In accordance with his usual practice, Lo ranges the different variants of this character for "illustrious"

contained in his collection of bones, under its modern form, at the head of the examples. But the modern form he gives is not written 爽 as we should have expected, but 赫, the normal pronunciation of which is *hé*. The explanation of this apparent anomaly or inconsistency is that 赫 has another sound, namely *shih*, and that when thus pronounced, Lo believes it better represents the sense of "illustrious" than 爽 *shih* does, and is in fact a variant of the latter character.

With these necessary preliminary remarks, I add a translation of Lo's note on the word from his p. 49:—

"In the *Shuo Wen* the character 赫 is composed of two 赤 *ch'ih*, ruddy. Here [i.e. on the Bones] it is composed of 大 *ta*, great, and 𤇀 (viz. two characters 火 *huo*, fire) [Lo's note], the two 大 *ta* being contracted to one, and the significance of the character being quite obvious."

I should perhaps explain that in the *Shuo Wen* the character 赤 *ch'ih*, ruddy, is composed of 大 *ta*, great, and 火 *huo*, fire. The relevancy of this comparison between 赫 and the character on the Bones must be that Lo considers 𤇀, the actual Bone character, to be 赫 in a simpler form; instead of being two 大 *ta* and two 火 *huo* (赫), it is one 大 and two 火. Whether he is right in this I do not yet feel quite sure, but the hypothesis lands him in two surviving and very dissimilar forms of the same original character, viz. 爽 and 赫. Lo now proceeds to adduce analogous cases:—

"On the Stone Drums the word *pén* 奔, to hasten, is written 𨔵, composed of 走 *tsou*, to go, tripled. On the Yü Caldron it is written 𨔵, where the three 天 *yao* are reduced to one. In the oracular sentences the character 彗 *sui*, broom, is sometimes written with two hands grasping two brooms, sometimes with one hand grasping one broom. These are analogous cases. The *Shuo Wen* gives 爽 as composed of 𤇀 *pi* and 大 *ta*, and as meaning

盛 *shéng*, overflowing, brimming over. The commentary on the 出車 *Ch'u Ch'ê* Ode of the *Book of Odes* has '赫赫, an overflowing appearance'. So, too, the commentary on the 常武 *Ch'ang Wu* Ode twice explains 赫赫然 by 盛 *shéng*, overflowing. The commentary on the 節南山 *Chieh Nan Shan* Ode renders 赫赫 by 顯盛 *hsien shéng*, abundantly or vividly bright.

"The character 赫 is composed with two 火 *huo*, hence the use of the word *shéng* 盛 abundantly. If it were composed with 𠂔 *pi*, the character would contain nothing to contribute the sense of abounding or overflowing, showing that the composition with 𠂔 is a wrong variation from 𠂔 [i.e. two 火 *huo*, fire, according to Lo], and that 𠂔 is an erroneous variation from 爽. In the oracular sentences the element 𠂔 is sometimes modified to 𠂔 or 𠂔 or 𠂔 or 𠂔, all being variant forms of 火 *huo*, fire. In Hsü's work [the *Shuo Wen*], by a further modification, the character [爽 *shih*] is composed with 𠂔, these progressive changes entailing a corresponding loss of its first shape."

So much for Lo's view of the gradual change of a sign once consisting of the character 大 *ta*, great, flanked by 火 *huo*, fire, on each side, into two characters, 爽 *shih* and 赫 *shih*, the latter scriptio being presumably, at a later date, transferred to quite another word, *hé*, though one of kindred sense. Lo Chên-yü now continues:—

"Whenever in the oracular sentences the Consort, 妣 *pi*, of the deceased sovereign is associated in the sacrificial worship, then between their two names will always be found the character 爽 *shih*. On the *Wu Ch'ên I* Bronze 戊辰彝, in the passage 遯于 𠂔 武乙爽 *Kou yü pi mou wu i shih* (𠂔 is also a modification of 火火) [Lo's note], 'join in worship to our late Mother Mou and to Wu I—illustrious,' although the character 爽 *shih* comes after both names, the sense is the same.

"In the oracular sentences the expression 有爽 *yu shih* is also used (e.g. in ch. 1, p. 12) [Lo's note; not p. 2, as printed], as though it were 有妃 *yu fei* [literally, 'together with Consort']. This *shih* here has the import of 'consort' 是爽有妃之誼.

"The *Shuo Wen*'s entry under 爽 *shih* says, 'The name of the Duke of Shao,' but also quotes from the 'Recorders Chapters' [of Shih Chou, the alleged inventor of the Greater Seal character], 'The Duke of Shao was named 醜 *ch'ou*.'¹ The two statements are discrepant. I suspect that the Duke of Shao's name may have been 爽 *shih*, and his style 醜 *ch'ou*. With the ancients, the import of the name and of the style usually had a certain correspondence 古人名字誼多相應, and one sense of 醜 *ch'ou* is that of 比 *pi*, match, mate. When the oracular sentences, in contrast with 'father', use the term 匕 (i.e. 妣 *pi*, as though to say, 'She who matches the father') [Lo's note], the inference is that the import of 爽 *shih* is also 'consort'.

"In this instance of the sole remaining survival of the ancient import of the word, though we cannot reach complete knowledge, nevertheless we can obtain a general notion."

I am not sure that I agree with all that Lo writes regarding the composition and meaning of the character now written 爽 *shih*, partly because I am not quite certain that I have correctly appreciated the reasoning of the last few sentences of the original, in which the distinction made by Lo between the words 義 *i* a few lines above and 誼 *i* should not be overlooked. I therefore subjoin the text of these sentences:—

卜辭對父言稱匕 [即妣字言與父相比也] 意爽亦有妃誼此古誼之僅存者雖不能盡曉然可得其概矣。

¹ 又引史篇召公名醜 *yu yin Shih P'ien Shao Kung ming Ch'ou*, but the *Shuo Wen*'s actual text does not here insert the two characters 召公.

IV

ON SOME RIVER NAMES IN THE RĠVEDA

By SM. AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

THE historical interest presented by Hymn x. 75 of the Rġveda, the famous *Nadistuti* or "Song of the Rivers", has been recognized ever since the critical study of Vedic literature began. The numerous ancient river-names of North-Western India therein mentioned furnish an indication more definite than can be found elsewhere of the area once occupied by, or familiar to, the Indo-Aryan people, to whom we owe the oldest literary remains of India as contained in the Vedic Samhitās.

In the present note, which regard for manifold urgent tasks resulting from my third journey of exploration in Central Asia obliges me to keep short, I do not intend to discuss the entire list of those river names nor its quasi-historical import, but merely to put on record a few observations which occurred to me long ago while my work still lay in the Panjāb. They concern the river names recorded in a verse of the Hymn, which reads thus:—

इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि सोमं सचता परुष्ण्या ।
असिक्त्वा मरुद्बुधे वितस्तयार्जकीये शृणुह्या सुषोमया ॥

No question of text or interpretation affects the general meaning of the verse, which may be rendered as follows:—

"Attend to this my song of praise, O Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Śutudrī, Paruṣṇī; together with Asiknī, O Marudvṛdhā, and with Vitastā, O Ārjikiyā, listen with Suṣomā."

The identity of the first four rivers here enumerated

and also of the Vitastā is subject to no doubt. They correspond to the present Ganges, Jumna, Sarsuti, Sutlej, and Jehlam (the ancient Hydaspes, still called *Vyath* in Kāśmīrī). The order in which the first four are mentioned exactly agrees with their geographical sequence from east to west. Hence Professor Roth, who was the first to discuss the passage critically in his epoch-making treatise *Zur Geschichte und Literatur des Weda* (1846), pp. 136 sqq., was justified in looking for the three rivers *Paruṣṇī*, *Marudvrdhā*, and *Asiknī*, which figure in the list between them and the Vitastā, among those of the 'Five Rivers' of the Panjāb that intervene between the Śutudrī: Sutlej in the east and the Vitastā: Jehlam in the west. Guided by this sure indication, he succeeded in correctly identifying the *Asiknī* with the Chenāb or Candrabhāga, whose classical name *Akesines* is undoubtedly derived from the Vedic form by a kind of "popular etymology" attested in a gloss of Hesychios (ii. p. 1150, ed. Alberti: *Σανδαρόφαγος* [the exact Greek rendering of Candrabhāga] ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόταμος μετωνομάσθη καὶ ἐκλήθη Ἀκεσίνης).

No such definite evidence is available regarding the *Paruṣṇī*, in which Roth, following Yāska's *Nirukta*, ix. 26, was prepared to recognize the Irāvati, the present Rāwī. But until a survival of the name *Paruṣṇī* can in some way be traced, this identification, though probable, cannot be considered as certain. The main argument in its favour is that the Beās, the only other Panjāb river of any importance between the Sutlej and the Chenāb, is repeatedly mentioned in other Hymns of the Rgveda under its proper ancient designation of *Vipāś*.

As regards the *Marudvrdhā*, which figures in the list between the *Asiknī*: *Akesines* and the Vitastā: Hydaspes, and is nowhere else mentioned in Vedic literature, Roth had to content himself with the conjectural suggestion that by it may be meant the united course of the *Akesines* and the Hydaspes. For a record of other conjectures

equally unsupported by philological or geographical evidence Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 12, and Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii. p. 135, may be consulted. It is unnecessary to discuss them in detail; for a reference to the map will show us a solution which seems to impose itself both by regard for geographical position and by the obvious explanation it furnishes for a local name surviving to the present day.

If we pay attention to the position occupied by the name *Marudvrdhā* in the list, and bear in mind the fact that the narrow Doāb between the Chenāb and the Jehlam leaves no room for any stream to descend independently to the Indus, it is obvious that we have to look for the *Marudvrdhā* either among the western main tributaries of the Chenāb or else among those which join the Jehlam from the east. Now, among all the affluents in question there is none comparable in importance and volume to the glacier-fed river which joins the right bank of the Chenāb or Candrabhāga, as it is still known in the mountains, in the alpine territory of Kishtwār, and which in the Survey of India maps is shown as the "Maroo-wardwan River". In its course of about one hundred miles it gathers, as can clearly be seen in sheets 28, 45, 46 of the 'Atlas of India', the greatest part of the drainage from the almost continuous chain of glacier-girt peaks which stretches from the big snowy massif of Amarnāth (17,900 feet above the sea), in the extreme north-east of Kashmīr proper, to the head-waters of the Bhutnā River, culminating in the ice-clad Nun-kun Peaks, well over 23,000 feet high. Narrow and deep-cut in its lowest portion, the valley of *Maruwārdwan* opens out above the point (circ. 75° 46' long., 33° 40' lat.) where its two main branches meet, and throughout a total length of about forty miles affords ample space for cultivation at an elevation of between 6,000 and 9,000 feet. On the west this portion of the valley

immediately adjoins the watershed towards the eastern part of the great Kashmīr valley watered by the Jehlam or Vyath (Vitastā).

It does not require elaborate philological argument to prove that in the name *Maruwārdwan*, which according to the information received by me in Kashmīr is borne by both the valley and its river, we have the direct phonetic derivative of a form closely linked with the Vedic *Marudvṛdhā*. Among all my Kashmīr tours I never managed to visit the valley in person—a fact which the absence of any reference to it in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* may help to excuse. But I have reason to believe that the form of the name recorded by the Survey of India during its Kashmīr operations in the late fifties of the last century is a substantially correct rendering of the name as used by the neighbouring hill population.

Leaving aside the ending *-wan* to be accounted for presently as a determinant derived from Skt. *vana* "forest", we clearly have the correct phonetic derivative of *Marud*, the first part of the compound, in *Maru-*. In *-wārd* it is equally easy to recognize the derivative of a Vṛddhi form **vārdha* in which *dh* has become disaspirated in agreement with a phonetic rule of Kāśmīrī (cf. Sir George Grierson's *Phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, ZDMG., l. p. 9).

The use of this Vṛddhi form may possibly be connected with the fact that the second half of the compound, in the form *Wārdwan*, is applied independently to the chief group of hamlets in the western or main branch of the Maruwārdwan valley, while *Maru*, the first half, is used in a corresponding fashion for the inhabited lower portion of the eastern branch of the valley drained by the Fariābādī tributary. I owe the confirmation of the record presented by the 'Atlas of India' to the kindness of that veteran geographer and scientist Colonel H. H. Godwin - Austen, F.R.S., who conducted the survey

operations in this part of Kashmir territory more than half a century ago, and who still accurately remembers all the essential features of their topography.

To this splitting-up of the local name *Maru-wārdwan* we have an exact parallel in the use of the names Candra and Bhāga for the two main branches of the Candrabhāga at its head-waters, as attested by the Survey of India maps. In the same way, far away in the south, the two main feeders of the Tungabhadra River each bear one-half of the name, being known respectively as the Tunga and the Bhadra. I cannot spare time to trace further this curious bifurcation of river-names, prompted by a kind of "popular etymology". But I have little doubt that it is widely spread and could be illustrated outside India.

It is equally easy to account for the addition of the determinant *-wan*, Skt. *vana*, at the end of the compound. The name *Maru-wārdwan* applies primarily to the valley, and it seems quite appropriate that the latter should be designated as the "forest of the Marudvrdhā", seeing that its lower and middle portions have their sides clothed with dense forests of deodars and firs duly marked in the Survey map. Skt. *vana* always takes in Kāśmīrī the form *wan* (see Grierson, *Phonology*, etc., ZDMG., l. p. 12; also my notes on modern Kāśmīrī forms of local names containing Skt. *vana*, *vanikā*, in *Rājat.* viii. 1438, 1875-77), and this we find duly in *Maḍ'wārdwan*, the Kāśmīrī form of the name *Maruwārdwan* as heard by me in Kashmir and probably used by the Kāśmīrī-speaking population of the valley. Kś. *Maḍ'wārd-* represents the correct phonetic derivative from a Skt. **Marudvārdha* through intermediary forms **Marduwārdha* > **Maḍḍu-wārdha*, since Skt. *rd* > Pkt. *ḍḍ* becomes *ḍ* in Kś. and Skt. *rdh* > Pkt. *ḍḍh* similarly results in Kś. *ḍ* (cf. Grierson, *Phonology*, loc. cit., §§ 53, 86, 87). Attention must also be paid, as Sir George Grierson points out to me, to the

undoubted fact that there is continual interchange between dentals and cerebrals in Kāśmīrī.

Before leaving the riverine system of the Chenāb I may here conveniently call attention to another tributary, the name of which, perhaps, also claims an ancient ancestry. I mean the *Ans* River, which receives the southern drainage of the Pir Pāntāl range between the Rūprī and Gulābgarh passes and joins the Chenāb above Riassi just where it makes its final southward bend to reach the Panjāb plain. The mere fact that the bed of the *Ans* River forms a straight continuation northward of the line followed by the Chenāb after the bend just mentioned suffices to attest the relative importance of this tributary. Is it possible that we have in its name a lingering trace of the ancient designation *Asiknī* once applied to the whole river where it emerges from the mountains?

Phonetically the suggested derivation would present no difficulty. Under the influence of the stress accent thrown on the first syllable (see Grierson, *Phonology*, ZDMG., xlix. pp. 395 sq.) *Asiknī* would be liable to assume the Apabhraṃśa form **Asnī*. This again, through phonetic changes well-attested in the development of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, might become **Assi*, and finally, with the nasalized long vowel often resulting from the simplification of a double consonant, take the form *Ās*, which I assume to be the true pronunciation of the name recorded as *Ans* in the Survey maps (cf. Grierson, ZDMG., l. p. 22; thus, e.g., Skt. *nīdrā* > Pkt. *nīddā* becomes *nīd* in Hindi).

Of the river names mentioned in our verse there still remain two for discussion. The last of them is *Suṣomā*, found likewise in a few other Rgveda passages, and for this Vivien de Saint-Martin has long ago indicated what appears to me the right identification. He took it to be the present *Sohān* River (also spelt *Suwan*), which flows from the outer Hazāra Hills through the Rawalpindi District and reaches the Indus north of the Salt Range

(cf. V. de Saint-Martin, *Étude sur la géographie, etc., du nord-ouest de l'Inde*, 1860, p. 35). The Greek form of the name, Σόαρος or Σόαμος, as recorded by Megasthenes (see Arrian, *Indika*, iv. 12; Schweinbeck, *Megasthenes*, 31), proves the antiquity of the change of medial Skt. *s* into *h*, so common in the vernaculars of the north-west of India. For the reduction of the *ō* into *ā* in the second syllable of the name, Grierson, *Phonology*, ZDMG., xlix. p. 409, may be compared. Possibly the correct pronunciation of the name is *Sohān*, which would represent a closer approximation to the original.

With the Suṣomā : Sohān we have reached the extreme west of the Pañcanada or Panjāb proper. If we are right in assuming for the remaining *Ārjīkīyā* the same exact geographical sequence from east to west observed in the preceding river-names, we must clearly look for it between the Vitastā in the east and the Suṣomā in the west.

There is no river or even stream of any importance crossing the much-broken plateaus and low hill chains of the Salt Range which fill the area between those two rivers. Hence we are led to look for the *Ārjīkīyā* among the chief tributaries which the Vitastā receives on its right bank before it emerges from the mountains above the town of Jehlam. Of these there are two of considerable size. One is the Kishangangā, the Kṛṣṇā of the *Rājataranginī*, which drains the high snowy ranges north of Kashmīr and at the confluence near Muẓaffarābād rivals the Vitastā in volume. The other is the Kunhār River, Albēruṇī's *Kuśnārī*, which gathers the mountain streams of the big Kāghān Valley in the north and joins the Vitastā some five miles below Muẓaffarābād. Both Kishangangā and Kunhār would be important enough to figure in our Vedic "Catalogue of Rivers"; but I am quite unable to trace in the case of either any designation ancient or modern that might be connected with the name *Ārjīkīyā*.

None of the Rgveda passages which mention the Ārjikiyā again or give the obviously related ethnic designation of Ārjikas and Ārjikiyas (cf. Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic Index*, i. pp. 62 sqq.) help us to a definite location. Professor Hillebrandt, when discussing these names in his *Vedische Mythologie*, i. pp. 126 sqq., thought that he could locate them near Kashmir, owing to the connection he assumed between Ārjika and the chief Ἀρσάκης, whom Arrian mentions as the brother of Ἀβισάρης, chief of the Abhisāras, i.e. the tribes occupying the outer hills south of Kashmir between the Chenāb and the Jehlam. But this supposed connection fails us, since I have shown elsewhere that by Ἀρσάκης is meant the chief of Uraśā or Hazāra, the name of whose territory figures as Ἀρσα or Οὐάρσα in Ptolemy's Geography (cf. my note on *Rājat.* v. 217).

I may conclude this note with a brief general observation. The analysis of the river names given in our Rgveda verse has proved that, leaving aside the still uncertain Ārjikiyā, they follow each other in strict order from east to west. The exact geographical knowledge thus indicated, ranging over a great extent of country, might at first sight cause surprise, since it seems impossible to suppose that the composer of the *Nadīstuti* could have had before him a topographical record in the shape of either text or map. Yet the difficulty is easily removed in the light of actual travel experience. During my Central-Asian explorations I have again and again come into contact with men, whether Turkīs of the Tārīm Basin engaged in long journeys as traders and caravan men, or nomadic Mongols, who, wholly illiterate and unable to keep any but mental records, could yet without any apparent effort give a brief but reasonably accurate account of the successive stages, with passes, streams, and other important natural features, which they had passed on journeys extending over far more than a thousand miles.

It is probable that in India also, in spite of all modern changes, similar geographical knowledge of a wholly empiric kind might still be gathered from pilgrims, traders, and others accustomed to distant peregrinations. It is safe to assume the same facility of obtaining exact information in ancient times: so that the only difficulty which the composer of the Hymn is likely to have experienced, when recording the river names, was how to fit their sequence with his metre.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE KASSITES

By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES

IN the monograph by Professor Sayce and myself, *The Tablet from Yuzgat in the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology* (I believe the document is now in the Louvre), which forms vol. xi of the *Asiatic Society Monographs* (see pp. 15-19), I discussed the possibility of Kassite being a language more or less akin to Hittite. In dealing with this question, I made use of the well-known tablet discovered by the late Hormuzd Rassam in 1882, and published in transcription by Professor Fried. Delitzsch in his *Die Sprache der Kossäer* (Leipzig, 1884). To all appearance this important inscription has never been printed in the original character, and as its appearance is held to be desirable, I now place before the British public the copy which I made in 1882 or 1883.

The British Museum being at present closed owing to the War, I have not had an opportunity of revising the text, but as it agrees in the main with Delitzsch's transcription and the notes thereon, it cannot be very far from correct. No attempt has been made to keep the proportions of the original, but my copies would have been better if they had been drawn somewhat broader. The obverse, which is broken at the beginning, originally had 27 lines, as the summation (48) in the remains of the only colophon-line preserved shows (48 and 1 colophon-line = 49; total lines on the reverse, 22; 22 from 49 = 27). The colophon originally consisted of at least two lines, but the fracture which has deprived us of lines 1 and 2 of the obverse has destroyed almost all the colophon except the numeral.

OBSERVE

1.			
2.			
3. ši	llu	Sin	the Moon-god.
4. sa aḥ	llu	Šamaš	the Sun-god.
5. šu-ri-ia aš	llu	Šamaš	the Sun-god.
6. ub-ri-ia aš	llu	Addu, Rammānu	the Wind-god.
7. ḥu ut ḥa ¹	llu	Addu, Rammānu	the Wind-god.
8. ma rat taš	llu	En-urta	the War-god.
9. gi dir	llu	En-urta	the War-god.
10. ḥa la	litu	Gu - la	goddess Gula.
11. ka mul la	llu	E - a	the god Êa.
12. šu ga ab	llu	Nergal	the Plague-god.
13. šu - ga - mu - na	llu	Nergal llu Nusku	the Plague-god, the Light-god.
14. dur	llu	Nergal	the Plague-god.
15. šu gur ra	llu	Šu-mali-ia	the god Šumaliya.
16. mi ri zi ir	litu	Bēltu	the goddess Beltis.
17. ba aš ḥu	i	lu	god.
18. da ka aš	ka - ka - bu		star.
19. da gil gi	šamu-u		heaven.
20. i lu lu	šamu-u		heaven.
21. zi in bi na	zi - na		
22. mi ri ia aš	ēr - ši - tum		earth.
23. tu ru uḥ na	ša - a - ru		wind.
24. ya an zi	šar - ru		king.
25. nu la	šar - ru		king.
26. ma li	a - wi - [lu]		man.
27. me li	ar - [du]		servant.

¹ Or *ḥulahḥa*.

82-q-18, —. Obv.

3.	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
6	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
9	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
12	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
15	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
18	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
21	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
24	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
27	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶

REVERSE

28. ku - uk - la	an - du - . . .	. . . . .
29. aš - lu - lu	pap - pu - u	young slave.
30. na - aš - pu	nī - i - šu	spirit.
31. ma - ar - hu	qaq - qa - du	head.
32. ha - me - ru	še - e - pu	foot.
33. sa - ri - pu	še - e - pu	foot.
34. ya - - - šu	ma - a - tum	country.
35. aš - - - rak	mu - du - u	wise one.
36. - - - šir	qa - aš - tu	bow.
37. e - - - me	a - šu - u	to come forth, grow.
38. na - - - zi	šil - lum	protection.
39. ka - daš - man	tu - kul - tum	help.
40. ša - ga - rak - ti	nap - ša - ru	redemption.
41. nim - gi - ra - ab	e - te - rum	to hold, protect.
42. u - zi - ib	e - te - rum	do.
43. haš - - - mar	ka - su - su	
44. si - im - maš	li - da - nu	offspring.
45. ša - ri - bu	tu - ul - lu - u	to hang up.
46. šim - - - di	na - da - nu	to give.
47. ki -	ki - di - nu	ordinance.
48. ni -	kit - tu	justice.
49. Arba'a samnet	an a	
48 (lines)		

Though many vocabularies from the ruin-mounds of Babylonia and Assyria exist, none of them, it may safely be said, are exactly like this. The object of the others was the explanation of the Sumerian language, which had been bound up for thousands of years with the Semitic tongue of Babylonia, and had, therefore, become a necessity to enable the thousands of religious and historical inscriptions to be interpreted. The object of the present list, however, was simply to supply such information as would enable the names of the Kassite dynasty, which ruled over Babylonia from about 1570–1075 B.C., to be understood, at least in part. The number of the Kassite rulers between those two dates, however, was rather large, and it is clear that all the names contained therein were not dealt with, even though we subtract from the thirty-six kings constituting the dynasty those who bore Semitic names. It seems probable, therefore, that the compiler confined himself to the few names contained in the list which gives the names of the kings of Babylonia with their Semitic renderings, supplemented by a few others. This text, which is printed in the fifth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of W. Asia*, pl. 44, is as follows:—

COL. I

23. Ku-ur-gal-zu	Ri'-i-bi-ši-i	Be my shepherd.
24. Sim-maš-ši-pak	Li-dan-lla Marduk	Child of Merodach.
25. U-lam-bur-ya-aš	Li-dan-bél-mâtâti	Child of the Lord of the lands.
26. Na-zi-muru-taš	Šil-lla En-urta	Protection of En-urta.
27. Me-li-ši-pak	Awil-lla Marduk	Man of Merodach.
28. Bur-na-bur-ya-aš	Ki-din-bél-mâtâti	Ordinance of the Lord of the lands.
29. Ka-daš-man-d. En-lil	Tukul-ti-lla En-lil	My trust is Enlil.

COL. IV

33. U-lam-har-be	Li-dan-lla En-lil	Child of Enlil.
34. Me-li-ha-li	Awil-lla Gu-la	Man of Gula.
35. Me-li-šu-mu	Awil-lla Šu-qa-mu-na	Man of Šuqamuna. ¹

¹ According to the Kassite vocabulary, this is a compound name, possibly to be decomposed as *Šuqa* (*Šugab*) and *Muna*. It is explained as equivalent to the Babylonian Nergal and Nusku, p. 102, 13.

36. Me-li-d. Ši-bar-ru	Awil-llu Ši-i-ma-li-ia	Man of Šimalia.
37. Me-li - saḥ	Awil-[llu Šamaš]	Man of the Sun-god.
38. Nim-gi-ra-bi	E - ṭe - ru	Protect.
39. Nim-gi-ra-bi-saḥ	E-te-ru-[llu Šamaš]	Protect, (O) Sun-god.
40. Nim-gi-ra-bi-bur-ia-aš	E-ṭe-[ru-bêl-mâtâti]	Protect, (O) Lord of the lands.
41. Ka-daš-man-bur-ia-aš	Tukul[-ti-bêl-mâtâti]	My trust is the Lord of the lands.
42. Ka-daš-man - saḥ	Tukul[-ti-llu Šamaš]	My trust is the Sun-god.
43. Na - zi - ši - pak	[Šil - llu]Marduk	Protection of Mero-dach.
44. Na-zi-bur-ya-aš	[Šil - bêl -]mâtâti	Protection of the Lord of the lands.

Here comes a division-line, followed by a line of cuneiform script ending with the word *qabû*, "he" or "they speak". I conjecture that the line read somewhat as follows: *Annuṭi šarrāni ša Kaššû qabû*, "These are the kings who are called Kassite." It is also probable that column iv, which begins on the reverse, beneath the point on the obverse where column i ends, was intended to continue it, just as column iii—the right-hand column of the reverse—always continues column ii, the right-hand column of the obverse. Nevertheless, the colophon was evidently at the end of the left-hand column of the reverse—the fourth column of the tablet.

The text which I published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for May, 1884, has, in chronological order, the following additional names:—

Gandaš (or Gaddaš),	16 years.
Agum-ši, his son,	22 years.
Kaštilyaši,	22 years.
Ušši (or Duši), his son,	8 years.
Adu-me(?)-taš	...
Ur zi-u-maš	...

Further Kassite names occur in the following list of rulers given in part according to Hilprecht in *Old Babylonian Inscriptions chiefly from Niffer*, Philadelphia, 1893, p. 37, with corrections made by myself several years ago at the request of Professor Lehmann-Haupt.

and confirming at least one very acute conjecture which he had made:—

13. Addu-mušēšir (Sem.)	1442-1422 (abt. 20 years).
14. Kadaš-man-Sin ¹	1422-1408 (abt. 15 years).
15. Kudur-Turgu	1408-1393 (abt. 15 years).
16. Šagarakti-buriaš, his son	1393-1373 (abt. 20 years).
17. Kuri-galzu I, son of Kadašman-ḫarbe	1373-1348 (abt. 25 years).
18. Kara-indaš	1348-1343 (abt. 5 years).
19. Burna-buriaš, ² son of Kuri-galzu I	1343-1318 (abt. 25 years).
20. Kara-ḫardaš, son of Kara-indaš	1318-1308 (abt. 10 years).
21. Nazi-bugaš ³ (usurper)	1308-1307 (abt. 1 year).
22. Kuri-galzu II, son of Burna-buriaš	1307-1284 (nearly 23 years).
23. Nazi-Maruttaš, ⁴ his son	1284-1258 (26 years).
24. Kadaš-man-Turgu, ⁵ his son	1258-1241 (17 years).
25. Kadaš-man-buriaš, ⁶ his son	1241-1239 (2 years).
26. Kudur. . . -ti	1239-1233 (6 years).
27. Šagarak-ti-Šuriaš	1233-1220 (13 years).
28. Kaštilyašu, his son	1220-1211 (9 years).
29. Bēl-šum-iddina I (Semitic)	1211-1209 (1½ years).
30. Kadaš-man-ḫarbe ⁷	1209-1208 (1½ years).
31. Addu-šum-iddina (Semitic)	1208-1202 (6 years).
32. Addu-šum-ušur (Semitic)	1202-1172 (30 years).
33. Meli-Šipak, ⁸ his son	1172-1157 (15 years).
34. Marduk-ābla-iddina (Semitic), his son	1157-1144 (13 years).
35. Zagaga-šum-iddina (Semitic)	1144-1143 (1 year).
36. Bēl-šum-iddina II (Semitic).	1143-1140 (3 years).

The very gradual Babylonianizing of these Kassite rulers will be noticed. This was doubtless due to the gradual loss of the "land of Kaššû" by the dynasty here given. Bēl-šum-iddina (his name may also be read Bēl-nadin-šumi) seems to have been attacked by an Elamite king bearing the Kassite name of Kidin-Ḫutrudaš. The Kassites, therefore, finding that they were becoming as it were vassals of Babylonia, had, at an early date, placed another ruler on the throne, and that ruler had apparently become king of Elam also. In connexion

¹ No. 14, "my trust is the Moon-god."

² No. 19, "ordinance of the Lord of the world," i.e. Hadad.

³ No. 21, "protection is Bugaš."

⁴ No. 23, "protection is En-urta."

⁵ No. 24, "my trust is Turgu."

⁶ No. 25, "my trust is the Lord of the lands," i.e. Hadad.

⁷ No. 30, "my trust is Enlil."

⁸ No. 33, "man of Merodach."

with this, it is to be noted that Kudur-...-ti has a name of which the first part may be Elamite.

To the above names must be added those of the inscription of a king named Agum, or Agu-kak-rime, who is apparently described by the (?Kassite) words *urši gurumaš*. He was "of the pure seed of the god Šuqamunu",¹ and describes himself, also, as descendant of Abi-gu-... . Notwithstanding the reluctance of the Germans to take up my reading of May, 1884, I am inclined to think that I was then right in reading *u-maš* as *guru-maš*, and in this case we ought to read the name of the sixth ruler of the dynasty as Urzi-gurumaš, the seventh being Agum or Agu-kak-rime.

How long Agum reigned we do not know, but his eight-column inscription, preserved to us owing to the orders of the Assyrian king Aššur-bani-āpli, "the great and noble Asnapper," shows that he was an energetic ruler, and possibly a great conqueror. He calls himself king of the Kassites and the Akkadians (Semitic Babylonians), king of the wide land of Babylon (possibly meaning the vast extent of territory covered by that city and the province belonging thereto), colonizer of Aššunnak, "a wide-spread people," king of the *padan* (plain) and the *alman*, king of Gutium (Media), *niše saktati*, "a foolish people," according to German Assyriologists. Finally, he was the king ruling over the four regions, and the favourite of the great gods. The inscription giving these details refers to the restoration of the temple of Belus at Babylon effected by Agum, or executed by his orders.

Comparatively few Kassite names are found in the Kassite letters published by Radau (*Letters to Kassite Kings from the Temple-Archives of Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1908), but there may be some which have assumed a

¹ Elsewhere *Šuqamuna* or *Šugamuna*—see pp. 102 (l. 13 of transcription), 106 (l. 35 and note), 110, and 114.

Semitic form, and are therefore unrecognizable. Among the more certain are the following:—

Hašma.

Haš-mar.

Hu[dibt]l, father of Abb[utt]anita (Mitannian).

Meli-Šipak, "man of Merodach."

Meli-Šuqamuna, "man of Šuqamuna."

Nazi-Enlil, "protection is Enlil."

Ningī-šar-ili, "Ningī is king of the gods."

Sirišaš or Siridaš.

Tādu, in Mār (or Mārat)-tādu, "child of Tādu."

Udašaš, in Mār-Udašaš, "son of Udašaš."

Usub-Šipak, "protect (?), (O) Merodach," in Mār-Usub-Šipak.

The following Kassite names are given by Professor A. T. Clay in the fifteenth volume of the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, under the title *Documents from the Temple-Archives of Nippur*, dated in the reign of Kassite Kings:—

Šimdi-Šipak, "give, (O) Merodach."

Šimdi¹-Šugab, "give, (O) Šugab."

Šimdi-Šuqamuna, "give, (O) Šuqamuna."

Šindi²-Buriaš, "give, (O) Lord of the lands."

Šindi²-Ubriaš, "give, (O) Wind-god."

Tunamiš.

NAMES WITH A BABYLONIAN ELEMENT

(a) *Kassite noun or verb and Babylonian divine name*

Burra-Gu-silim, "Ordinance of Gu-silim."

Burra-Ištar, "Ordinance of Ištar."

Burra-Ištar-Agade, "Ordinance of Ištar of Agade" (Akkad).

Burra-Rammānu, "Ordinance of Hadad" (= Burra-buriaš).

Meni-Enlil, better, perhaps, Meli-Enlil, "Enlil's man" (= Meli-Harbe).

Nazi-Bēl, "Bel is protection."

Šindi-Bēl, "Give, (O) Bel."

(b) *Babylonian noun or verb and Kassite divine name*

Ēriba-Šuqamuna, "Augment, (O) Šuqamuna."

Izkur-Šuqamuna, "Šuqamuna has recorded."

Kidin-Šuqamuna, "Ordinance of Šuqamuna" (= Burra-Šuqamuna).

Nūr-Šuqamuna, "Light of Šuqamuna."

Širišti-Šuqamuna, "Šuqamuna's root."

Šuqamuna-ēriš, "Šuqamuna planteth."

¹ Also given as Šindi.

² Also given as Šimdi.

NAMES WITH A KNOWN AND UNKNOWN ELEMENT

Albadi-Sah.	Kunindi-Bugaš.
Burra-Alban, " Ordinance of Alban."	Kunundi-Buriaš.
Burra-Sali (-Sani).	Kuriad-Sah.
Burra-Sigme (-Sigmi).	Nanudi (or Mabaddi)-Buriaš.
Burra-Šuhizabil.	Nakim-Sah.
Dimaḥdi-Uraš (<i>dinḡir</i> IB).	Nibia-Sah.
Gab-martaš.	Pakki-Sah.
Guzarzar-Bugaš, Gazalzar-Bugaš. ¹	Qa-Šugab.
Hašma-Ḥarbe.	Šad-barḫu.
Hašmar-Galdu.	Šibbar-Sah.
Humurbia-Sah.	Šibbar-Šugab.
Ippa-Buriaš.	Šubani-Sah.
Karak-Sah.	Taramdi-Sah.
Kilamdi-Šugab.	Tiamma-Ḥarbe.
Kilan-Ubriaš.	Tililim-Sah (or Tiliši-Sah).
Kilandi-Ubriaš.	Uddi-Sah.
Kubšia-Sah.	Ugišia-Sah.
	Uspi (Usbi)-Sah.
	Uzubšia-Sah.

OTHER NAMES

Agissi-ša, or simply Agissi.	Kašyau.
Agi-teru, or Agitešub.	Kilamdaku.
Agizzi.	Kil-teru, or Kil-tešub.
Algizzi.	Kuriad-Sah.
Altuk ^{kur} i.	Limmegag(k).
Alzibu.	Meli.
Ariaenni.	Miraš (or Mirarum).
Ariamma.	Nagim-Sah.
Ari-kirme.	Nan-teru, or Nan-tešub.
Ari-parni.	Nibiyā-Sah.
Ari-teru (or Ari-tesub).	Niraš.
Bar(?)šā-nimḡir (or <i>Kub</i> (?)šā-nimḡir).	Radbaš, or Radbarum.
Burra-ḥarbe, " Ordinance of Enlil."	Šad-barḫu.
Dašper- . . .	Šad-dirme.
En-urta-yabaš.	Sil-teru, or Sil-tešub.
Ḥadi-mišaš.	Sindi-Bēl, " Give, (O) Bēl."
Ḥaš-mābu.	Širišti . . . (or Semitic?).
Ḥašme-teru, or Ḥašme-tešub.	Šuigig.
Ḥumar-, or Ḥumurbia-Sah.	Suraš.
Ḥut-teru or Ḥut-tešub.	Taramdi-Sah.
Ikukku.	Teššu.
Kaššil.	Tiya(m)ma-Ḥarbe.
	Turari-teru (or Turari-tešub).
	Umbi.

¹ Written *Ganizar-Bugaš*.

Um̄bi-teru, or Um̄bi-tešub.
Ur̄hi-teru, or Ur̄hi-tešub.

Metilyašu (fem.), or Mitliašu
(fem.).

One of the most important inscriptions for some of the languages with which the Assyrians were acquainted, is K. 2100, which, however, does not give many Kassite words. It is a list of gods, ending with the various foreign words for "god", and is, on that account, of considerable interest. This list tells us that the word for Hadad or Rimmon in Kassite (*kaššá*) was Buriaš, which the Kassite list now published tells us was pronounced also *Ubriaš*, and the list of king's names with renderings into Assyrian translates by "the lord of the lands". The word for "god" in the same inscription (rev., l. 12) is given as *mašhu*, though both my copy and Fried. Delitzsch's transcription of the same word in the Kassite vocabulary found by Rassam make it to be *bašhu*. The confusion arises from the likeness between the *ba* and *ma* in late Babylonian inscriptions.

The following is a list of words, probably Kassite, alphabetically arranged:—

Agissi.	dagilgi, heaven.
Agi-tešub.	dakaš, star.
Agizzi.	Dur, Tur, Nergal.
Agu.	
albadi.	Eme, to go forth.
alban.	
algizzi.	Gab in Gab-martaš.
Ari, followed by <i>parai</i> , <i>kirme</i> , or	Gidar, the god En-urta.
<i>Tešub</i> .	Gurumaš.
Ariamma.	
Arianni.	Hadi in Hadi-misaš.
ašlulu, young slave.	Hala, the goddess Gula.
ašrak, wise man.	hameru, foot.
	Harbe, the god Enlil.
	Hardaš.
Barsi in Barsi-nimgir.	Haš-mābu.
bašhu, god.	hašmar.
Bugaš.	hašme.
bur, lord.	Hulabha, Hadad, Rimmon.
burna (burra), ordinance.	Humar- or Humurbia-Saš.
buzarzar, buzalzar.	hut in Hut-tešub.

Iaš or yaš, earth.

Ikukku.

ilulu, heaven.

indaš.

ippi.

Kadaš, trust.

Kamullu, the god Ea.

kara.

karak.

Kaššil, Kaššû, the Kassite god.

kasyau.

ki . . . , ordinance.

Kilamdaku.

Kilamdi.

Kilan.

Kilandi.

Kil-tešub.

Kubšia.

Kunindi, Kunundi.

kuriad in Kurlad-saḥ.

Limmegag (or -gak).

Mali, man.

Manudi (or Mabaddi).

Marattaš, the god En-urta.

mašḥu, head.

meli, servant.

miriaš, the earth.

Mirizir, Beltis.

Murutaš, the god En-urta.

Nagim in Nagim-Saḥ.

našbu, man.

Nan in Nan-tešub.

nazi, protection.

nibia.

ningi.

ningirab(i), protect.

ni . . . , righteousness.

niraš.

nula, king.

Pakki.

Qa in Qa-Šugab.

šad in Šad-dirme.

Šagarak, trust.

Saḥ, Šamaš, the sun-god.

sali.

saripu, foot.

šaripu, to hang up.

Ši-barra, the god Ši-malia.

siggar in Siggarr-Šugab.

sigme.

šimdi, šindi, to give.

simmaš, offspring.

Šipak, Merodach.

šir, bow.

Sirisas.

širišti.

Šubani in Šubani-Saḥ.

Šugab, Nergal.

Šugurra, the god Šu-malia (see

Ši-barra = Ši-malia).

Suhisabil.

Šuigig.

Šuqamuna, Nergal and Nusku.

Taramdi-saḥ.

teššu.

tia(m)ma in Tia(m)ma-ḥarbe.

tiliaš.

tilišu in Tilišu-saḥ.

Tunami(š).

Turgu, the god Enlil.

turuḥna, wind.

Ubriaš, Buriš, Hadad.

udašaš.

uddi in Uddi-saḥ.

ugišia in Ugišia-saḥ.

ulam, child.

Umbi in Umbi-tešub.

Urbi in Urbi-tešub.

ursi.

uzab, protect.

Uzubšia in Uzubšia-saḥ.

As it is clear that Kassite names have considerable analogy with those of Babylonia and Assyria, it is just possible that the Semitic and Semitic Cossean names of

this period will help in their interpretation. Thus we have *Ēriba-Šuqamuna*, "Suqamuna has augmented"; *Nār-Šuqamuna*, "light of Nergal and Nusku"; *Širišti-Šipak*, *-Šuqamuna*, "root (?) of Merodach," "of Nergal and Nusku"; *Taklaku-ana-Kamullamuni*, "I trust to Ēa (and Damkina ?)"; and several others; but we have not enough data to allow of the Kassite synonyms being recognized. That progress will ultimately be made in this study, however, there can be but little doubt. Excavations in Hittite cities have enabled a gratifying amount of material bearing upon the Hittite wedge-written inscriptions to be found—in all probability the same success awaits the excavator in the ruin-mounds of the land of Kaššu and the neighbouring state of Yašubigallu mentioned by Sennacherib.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

APPAYANA: UPPAYANA

Mr. Narasimhachar has given in his Mysore Archaeological Report for 1914-15, p. 46 ff., an account of a long inscription at Nāgāi, in the Nizam's territory, the first part of which refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I and bears a date falling in A.D. 1062. Mr. Narasimhachar finds here a term *uppayana*, which is given in Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary, from a Kōsa, as meaning 'the cessation of a journey' [a halt], with a suggestion that it may come from an original *utpayana*.

There is certainly one epigraphic case in which the word *uppayana* is found; namely, an inscription of A.D. 1077 at Waḍagēri, in the same territory, where the expression is *Naḍaviy-uppayana-viḍinol*.¹ I have taken this as giving a place named Naḍaviyuppayanaṣṭi.² But I do not hesitate to find here the word in Kittel's Dictionary to which Mr. Narasimhachar has drawn attention, and to render the expression now as meaning "at the halting-camp at Naḍavi."

The term *uppayana* seems to be found again in an inscription of A.D. 1106 at Kuḷiyagēri, also in the same territory, where the transcription in the Elliot MS. Collection gives:—*Chandrādēviya taḍiya Haṁdūra daṁḍada parama-divṣad=uppayana-viḍinol*; ³ "when the army was for some days at the halting-camp at Handūr on the bank of the Chandrādēvi."

¹ I quote this record from ink-impressions.

² *Dyn. Kan. Distra.*, p. 416.

³ I quote from the London copy, vol. 1, p. 289 b: here *parama-divṣad* is plainly a misreading of *paṭavāḁ-divṣad* or *devaṣad*; and most probably *daṁḍada* of *daṁḍina*.

Mr. Narasimhachar would find the same term *uppayana*, with the same meaning, 'the cessation of a journey' [i.e. a halt], in the Nāgāi record of A.D. 1062. As regards the meaning, he is certainly right. But I am able to say, from ink-impressions for which I am indebted to Mr. G. Yazdani of the Hyderabad Archæological Survey, that the actual form here is *appayana*, with *a*, not *u*, in the first syllable:¹ the text runs:—Beṇṇeya daṇḍina palavum-devasad-appayana-viḍinol: "when the army was for some days at the halting-camp at Beṇṇe."

In the form *appayana* this term is found again in an inscription of A.D. 1060 at Sūdi, in the Dhārwar District, Bombay, where we have:—Sindavāḍi-nāḍa baliya grāmanā Puḷiy-appayana-viḍinol: "at the halting-camp at Puḷi, a village in the Sindavāḍi district."²

We thus have a word meaning 'a halt', in two slightly different forms:—

1. *appayana*: from the records of A.D. 1060 and 1062. This may be traced safely to a Sanskrit **aprayāṇa*, 'a not going forth or forward', which is found somewhere in the Pañchatantra in the form *aprayāṇaka* with the meaning of 'an interruption or breaking of a journey: a halt (on a journey).'³

2. *uppayana*: from the records of A.D. 1077 and 1106. There is no separate Sanskrit word to account for this: it must be a corruption of *appayana* by a change of initial *a* to *u* which is found also in *uṅguṭṭa*, *uṅguṭa*, from *aṅguśṭha*, 'the thumb, great toe'.

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¹ The word is so clear in the impressions that it is difficult to think how Mr. Narasimhachar or his transcriber can have found here the form with *u*, instead of *a*, in the first syllable.

² I quote this record from an ink-impression. I have given a note on it in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1901, p. 257, where I took the name as Puḷiyappayanaviḍu: this, of course, is to be corrected now; but without interfering with my identification of the place with the "Hoolybeade" of the Indian Atlas sheet 58, in the Bellary District, Madras.

³ See the St. Petersburg Lexicon in smaller parts, and Monier-Williams' Dictionary.

NELE-VIDU : APPAYANA-VIDU

Our examination of the word *appayana*, *uppayana*, has led to a better understanding of a term *nele-vidu* which is found in many Kanarese inscriptions, and for which we have the equivalent *sthira-sibira* in Sanskrit records.¹ This term is made up of *nele*, 'standing; standing-place; a place of residence, an abode', etc., and *bidu*, 'a halting-place; a camp; a habitation, abode, residence,' etc., and is given in Kittel's Dictionary as a synonym of *nela-mane*, and so as meaning 'an abode, a place of residence'. It is always preceded by a separate genitive; e.g., *Kalyāṇada nele-vīdinol*, "at the *nele-vidu* of Kalyāṇa." And we have been accustomed to render it by "at the capital of (Kalyāṇa, or as the case may be)," and "at the residence (of Kalyāṇa, etc.)." It can be seen now, however, that it does not qualify the place in connection with which it is used, but denotes something belonging to that place and situated at it, and that what it really means is 'a fixed, permanent, or standing camp', in short, a "cantonment" just such as we have now at so many large civil stations in India which are also places of military importance.

The inscriptions give a *nele-vidu*, a cantonment, at each of the following places:²—Balipura,³ Balligāve,⁴ i.e. Belagāmi; Baṅkāpura;⁵ Belturu;⁶ Bemmattanūr;⁷

¹ See p. 118 below, n. 14.

² I do not claim to give an exhaustive list of the places, and have, in fact, omitted a few names for which we have neither a reliable reading nor a photograph or a facsimile. Still less do I aim at giving all the references for them.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 5, p. 16, line 25, = *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 154, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 7 (Shimoga), Sk. 125.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 4, p. 179, line 11-12, = PSOCI, No. 157, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 7, Sk. 120.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 10, p. 127, line 11: also PSOCI, No. 159, line 5, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 7, Sk. 129.

⁶ PSOCI, No. 138, line 27, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11 (Chitaldroog), Dg. 3: also *ibid.*, Dg. 2, line 22-23.

⁷ PSOCI, No. 146, line 24, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Cd. 13.

Dēvagiri,¹ i.e. Daulatābād; Dōrasamudra,² i.e. Halēbīd; Erambarage,³ i.e. Yelbarga; Ētagiri,⁴ i.e. Yātagiri; Gōve,⁵ i.e. Goa; Jayantīpura,⁶ i.e. Banawāsi; Kalyāṇa,⁷ the Western Chālukya and Kaṭachurya capital; Kampili;⁸ Lokkiguṇḍi,⁹ i.e. Lakkūṇḍi; Pānthipura,¹⁰ i.e. Hāngal; Pottalakere;¹¹ Sampagāḍi;¹² Uchchaṅgi;¹³ Valavāḍa;¹⁴ Velāpura,¹⁵ i.e. Bēlūr; and Vēṇugrāme,¹⁶ i.e. Belgaum.

In *appayana-* and *uppayana-vidu* we recognize another standard technical term, meaning 'a halting-camp', and found in connection with places which were not of

¹ JBBRAS, vol. 12, p. 12, line 14.

² *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 5 (Hassan), Bl. 116, line 18; and vol. 11, Dg. 36, line 80. The present name Halēbīd, lit. "old camp," seems to preserve the memory of the ancient *nele-vidu*. A *haleya-bidu* is mentioned for "the capital Hiriya-Bētūr" in *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Dg. 6, line 17-18.

³ JBBRAS, vol. 11, p. 228, line 39-40; p. 241, line 34 (the dates of these two records are spurious: for the correct reading of the name and the identification of the place, see *Ind. Ant.*, 1901, p. 262); also *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 5, Ak. 104, line 17.

⁴ PSOCI, No. 163, line 11, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 7, Sk. 124; also PSOCI, No. 164, line 14-15, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 7, Sk. 135: for the identification of the place see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 9, p. 50.

⁵ JBBRAS, vol. 9, p. 297, line 17.

⁶ JBBRAS, vol. 11, p. 247, line 5; also *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 8 (Shimoga), Sb. 549, line 8; vol. 11, Cd. 33, line 8; Cd. 34, line 5.

⁷ This *nele-vidu* is mentioned in many records: the earliest reference to it is in an unpublished inscription of A.D. 1054 at Kembhāvi, see *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 12, p. 291; for other cases see, e.g., *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 12, p. 283, line 210, and p. 330, line 9; also vol. 5, p. 24, line 10; also PSOCI, No. 175, line 22, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 7, Sk. 137.

⁸ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 4, p. 213, line 11, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Mk. 29.

⁹ PSOCI, No. 200, line 50, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 7, Sk. 105.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 10, p. 252, line 31; for the correct reading of the name see the Errata.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 19, p. 164, line 4; also PSOCI, No. 155, line 10, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 7, Sk. 126; and PSOCI, No. 153, line 9, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 7, Sk. 153 (where the name has been misread as Ghattadakere).

¹² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 273, line 19.

¹³ PSOCI, No. 146, line 11, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Cd. 13; also *ibid.*, Dg. 4, line 14; Dg. 6, line 15.

¹⁴ From unpublished records: *Valavāḍa-sthira-śibirē* occurs in *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 3, p. 210, line 15; p. 212, line 11.

¹⁵ PSOCI, No. 18, plate iv b, line 6, = *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 5, Bl. 71, line 163.

¹⁶ JBBRAS, vol. 10, p. 268, line 64.

primary importance like those which had a *nele-vīdu*, but which probably had camping-grounds and "lines," with a good supply of water and fodder, shops, and other conveniences, laid out and kept up ready to be used at any time as halting-places by an army on its march or by a sovereign or very high official on a state progress or an administrative tour. We have, so far, four of these halting-camps, at Benne, Handūr on the Chandrādēvi, Naḍavi, and Puḷi. A search through the records will perhaps disclose more of them.

The references to these standing-camps and halting-camps begin only in the eleventh century; the earliest of them, so far, being those which mention the standing-camps at Balipura and Poṭṭalakere, in records of A.D. 1019 and 1035. It would thus seem that these camps of both kinds had their origin as part and parcel of a system of military administration which was established by the Western Chālukya kings, very likely as a detail in their arrangements against the incursions by the Chōlas, which were frequent and serious at that time.

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MANGALAVARA

In the Nāgāi inscription of A.D. 1062, mentioned on p. 115 above, the date, which comes directly after the word *appayaṇa-vīdinol*, runs:¹—

Saka-varisha 984neya Śubhakṛit-saṁvatsarada Puśya bahula 6 Maṅgalavārad-and-uttarāyana-saṁkrānti-parva-nimittadiṁ.

"The 6th tithi of the dark fortnight of Pausa of the cyclic year Śubhakṛit, being the 984th Śaka year; on Tuesday; on account of the festival of the winter solstice."²

¹ I give it from the ink-impressions mentioned above. The number of the tithi is quite clearly 6; not 5 as given in the published account.

² This Śubhakṛit was Śaka 984 expired. The given details answer quite regularly to Tuesday, 24 December, A.D. 1062: on this day, the

This date is of interest in giving one of the earliest instances, among such as can be cited at present with confidence, of a free and well-established use of the name Maṅgalavāra to denote Tuesday.¹ Maṅgala, "auspicious", is not an original early name of the planet Mars, but grew up as follows.² Mars and Saturn are regarded in astrology as malefic planets, and their days as unlucky days. At some time about A.D. 900 the terms Maṅgalavāra, "the auspicious day", for Tuesday, and Vaddavāra, meaning apparently "the great day", for Saturday, were devised as euphemistic names; to avoid mentioning such evil planets by name, and by way of averting the effects of the unlucky nature of their days.³ The term Maṅgalavāra in particular found favour and met with general acceptance. And Maṅgala became set up from that as a name of the planet Mars himself,⁴ and is now almost, if not quite, the only name for him in practical use.

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tithi Pauṣa kṛishna 6 ended at closely about 10 hours after mean sunrise (for Ujjain); and the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* or winter solstice, as marked by the sun's entrance into the sign Makara (Capricornus), was at 9 h. 28 m.

¹ The earliest known instance of the use of the name Maṅgalavāra is found in an inscription at Kuñche in the Hassan District, Mysore, given by Mr. Narasimhachar in his Archaeological Report for 1912-13, p. 30: it seems to date from about A.D. 925 (at any rate, not from A.D. 871-72 as proposed); but the exact year has not been found yet. Elsewhere there are three or four instances from Mysore which claim to come from the tenth century: but the records are of a doubtful kind and require further consideration. It is only from the eleventh century that the name is found used at all freely.

² The early Indian names of Mars are (1) Bhauma, Kuja, and their synonyms, which mark him as the Son of the Earth; (2) those which refer to his colour, such as Aṅgāraka, Asrij, Lohita, Rudhira; and (3) those such as Krūrādriś, "having the evil eye," and Vakra, "cruel, perverse," which indicate his malefic nature.

³ The adoption of Maṅgalavāra and Vaddavāra as euphemistic terms, "making us forget the names of cruel days," is mentioned by the Kanarese poet Ranna (about A.D. 1000) in a verse which was brought to notice by Mr. Rice in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 23, p. 167.

⁴ It was known to Al-Bērūnī (A.D. 1030), who gives Mangalbār as the word for Tuesday, and puts Mangal first among his names for Mars (trans. by Sachau, vol. 1, pp. 213, 215).

A PECULIAR CASE OF A YUVARAJA

The *Yuvarāja* was a personage who is very familiar to us, both from the inscriptional records and from other sources. The word means literally 'young king', and denoted an heir-apparent joined with the reigning sovereign in the government with a view to the ultimate succession to the throne. It is customary to associate the idea with the appointment of some close relative, son, nephew, etc., of the reigning king. And the Hindū law seems to have contemplated, quite naturally, that the eldest son should be chosen for the post, provided that he was a fit and proper person.

The Nāgāi inscription of A.D. 1062, mentioned on p. 115 above, gives an exceptional instance of the appointment as *Yuvarāja* of a person who was not of the royal family at all. In its description of a high officer of the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I, namely, the *Mahāsāndhivi-grahādhipati* and *Daṇḍanāyaka* Madhusūdāna, a grandson of a Brāhmaṇ, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Kālidāsa, who had held office under Jayasimha II, there occurs the clause :¹—

Chālukya-chakrēśvara-prasād-āsādita-yuvarāja-padavivirājitanuṃ: "decorated with the position of *Yuvarāja* attained by the favour of the Chālukya emperor."

This instance of the appointment as *Yuvarāja* of a person who was not even of the royal blood seems to be unique, so far, and to be worth noting as such. The appointment was perhaps made in connection with the recorded desire of Sōmēśvara I to pass over his eldest son Sōmēśvara II in favour of appointing his second son Vikramāditya VI, who, however, is said to have declined the honour because it belonged by right to his elder brother.² We must understand, I think, that the

¹ I quote it from the ink impression mentioned above.

² Vikramāṅkadēvacharita, 3. 26-41: see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 5, p. 319. But the inscriptional evidence is not exactly in agreement with the alleged refusal: see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, p. 442, note 1.

appointment of Madhusūdāna as *Yuvarāja* was more or less an honorary one, at any rate in not carrying with it any title to the succession to the throne.

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THE DATE OF VARDHAMANA

Vardhamāna is the founder of modern Jainism, and his date is one of the earliest landmarks in the chronology of Ancient India. There has been, however, considerable difference of opinion as to the date of his *nirvāṇa*. There is, of course, a mass of legendary matter about the life and times of the Jaina saint, but the details of the traditions are confused and conflicting, and have in some cases been generally misunderstood and misinterpreted. An attempt is made in this paper to interpret the data of tradition so as to accord with the general custom of the age, the relation of Vardhamāna to Gautama Buddha, and the relations of these saints to the kings and princes of the imperial dynasty of Magadha, with which Buddhism and Jainism were closely associated in the first centuries of their history in India.

A fairly accurate scheme of the chronology of India in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. may be worked out by co-ordinating the various traditions from Hindu, Buddhist, and Jaina sources, such as are recorded, for instance, in the *Purāṇas*, the *Dīpavaṃśa*, and the *Gāthās*. A detailed scheme of such chronology has been given in the *Ind. Ant.* for last year. It is not necessary, therefore, to traverse the same ground. It will suffice to mention the dates according to my scheme of those Śaiśunāga kings who were connected with Vardhamāna. Bimbisāra, *alias* Srēṇiya, has been dated c. 513-485 B.C., Ajātaśatru, *alias* Kūṇika, 485-453 B.C., Udaya, *alias* Udāyi-bhadraka, 453-437 B.C., and Darśaka, 437-413 B.C.¹

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, March, 1915, pp. 41-52.

According to Jaina tradition Vardhamāna was related to Srēṇiya Bimbisāra. The queen of Srēṇiya was Chellanā, a daughter of King Chetaka of Vēsāli. Vardhamāna's mother Trisālā was a sister of this king.¹ The queen of Bimbisāra was therefore first cousin to Vardhamāna. It is not possible to infer from our records, however, what was the relationship in age of Vardhamāna to his cousin the queen of Magadha, or to her husband Bimbisāra. There is little in Jaina records of the meeting of Vardhamāna and Bimbisāra. Jacobi supposes that the twentieth lecture of the *Uttarādhyayana* has reference to one of these meetings. Even if this were so, Bimbisāra is an old man here; while the Jaina saint is yet very young and has apparently just entered the religious order.² But as a matter of fact there is great difficulty in identifying the Jaina saint referred to in this chapter with Vardhamāna. The saint says that his father belongs to Kauśāmbi, whereas we know that Vardhamāna's father was the chieftain of Kuṇḍa-grāma, near Vēsāli. The saint says that his family was enormously rich; but there is no such specific statement made of the family of Vardhamāna.

As regards Ajātaśatru, the Jains know him to a much greater extent than the Buddhists. He had his capital at Champā, apparently in the last years of his reign, as he is known to have died in that town.³ He paid several visits to Vardhamāna,⁴ and his son Udāyin was a faithful Jaina. The *Uvāsaga-dasao*⁵ places the death of Gośāla after the war of Ajātaśatru with Kōśala, and the *nirvāṇa* of Vardhamāna sixteen years after the death of Gośāla. The Jaina Sūtras⁶ declare that Chetaka, the maternal uncle of Vardhamāna, was king of Vēsāli, when that

¹ *Kalpa-sūtra* (Jacobi's ed.), p. 113.

² SBE, vol. xlv, pp. 100-1.

³ Hemachandra, *Sthavirāvali-charita*, vi, 21.

⁴ *Aupapātika-sūtra*, p. 39.

⁵ Hoernle's ed., App. i and ii, p. 110.

⁶ *Nirayāvali-sūtra*, p. 27.

kingdom was attacked by Ajātaśatru from his capital at Champā. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the Jaina saint, who was the nephew of that king, lived for many years after this event. Anyhow it is clear from all this that the Jainas knew the last years of Ajātaśatru more intimately than the early years of his reign.

The reigns of Udaya and Darśaka are but dimly reflected in the records of the two religions. They are all agreed that Udaya succeeded Ajātaśatru, and we may well believe this, though it is out of agreement with the Purāṇic data. According to Buddhist traditions Udaya was a favourite child of Ajātaśatru even during the lifetime of Bimbisāra, and he was a youthful prince at the meeting of his father with the Buddha. So Udaya must have been middle-aged at the death of Ajātaśatru. But Darśaka, according to the only tradition that we have about him—that preserved in Bhāsa's *Vāsavadatta*—was very young when he came to the throne. So Darśaka could not have come between Ajātaśatru and Udaya, as the Purāṇas make it appear. It is likely he was a son or younger brother of Udaya, whom he succeeded on the throne. The Buddhists know nothing more of Udaya; but the Jain records claim him as a faithful adherent of their creed,¹ know that he succeeded his father and founded Pāṭaliputra,² and believe that his career was cut short by assassination.

As regards Darśaka, the Buddhists of Ceylon call him Nāgadasaka, but know nothing more of him. Chaṇḍa Pradyōta was alive at the beginning of the reign of Darśaka.³ The prominence given to Chaṇḍa and his son Pālaka in the Jaina tradition may be taken as indicating that Ujjain rather than Magadha was the seat and centre of Jainism in this period. The founder of the Jaina faith

¹ *Kalpa-sūtra*, op. cit., p. 5.

² Hemachandra, op. cit., wherewith agrees the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as regards the foundation of Pāṭaliputra.

³ Bhāsa, *Swapna-vāsavadattā* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series), p. 4.

must have seen Darśaka's reign, if it be true that both Vardhamāna and Chaṇḍa died about the same time.

From what has just been said it follows that Vardhamāna's *Nirvāṇa* came after that of Gautama Buddha. There is a strong school of opinion which holds the opposite view. Mr. V. A. Smith,¹ for instance, still maintains that Vardhamāna predeceased the Buddha by some years. The Jaina saint, says he, "probably passed away towards the close of Bimbisāra's reign"; while the death of Gautama Buddha "occurred in the early years of the reign of Ajātaśatru". Those who hold the traditional view of the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira are, of course, also of the same opinion. In fact, they place the Jaina saint's *nirvāṇa* more than half a century before that of the Buddha. It is therefore necessary to examine the matter in detail.

The foundation for Mr. Smith's view is probably the *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii, 117 et seq., and *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii, 243 et seq. Let us note in the first place that the Jain creed is styled *Chāturyāma* (four vows) in D.N. ii, 57 et seq., and M.N. i, 377. It is clear from the Jaina texts² that this was the creed of Pārśvanātha, who lived 250 years earlier than Vardhamāna, and not that of the latter who enforced *five vows*, adding to the four vows of Pārśvanātha the fifth one of chastity (*brahmacharya*). Secondly, the Buddha had frequent meetings³ with Bimbisāra, and one school of Buddhist tradition⁴ goes so far as to say that the saint and the king were born on the same day. On the other hand, Jaina tradition⁵ is to the effect that Vardhamāna died on the same day as Chaṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti. We know from Bhāsa's *Vāsavadattā* that Pradyota was living certainly after Ajātaśatru and

¹ *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 33.

² *Vide*, for instance, the *Uttarādhyayana*, lecture xxiii.

³ See SBE., vol. I (Index), p. 99, for the references.

⁴ Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha* (citing *Dulva*, xi), p. 16.

⁵ The *Literary Remains* of Dr. Bhau Dāji, p. 130.

even after Udaya. Thirdly, Buddhist traditions are agreed that the Buddha died early in the reign of Ajātaśatru, whether in the fifth or in the eighth year of the reign. But Jaina traditions show that Vardhamāna was living at least sixteen years after the war of Ajātaśatru with the Kōśala kingdom.

A general study of the early records of the two religions also leads one to the conclusion that Vardhamāna lived, not in the same period as the Buddha, but several years later. The early Buddhist records¹ mention different schools of Jains, such as the followers of Pārśvanātha, Vardhamāna, and Purāṇa Kaśyapa. Theirs was the period of the formation of various religious sects. The very word "*Tīrthakara*", which to the Buddhists meant the "founder of a heretical sect", meant to the Jains "the founder of a religious system". Coming to particular founders of religions or of heretical sects, Gośāla is the most prominent of them in the Jaina records, but he is not at all prominent among the opponents of the Buddha. We know that Gośāla died sixteen years before Vardhamāna, and that he was the founder of the well-known sect of the Ajivikas. If he had been a contemporary of the Buddha and the founder of a rival sect, we should naturally expect him to be mentioned as such in the early Buddhist records. Nor do the Buddhists know Jamālī, another prominent contemporary of Vardhamāna, and the author of the first schism in the Jaina church. Lastly, the Jain records display a philosophical system opposed to the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta. Buddhism is founded on these older philosophies and takes no note of the Vaiśeṣhika, which was a product of comparatively later systematization. But the Jains, as Dr. Bhandarkar² well puts it, hold a view which is "of the nature of a compromise between

¹ Cf. *Mahāvagga*, viii, 5. 3; *Anguttara Nikāya*, iii, 383

² See his Report for 1883-4, pp. 101 ff.

the Sāṅkhyas and Vedāntins on the one hand and the Vaiśeṣhikas on the other".

We may now examine the various traditions that are in any way connected with the date of Vardhamāna.

1. There is first the well-known *gāthā*, believed in by both the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, to the effect that the *Nirvāṇa* of Vardhamāna was "470 years before Vikrama". As Dr. Hoernle¹ remarks, however, the two Jaina sects do not agree about the interpretation of this *gāthā*. The Digambaras reckon back from the birth, the Śvetāmbaras from the accession of Vikrama. The fact that the name Vikrama is connected with it will not justify our rejecting the *gāthā* as embodying a late, and therefore historically worthless, tradition. For, though the form of the *gāthā* is doubtless modern, it is none the less possible that it is founded on some ancient tradition, the more so as it is unhesitatingly accepted by both the schools of Jaina tradition.

The real question is as to the meaning of the *gāthā*. Professor Kielhorn² has shown that the connexion of Vikrama with the era of 58 B.C. grew up gradually in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that the first specific mention of the era as having been established by Vikramāditya is in a record of 1198 A.D. But there is one more fact about the era worthy of mention, not referred to by Professor Kielhorn. By the twelfth century there had grown up a special reckoning of the Vikrama era known as *Ananda* Vikrama era,³ beginning roughly at A.D. 33, i.e. 90 or 91 years later than the other Vikrama era, the *Sananda* variety, of B.C. 58 or 57. The poet Chand Bardāi in the same century has used this era throughout in his poem. It is thus clear that both the methods of reckoning the Vikrama era—the *Sananda* and *Ananda*—were in

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, xx, p. 360.

² *Ind. Ant.*, xix and xx.

³ *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 500.

vogue when the *gāthā* was put in the existing form. If we take the *Sananda* reckoning, we should get 527 B.C. for the *nirvāṇa*. This date is manifestly impossible in view of the posteriority of Vardhamāna to the Buddha, as set forth above. Thus the Vikrama era referred to in the *gāthā* could only be the *Ananda* variety, commencing A.D. 33. Counting back 470 years from A.D. 33 we arrive at 437 B.C. for the *nirvāṇa* of Vardhamāna.

2. We may now consider the tradition¹ that the accession of Chandragupta Maurya came 155 years after the *nirvāṇa*. Taking the most probable date² for the accession of Chandragupta, we get $319 + 155 = 474$ B.C. for the *nirvāṇa*. But there is an error in the Jaina reckoning. It gives 60 years to Pālaka, whereas the *Purāṇas* give him only 24 or 28.³ The earliest *Purāṇa*, the *Matsya*, assigns only 28 years to Pālaka. Thus there is a difference of 32 years in the reign of Pālaka alone. Coming to the Nandas, Hemachandra allows them 95 years, but according to our scheme of chronology the Nandas after Udaya's death—the only Nandas contemplated in the Jaina record—have only 90 years. If we make allowance for these errors in the Jaina calculation, we get $474 - (32 + 5)$, i.e. 437 B.C., as the date of the *nirvāṇa*.

3. We now pass on to the tradition⁴ that Sthūlabhadra, the seventh successor of Mahāvira, was the mantrin of the ninth Nanda, and died when Nanda was slain by Chandragupta. Though we may not press far this synchronism of the deaths of the emperor and the sage, it may be noted that the calculation tallies with our date.

¹ Followed by Hemachandra, *op. cit.*, and quoted by Merutuṅga (Bhav Dāgi, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 131).

² Dr. Hultzsch's, in *JRAS.*, 1914.

³ The *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇas* give 24, and the *Matsya Purāṇa* 28 years.

⁴ See the list of *Staviras* in *SBE.* xxii, pp. 287, 289. Also *Ind. Ant.*, xi, 246.

It must be borne in mind that the average for an apostolic line works out to less than that for a dynasty, as the successor in the former case is sometimes an elderly man who should be regarded rather as a contemporary of his predecessor than as one belonging to a succeeding generation. In support of my view I may quote figures from the *Paṭṭāvali* of the *Tapāgaccha*¹ and the *Kalpadruma* of Lakshmivallabha. Both these records agree that there were twenty-three *Sthaviras* from Vardhamāna in a period of 376 or 386 years. This gives us an average of 16 or 17 years to a generation. To tally with our date for Vardhamāna we have to give only 118 years to the seven generations of *Sthaviris* till Chandragupta's time, which is quite in keeping with the figures obtained above for each generation.

4. Lastly, we come to the tradition of the synchronism of the deaths of Vardhamāna and Chaṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti. Though here again we may not be justified in taking the synchronism too literally, it may nevertheless be accepted that the saint and the king died about the same time. In the light of the tradition preserved in Bhāsa's *Vāsavadatta* the death of Chaṇḍa Pradyōta must have occurred early in the reign of Darśaka of Magadha (437-413 B.C.). For Bhāsa introduces Pradyota as seeking the hand of Darśaka's sister in marriage for his own son. Professor Jacobi in his German translation of the play has held the view that the Pradyota here referred to is "presumably a son of Mahāsena". But I find distinct evidence that he was not the son of Mahāsena, but Mahāsena himself. In the second Act Bhāsa tells us "Pradyota is styled Mahāsena because of the immensity of his forces".² In Act vi the queen of Pradyota says to Udayana, "You have been a son-in-law dear to us like our own son

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, xi, 251.

² Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, p. 20.

Gōpālābālaka."¹ We know from the Buddhist records that Udayana had carried off the daughter of Chanda Pradyota and married her.

It only remains to show that the story of Bhāsa is based on an ancient and trustworthy tradition. The burning of Lāvāṇakam and the supposed death of Pradyota's daughter there form a main link in the plot, and the story in this respect is corroborated by the Buddhist *Divyāvadāna*.² The title Mahāsena given by Bhāsa to Pradyota is supported by Bāṇa, who refers to the king by the same title in his *Harshacharita*.³ The name of Mahāsena's son Gōpālābālaka in Bhāsa is the same as we find in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, while the other Purāṇas and the Jaina Merutuṅga name him Pālaka, which is probably a variant or abbreviation of the full name. Since Bhāsa was evidently using an ancient tradition, we may accept his story that Chanda Pradyota was alive even after the accession of Darśaka. If so, his death and that of Vardhamāna could not be earlier than about 437 B.C.

Thus the date 437 B.C. or 470 of the Ananda Vikrama era appears to fulfil the early traditions as to Jain chronology. It also fits in with what we know of the general history of the period from the Hindu, Buddhist, and Jaina sources.

S. V. VENKATESWARA.

A NOTE ON VAJRAPANI IN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

In her very interesting article on the "Fravashi of Gautama" (in the July number of this Journal) Mrs. E. Colton Spooner has proposed a new explanation

¹ Ibid., p. 69.

² *Avadāna*, xxxvi.

³ *Harshacharita*. *Uchchvāsa*, vi, p. 221 (in the Bombay edition of the text).

of the mysterious figure of Vajrapāṇi, which we see so often in the different representations of scenes from Buddha's life. Nearly the same explanation (without, however, leaving purely Indian ideas) of Vajrapāṇi as "guardian angel" was indicated by myself fifteen years ago in my article "Buddhist Art in India" (written in Russian in the Bulletin of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, vol. xiv, pp. 223-4, 1901).

Buddhist legends tell us of a "sahajā sahadharmikā nityānubaddhā devatā".¹ Persons living in India and well acquainted with the large pantheon of the minor deities could probably give us interesting details about this Indian guardian angel. As far as I know, the Buddhist literary sources give us no help in this matter. Still, the epithets of the "sahajā devatā" are quite sufficient to show us what is really meant; it is clearly the same idea which we have in the Fravashis and the guardian angels. The best weapon for such a devatā would be, of course, the magic weapon *par excellence*, the vajra; the attribute, as in many other cases, has been the origin of the name: such was the birth of Vajrapāṇi.

The conception of Vajrapāṇi in Mrs. Spooner's article agrees on the whole with mine; I remain only on Indian soil, although, of course, I am quite ready to admit the possibility of Iranian influences. More details about the "sahajā devatā" would be very welcome.

SERGE D'OLDENBURG,

Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

PETROGRAD.

ASURA MAYA

Dr. Thomas, commenting on Dr. Spooner's recent discoveries and theories based thereon (JRAS., April, 1916, pp. 362-6), ventures to make certain conjectures

¹ *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell-Neil, p. 1440. Lakṣmī is also often a sort of "sahajā devatā".

regarding the mutual contact and conflict between the early Mesopotamian civilizations and the Indo-Aryan waves passing from Europe south of the Caspian on their way to ancient Persia and India and the influence of the former upon the latter. With due deference to his scientific caution, I should like to refer him to my *Comparative Studies*,¹ wherein (pp. 38-42) I had, perhaps rashly, made the same conjecture and derived the word *Asura* in the same way, that is, from the name of the great Assyrian god. I am exceedingly glad to find now after seven years, that if I erred I erred in good company.

K. R. V. RAJA.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE

Upon a perusal of Mr. K. Rama Varma Raja's *Comparative Studies* I certainly agree that on pp. 38-42 the Sanskrit *Asura* is identified as "one and the same deity" with "the *Ahura* of the Zoroastrians and the Assyrian *Assur*". I do not feel sure that the course of events is conceived by Mr. Rama Varma Raja quite in the same way as by me, since he considers that *Asura* found his way into India in pre-Aryan days.

I am glad to have made the acquaintance of Mr. Rama Varma Raja's interesting pamphlet.

F. W. T.

SRAHE

The use of the word *śrāhe* in Kanarese inscriptions was first noted by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 18, p. 38 f., in editing a Guḍigere record containing the phrase: Sa(śa)ka-varsha 998mey-Anaḷa-saṁvatsarada śrāheyolu, "in the *śrāhe* of the Śaka year 998, the cyclic year Anaḷa." Further notes by him appeared *ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 163, and vol. 22, p. 222, the latter referring to a record at Sūḍi; and Professor Kielhorn (*ibid.*, vol. 23, p. 224)

¹ A small pamphlet published in 1908.

called attention to its use in the inscriptions of Orissa, as quoted in JASB., vol. 62, pt. 1, p. 90 ff., to which may be added Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. 2, p. 165 ff.

In the inscriptions of Orissa the word, usually spelt *srāhi*, but sometimes *srāhi*, sometimes *śrāhi*, comes regularly between the number of the *aṅka* or regnal year of the reigning king and the name of the month: as, for instance: . . . vijērājyē samasta 3 aṅka śrāhi Magusira kṛi trayōdasi Bhūmivārē. Occasionally the expression is *ē srāhi*, "(in) this *srāhi*". And Professor Kielhorn in a later note (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 25, p. 286) arrived at the conclusion that the word means 'a year'.

An examination of the context of the Sūdi inscription quoted by Dr. Fleet has supplied me with the final proof of this view. We read here, ll. 18-21: aṅgaḍiyuṁ maneyuṁ . . . tad-varsham-modal-āgiy-eraḍu śrāheya siddh-āyam-olag-āgi sarbba-bādhā-parihāraṁ-gottu nilisi allin mēle Nandana-samvatsaram-ādiy-āgi varsham-prati sarbb-āya-sahitaṁ, "the shops and houses . . . they allow to stand with a grant of immunity from all imposts, including the fixed land-rent, for two *śrāhes*, beginning from the present year; subsequently, from the year Nandana onwards, they are to be charged with the *sarv-āya* annually." Now, the year of the grant was Vikṛita, corresponding to Śaka 973; and in the sixty-year cycle Vikṛita is followed by Khara, and Khara by Nandana. Thus, Vikṛita and Khara together are co-extensive with two *śrāhes*, and hence a *śrāhe* is equal to and means 'a twelve-month'.¹

L. D. BARNETT.

¹ Dr. Fleet has suggested to me the possibility of connecting the word with the Marathi *sarāḍi*, defined by Molesworth as: "The time of ripening (of fruit, corn, or other product of the earth); harvest-time, the season. Hence 2: The season or period of peculiar fitness or greatest prevalence for or of certain ceremonies, rites, or practices." This seems to bring it back ultimately to the Sanskrit *sarad*.

THE SANSKRIT VERSION OF THE SUTTA NIPĀTA

With reference to my article on the five fragments of a Sanskrit version of the Sutta Nipāta discovered by me in the Stein Collection (*ante*, vol. for 1916, pp. 709 ff.), I may call the attention of those interested in the subject to an article by Professor S. Lévi in the *Journal Asiatique* for May-June, 1915, where, on pp. 413 and 424, he speaks of Chinese references to the Aṭṭhavagga of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta. As unfortunately Professor Lévi's article reached me only at the end of October last, while my article had been written several months earlier, I was not able to utilize it for my purposes. But what is particularly interesting is that Professor Lévi's investigations have led him to the same conclusion that the Arthavarga "must be classed among the most ancient monuments of Buddhist literature" (JA., p. 417).

I may add that on the position of the fifth fragment Professor Lévi does not agree with my suggestion that it follows immediately upon the four other fragments (JRAS., pp. 731-2). In a postcard (dated Oct. 24, 1916) he explains his view: "Le chinois correspondant à vos fragments sanscrits s'y retrouve page 60a-1a [Trip. de Tōk.; Nanjio 674]. L'Arthavargiya place après l'histoire de Mākandika le récit du miracle de Śravastī; donc le fragment v ne fait pas suite aux autres: il ne fait pas partie du même ouvrage. Au premier souvenir (car je vous écris aussitôt après vous avoir lu) je ne retrouve pas le texte correspondant." That may be so. At the same time, the fifth fragment differs, in outward appearance, in no respect from the other four. All five fragments are exactly alike in respect of size, colour, texture, etc., of their paper; all which certainly suggests to my mind that they are portions of the same pothi.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

THE ORDER OF THE NAKSATRAS IN THE EPIC, AND
THE EPIC MONTH

In a recent number of the Journal¹ Dr. Fleet has adduced evidence from the epic to show that at the time when certain portions of the epic were produced the winter solstice had travelled westwards from the first point of Śraviṣṭhā, its place in the *Jyotiṣa*, to the preceding Nakṣatra Śravaṇa. Of the correctness of this theory there is no possible doubt, but it is right to point out that the same result has already been arrived at with still fuller examination of the evidence by Professor E. W. Hopkins in a paper published in 1903 in the Journal of the American Oriental Society,² in which he lays just stress on the fact that the signs of this change occur in books i and xiv, which are essentially late parts of the epic, while in iii, 230. 10 we find Dhanīṣṭhā expressly recognized as the first.

Dr. Fleet's promised proof of the fact that the Kṛttikās held their place at the head of the asterisms for none but ritual and astrological reasons will be awaited with satisfaction, as the persistent view that its place is due to the coincidence of the vernal equinox with Kṛttikās at a certain epoch has been the source of much useless conjecture as to the date of the *Rigveda*, despite the conclusive evidence adduced by Whitney and Thibaut to establish the principle that the equinoxes had nothing whatever to do with the conceptions of time in the *Rigveda*. In the later period, as has been shown by Tilak,³ we have the express evidence of Garga that Kṛttikās was first for ritual purposes, while Śraviṣṭhā was first in reckoning, but so far no cogent evidence has been brought to show precisely why this place should have been assigned to Kṛttikās, and in the absence of any evidence as to the real origin of the Nakṣatras the priority

¹ JRAS. 1916, pp. 567-70.

² xxiv, 15, 34 sq.

³ *Orion*, p. 30.

of Kṛttikās has been insoluble. But the Babylonian hypothesis of their origin still remains the most plausible, and for an ingenious argument in its support I would refer to a comparatively recent article by Lehmann-Haupt.¹ If so, then the effort to prove the origin of the position of Kṛttikās by Indian literature must be unsuccessful.

To one point in Hopkins' interesting exposition of the Epic data exception must, I think, be taken. He infers² that there was a frequent recognition of a month of twenty-seven to twenty-eight days, and adduces as an argument setting the matter beyond doubt the regular ascription of "ten months" to the period of pregnancy. This argument, however, appears to rest on a misrendering of the epic evidence: the phrase *garbhān daśa māśān bibhrati* which he cites³ does not establish that the complete period of ten months was normally reached: it is only a natural manner of expressing a period in excess of nine months, and indeed the precise period could not have been expected to appear in poetry, where no necessity for precise accuracy was present. What is more important is the fact that the phrase of the *Rigveda*,⁴ *daśamē māsi sūlave* which is found elsewhere⁵ is naturally and properly to be rendered "in the course of the tenth month", and this is in exact accord with the Vedic month of thirty days, which, it cannot too often be stated, is the only month recognized in the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. This view is confirmed by the fact that the epic itself uses the terms *saṁpūrṇe navame māsi*⁶ and *māsi daśame*

¹ ZDMG. lxvi, 636.

² JAOS. xxiv, 18, 19, 392, 393.

³ iii, 134. 17, etc.

⁴ x, 184. 3; *daśamāśya*, v, 78. 9.

⁵ AB. vii, 13. 9. In CU. v, 9. 1 there is a curious divergence of text; most read (with Böhtlingk) an alternation of ten months and *yāvad vā*; the Nirṇaya Sagar ed. inserts "or nine", which agrees with the Buddhist version of the period and Yājñ. iii, 83.

⁶ xii, 321. 117.

prāpte,¹ which makes a month of twenty-seven or twenty-eight days out of the question. Moreover, that ten months is not to be deemed to be the exact period is shown conclusively by the accounts of the birth of the Buddha, in which with unanimity² stress is laid on the fact that his period was precisely full ten months, while in other cases the time fell under that or exceeded it. If Hopkins' view were correct, the time in the Buddha's case would be exactly that normal in the epic, which is inconceivable.

Nor is it possible to accept the view of Hopkins that in the phrase³ *samvatsare . . . strī . . . vijāyate* we necessarily have a reference to a period "within which". This is the most natural meaning, but there is clear evidence that the term of a year was often given as that of birth: thus we have the contrast made between embryos of ten months and of a year,⁴ and the period of a year is sometimes expressly given.⁵ It is at first tempting to suggest connexion of this year with the Roman year of ten months of 304 days, and by conjecture to evolve from both the theory of a year of ten lunar months (295 days) as Indo-European, but clearly there is not the slightest ground for doing anything of the sort when we find that the medical textbooks with due impartiality accord the period from the first day of the ninth month to the end of the year as the period for birth.⁶ We must therefore conclude that no result of any value for the length of the epic month can be derived from the argument of Hopkins, and he himself adduces excellent evidence to show that the month of thirty days was fully recognized, including the formal statement⁷ that a month is deemed to be thirty nights and days (*rātryahanī*).

¹ i, 63, 61.

² Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt*, pp. 120 sq.

³ ŚB. xi, 1. 6. 2; the parallel with Prajāpati and xi, 5. 4. 6 disprove the rendering suggested.

⁴ AB. iv, 22.

⁵ Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 53.

⁶ Weber, *Naxatra*, ii, 313.

⁷ xii, 232. 13.

In confirmation of this view it may be noted that, though a period of ten months is alluded to in both Greek and Roman authorities,¹ these inferences are merely regarded² as possibly signifying reckoning by the lunar month of roughly 29½ days and not as allusions to a month of 27-28 days, as suggested in the case of India by Hopkins. Such a periodic month was not recognized as a month in classical antiquity, as is seen e.g. in the phraseology of Thucydides³ in regard to the fatal delay at Syracuse insisted upon by Nikias.

It may be added that the strange phrase in the epic (i, 71. 34) *pratiśravaṇapūrvāṇi nakṣatrāṇi cakāra yaḥ* may be compared with the phrase in *Bṛhaddevatā*, v, 90: *evayāmarudākhyātam dyaur naindre pratipūrvakam*. The general interpretation of this phrase is pointed out by Professor Macdonell, who shows that the reference must be⁴ to the rule by which on a certain occasion the hymn *dyaur na* (RV. vi, 20) takes the place of the *Evayāmarut* hymn (RV. v, 87), so that the sense must be "having as a substitute the *dyaur na* hymn addressed to Indra", and the reading may perhaps be altered to *dyaur naindrapratipūrvakam* as a single compound, it being assumed that the reading *naindre*, which Professor Macdonell restores from the MSS., was a corruption of a passage not understood. The sense of that epic passage, admitting an irregular compound, thus becomes "who made the Nakṣatras to have Śravaṇa as a substitute" (i.e. at the beginning for the normal Dhanīṣṭhā). It would not, then, as suggested by Dr. Fleet,⁵ mean merely

¹ Arist. *Hist. An.* vii, 4, 584a 36 (7 and 10 months); fr. 258 (7, 8, 10, 11 months); Verg. *Ecl.* iv, 61; Plin. *N.H.* vii, 5. In *Vendidad*, v, 45, 10 months appears as the extreme period. In *Wisdom*, vii, 2, we have 10, in 2 *Macc.* vii, 27, however, 9 months.

² König, *ZDMG.* lx, 619.

³ vii, 50. 4.

⁴ AB. vi, 30.

⁵ *JRAS.* 1916, p. 569.

"who made a duplicate set of the Nakṣatras headed by Śravaṇa" or "who made Nakṣatras headed by a second Śravaṇa". That would imply that the original set of Nakṣatras was so headed, while it is clear that Viśvāmitra was a reformer: we have just been told that "he made another world with a right arrangement of asterisms", as rendered by Hopkins, not merely, as taken by Dr. Fleet, "with a wealth of stars" (*nakṣatrasaṃpadā*), and we are now informed in what this reform consisted, namely, substituting Śravaṇa for Dhaniṣṭhā. If we decline to accept the theory of *pratipūrva* as an irregular compound, we can attain the sense necessary by taking *prati* as indicating, not "likeness", but opposition, as in *pratikuñjara*, *pratikitava*, and so on, and by rendering "who made Nakṣatras preceded by an opposing Śravaṇa", i.e. by one opposed to Dhaniṣṭhā. Apart, however, from the possibility of an irregular compound, for which may be compared, e.g., iii, 200. 34: *pāmsupādāvagunṭhitāḥ*, where there is a similar dislocation, it must be remembered that a corruption of an unintelligible and abnormal in metre *pratipūrvaśravaṇāni* or of *śravaṇapratipūrvāṇi* would be easy enough. But the only important point is that the epic recognizes that a change was deliberately made, and not merely records a change without consciousness of it having occurred, which is the real result of Dr. Fleet's rendering of *prati* in the passage in question. Whether the *Rāmāyaṇa* knew this point in the tradition may be doubted, as it does not refer to it, and there is no conclusive proof¹ that it followed the great epic as we have it in this episode. The original tale may probably have been merely of a creation of a counter set of Nakṣatras, later touched up into an assertion of an important change in order.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

¹ The evidence of borrowing adduced by Holtzmann (*Das Mahābhārata im Osten und Westen*, p. 67) is clearly inadequate to prove the relation.

PROFESSOR RIDGEWAY'S THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF INDIAN DRAMA

Professor Ridgeway and I differ so fundamentally in our view of the origin of drama that I would not have considered it necessary to reply to his note in the last number of the *Journal*,¹ preferring to leave the judgment between our views to those scholars who are experts on the subject, had it not been that this note is based in large measure on the assumption that I have misrepresented his views. The following observations will, I think, prove decisively that, if I have misunderstood Professor Ridgeway, it is he himself who must bear the responsibility.

1. As regards this point I need only refer to the quotation from *Dramas and Dramatic Dances* given at p. 336 of my note,² from which it will be seen that I recognized that Professor Ridgeway excluded some part of Indian religion from his general principle, but called attention to the fact that he did not specify what part, a fact which contradicts flatly his present assertion that he has "always" pointed out "that the Sky-God or All-Father must be carefully discriminated from the rest". Such a discrimination, I may add, would not be accepted for a moment by any Vedic scholar, and, more consistently than Professor Ridgeway, others, such as Feist,³ find in the sky-god the most glorified form of the chief spirit of the dead.

2. The remarks at pp. 127, 128 of Professor Ridgeway's book fully justify my argument on p. 337.

3. The argument from the view that Rāma is the seventh Avatar and Kṛṣṇa the eighth to prove that Rāma was worshipped at Mathurā before Kṛṣṇa appeared to me, and still appears to me, to require no specific refutation in

¹ 1916, pp. 821-9.

² 1916, pp. 335-50.

³ *Kultur der Indogermanen*, pp. 327 sqq.

face of the obvious fact, proved by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, that in earlier times Rāma had nothing to do with Mathurā.

4. Reference to p. 349 shows that I cited and approved the view that comedy is not to be traced to ritual drama, so that this charge of misrepresentation should certainly not have been made.

5. It is for Professor Ridgeway to show that the results on pp. 206–11 differ in any way from what is given on p. 172. He does not do so, and I can see no difference in the opinions expressed.

6. Professor Ridgeway's repetition of his argument leaves it as unconvincing as ever, but it is necessary to protest against the suggestion that on my theory of drama the characters were mere abstractions. My view is correctly cited at p. 828; by the time when drama arises the actors are to the minds of the audience real beings, whether divine or human.

7. My view as to the nature of Greek drama is not assumed with a delightful *naïveté*: on the contrary, it has been expounded as against Dr. Ridgeway's own view in this Journal (1912, pp. 411–28), and I await some effort on his part to reply to its arguments, which have been received not without approval in other quarters.

8. This argument must be read with part of that in 11. There is no question as to the view having been held—not universally, of course—that Rāma and Kṛṣṇa were men. But what it is necessary for Professor Ridgeway to show is that drama arose from the commemorative treatment in this form of the lives and deaths of these personages, and for this he has never adduced one single particle of evidence from India, unless we are to take as intended in this sense the observation that parts of the epics are recited or performed (how is an epic performed?) in temples at the great festivals of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

9. Professor Ridgeway now states that the fact that the actors in the religious dramas are regularly Brahmans,

because for the time being they are taken to be equivalent to gods, is a ground for assuming that originally in India the actors represented the spirits of the dead. This is an extraordinary argument, since, if it has any meaning, it assumes that gods are later than the spirits of the dead, which is precisely the question at issue.

10. Professor Ridgeway has evidently omitted to notice that on pp. 348 and 349 I expressly noted his alleged evidence of the priority of belief in the souls of the dead from other lands, and pronounced it worthless, not excluding the doctrine of the priority of the noun to the verb, perhaps the most priceless of Professor Ridgeway's contributions to the science of comparative philology.

11. I am glad to find that Professor Ridgeway seems to have repented of his remarkable views on the racial divergence between Kṛṣṇa, the Yādavas, and Kāmśa, to the extent at least that he invents a lost version of the story in which the incongruities which I indicated might not have occurred. But in truth it is precisely the very curious fact that the followers of Kṛṣṇa had red as their mark which gives so interesting an insight into the origin of the drama; it is just a detail which would not naturally have been invented, and which suggests the nature ritual. More serious, however, is Professor Ridgeway's suggestion that I know perfectly well that the theory of a vegetation cult origin for the Greek drama depends wholly on the assumption that from the earliest times at Eleusis there had been a dramatic representation of the marriage of Zeus and Demeter. This statement confirms the impression (see Nos. 4 and 10) that Professor Ridgeway has not read carefully my paper, on p. 346 of which I expressly repudiated this theory and accepted its refutation. As regards Professor Usener's views of Greek tragedy, I need add nothing to what I said in 1912 until a detailed rejoinder from Professor Ridgeway is forthcoming, and I need only add that no person who has read the *Viṣṇu*

Purāṇa could possibly doubt that in one aspect at least *Kṛṣṇa* is a vegetation spirit.¹

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

"PROFESSOR RIDGEWAY'S THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF INDIAN DRAMA": A SURREJOINDER

Professor Keith attempts to clear himself from my charge that he had repeatedly misrepresented both my statements and my doctrines, but how vainly will be seen from the following:—

1. He does not deny his statement that "it is a fixed principle with Professor Ridgeway that all religion is to be traced to the reverence shown to the dead", and his attempt to justify himself by showing that he had elsewhere criticized my words (p. 133) "that the Hindu gods . . . are to be regarded in almost every case as having been once men or women", only proves that when he made his statement he was perfectly aware that I held no such doctrine. It is no answer to me to say that Feist makes the Sky-god arise from ancestor-worship, for it is not a question whether what I hold is right, but what I actually hold and say.

2. He said that I denied "to the Aryans of the *Rig-Veda* all contact with magic rites and beliefs". I pointed out that I accepted his own explanation of the Frog Hymn as "a rain spell", i.e. a piece of magic. He does not even attempt to reply.

3. He asserted (p. 338) that I said "that the original home of Rāma was at Mathurā, where he was superseded by the aboriginal *Kṛṣṇa*", and that "for this remarkable theory, on which much of the reasoning depends, not a scrap of evidence can be or had been adduced". But (a) I have never stated anywhere that the "original home

¹ If further proof is required, reference may be made to N. Macnicol, JRAS. 1913, pp. 145-51.

of Rāma was at Mathurā", nor (b) that his worship there had ever been "superseded" by that of Krishna. On the contrary, (a) I said (p. 133) that Rama "was a king of Ayodhya" and (b) I emphasize (p. 132, etc.) the importance of the Rāma cult at Mathurā (Muttra) to this hour. To this he has no answer. Further, I pointed out that Dr. Keith strangely omitted to combat my argument that as the Brahmans at Mathura regard Rama as the seventh and Krishna as the eighth avatar of Vishnu, they evidently hold Krishna to be later than Rama, not to speak of the fact that Krishna is not known to the Buddhist Sūtras. All that he can say in reply now is that "the argument from the view that Rāma is the seventh avatar and Kṛṣṇa the eighth appeared to me and still appears to me to require no specific refutation in face of the fact proved by the *Rāmāyana* that in the earlier times Rāma had nothing to do with Mathurā", whilst he makes no attempt to explain the Brahman tradition and the silence of the Sūtras. But the fact that in the earlier times Rama of Ayodhya had nothing to do with Mathura in no wise proves that his cult was not established there before that of Krishna, which is the point at issue.

4. Dr. Keith alleged that I made "all Indian drama grow out of performances in honour of the dead". I pointed out that as he had read my Appendix on Comedy, he knew that I held no such view. He does not deny my charge, but thinks because (on p. 349) he shows that he approved my view that comedy is not to be traced to ritual drama, I ought not to have charged him with "misrepresentation". Why did he not express his regret for having misrepresented me in another part of his criticism?

5. I pointed out that Dr. Keith chose to consider for his own purpose that my "theory seemed to be summed up at p. 173" (the italics are mine), and proceeded to deal with what was only a provisional stocktaking of the

results so far attained, as if it were the complete summary of my results, and carefully omitted to deal *seriatim* with the full summary (pp. 206-11). This he does not deny, but seeks to escape by saying that it is for me to show that "the results of pp. 206-11 differ in any way from those given on p. 172". As my full summary in fourteen heads occupies five pages, he knows that it is impossible for me to set forth the crucial differences between the two passages within the limits allowed to me for this reply. Any reader can test for himself the accuracy of my statement.

6. He characterized my method of working back from modern Indian dramas, in which the most popular themes are real personages, through mediaeval times, when the same holds true, to the earliest period, as "the most feeble argumentation possible", and argued that because "in the nineteenth century plays are performed with persons like Buddha, etc., as heroes, that in earlier days the same thing may have taken place, sheds no conclusive light on the origin of tragedy or drama" (p. 339). I showed that he had, as usual, misrepresented the vital parts of my argument, whilst by his reference to "nineteenth century plays on Buddha" he speaks as if there were no ancient dramas on that famous man. It is curious that a Sanskrit Professor should not know that one of the two oldest pieces of extant Indian dramatic literature is a fragment of a play on the life of Buddha (Lüders, *Brüchst. d. Buddhistischer Dramen*). His only reply now is that "by the time when drama arises the actors are to the minds of the audience real beings, whether divine or human". He thus postulates a period antecedent to the time when the actors regard the characters as real, for which neither here nor elsewhere has he adduced a scintilla of evidence. But to this we shall return.

7. Dr. Keith stated that "no one doubts that the Indian drama after its first beginnings developed like the Greek

drama a wide sphere of interest and that it could treat of the lives and feats of famous personages", though he has not produced any evidence for the tragedy either Greek or Indian ever having had abstractions as themes, and simply assumed that the vegetation spirit theory of the origin of Greek drama was an established fact. His only reply now is (a) that in a much quoted article (JRAS., 1912, pp. 411-28) he had "expounded his view as against" mine, (b) he says (in 11) that "as regards Professor Usener's views of Greek tragedy he (Dr. Keith) need add nothing to what he said in 1912 until a detailed rejoinder is forthcoming", whilst (c) in reply to my statement (11) that he knew that "the theory of a vegetation cult origin for the Greek drama depends wholly on the assumption that from the earliest times at Eleusis there had been a dramatic representation of the marriage of Zeus and Demeter", he refers to his words on p. 346, "It is perhaps wise of Professor Ridgeway to pass lightly over Dr. Farnell's contribution without further discussion and to proceed to attacks on less well thought out schemes," such as those of Miss Harrison and Professor Murray, my refutation of which he there accepts.

(a) What he terms his "view" is simply Usener's Agon or Combat modification of the ordinary theory of the dramatization of natural phenomena, with Dr. Farnell's further modification, that Attic tragedy is "a winter drama of the seasons", in which black man kills white man, based on a story (thought historical by the Athenians) of a combat between Xanthus, a Boeotian, and Melanthus, a Neleid, in which the latter was said to have been aided by Dionysus Melanaegis. Dr. Keith's own contribution is only a supposed parallel of the Kansa story in which red men kill black men (be it remarked, the converse of the Attic story).

(b) I have dealt drastically with the Usener Agon theory and Dr. Farnell's adaptation of it (*Origin of*

Tragedy, pp. 73-92) and in *Dramas* (pp. 19-21), there adding another fatal argument to those already given, and with Professor Murray's form of it in *Dramas* (pp. 57-62), to the two last of which Dr. Keith has made no reply, and with Dr. Keith's own contribution in *Dramas* (pp. 21, 144-5). The reader will now see that I have not ignored Usener's Agon theory, nor "passed lightly over" Dr. Farnell's "well thought out scheme", nor left Dr. Keith's sole contribution unanswered. But Dr. Keith did not always think Dr. Farnell's scheme "well thought out". In his article cited above he comments thus: "It is a clear defect in the version of the origin of tragedy given by Dr. Farnell that it throws over the Aristotelian account of its development from the dithyramb and its gradual acquisition of dignity" (p. 418). Again, on Dr. Farnell's theory that "the dithyramb had no mimetic element and was rather connected with the bull-god than the goat-god" Dr. Keith admits that my criticism was "effective" (p. 419); and again (p. 420) following me he further says of the "well thought out scheme" that "in the face of this evidence it really cannot be said that the dithyramb is connected only with the bull-god, i.e. Dionysus, in another form, the bull being a suitable incarnation of a vegetation spirit", whilst (p. 424) he points out "the existence" of "many lacunae in the derivation of Greek drama" according to Dr. [Farnell's] theory. In fact, he leaves nothing of the "well thought out scheme" but Usener's Agon and the tale of Xanthus slain by Melanthus. Finally (p. 416), he declares that this Usener-Farnell theory is so feeble that it must be bolstered up by his own brilliant idea that the slaying of Kansa is a vegetation drama, "a piece of evidence of which neither of these writers has taken notice." But on the other hand, as we saw, his only support for his own view of the Kansa story is the Xanthus-Melanthus legend, which in its turn is useless without the Kansa story

(c) Now Dr. Keith holds that tragedy arose from a vegetation drama, and lays great stress on "the overwhelming evidence adduced by Frazer for the killing of the spirit of vegetation and the assumption by the spirit of vegetation of animal shapes" (JRAS. 1912, p. 422, note). But as the Mannhardt-Frazer theory is based upon the assumption that Demeter of Eleusis was a Corn Mother, it cannot be denied that the theory of a vegetation spirit cult origin for the Greek drama depends upon the assumption that from remote times there was at Eleusis a dramatic representation of the marriage of Zeus and Demeter.

So much for Dr. Keith's own views. But he would fain have the reader suppose that in the same article he had demolished my theory of Tragedy. Here are his chief criticisms: (1) He suggests that my claim to have been the first to disprove the Dorian invention of Tragedy is unfounded, but he does not attempt to show that any previous writer has proved that the so-called Doric forms in Attic Tragedy are not Doric and therefore do not prove a Doric origin. (2) He tried to defend (p. 413) the old Dionysiac theory based on the "tragic dances" at the tomb of Adrastus (Herod., v, 67), transferred to Dionysus by Cleisthenes, by repeating the old theory that Dionysus was indigenous, though Homer and all other Greeks declare that his cult came from Thrace. (3) He ignored (ibid.) the linguistic difficulties involved in this view, and made no attempt to meet my argument from the usage of Herodotus himself in a like passage. (4) He represented me (p. 413) as making the dithyramb come from Thrace into Greece along with Dionysus, though he tried to combat my real doctrine (that of Aristotle) on another page. (5) He sought to dispose of my argument that Thespis was a strolling player, based on Horace, *A.P.*, 275-6:

"ignotum *tragicae* genus inuenisse Camenae
dicitur et plaustis uexisse poemata Thespis,"

by saying that "the reference is rather to Comedy" (p. 422n.), of course without quoting the lines. (6) I showed that the fundamental connexion between the Epic and Tragedy, not only held by Aristotle and explicitly stated by Æschylus himself but proved by the extant dramas, is amply confirmed for India by the connexion between the *Ramayana* and the Indian drama. On this he remarks (p. 414), "But what connexion an elaborate epic has with mimetic dances or the origin of drama I fear I cannot see," a strange statement for one who holds that the Indian drama arose in the cult of Krishna, the chief hero of the *Mahabharata*, the other great Hindu epic, especially as in another passage in the same paper he is perfectly aware of the connexion between Greek epic and Greek drama.

8. Dr. Keith alleged that "no attempt is made to exhibit the principle (i.e. the worship of the dead) as being carried out in the early Indian drama as preserved to us except so far as it is asserted that Rāma and Kṛṣṇa being really men any plays based on their lives and deaths were really funeral plays in their ultimate origin". Though he now admits the great mass of evidence for Rama and Krishna having been real human beings, he repeats that I have made no attempt to exhibit the principle, etc. Now when Dr. Keith wrote thus, he knew that I had given (*Dramas*, p. 164) a crucial case of the performance of a drama in commemoration of a dead king, respecting whose reality he himself has no doubt. Writing on the shadow-play *Dutangada*, composed by Subhata, on an episode of the *Ramayana*, I say: "Professor Cecil Bendall has proved that this play was presented at the festival in honour of Kumarapaladeva, a Chaulukya king of the dynasty of Anhilvad or Anhilpur, who ruled in Gujerat from 1148 to 1172, the particular event commemorated being the restoration by the king of a Siva temple at Devapattan or Somnath in Kathiawar,

Bombay. It was performed at the Dhooly festival, March 7, 1243."

These words make it clear that the play was performed in honour of Kumarapaladeva more than seventy years after his death. Now Dr. Keith was fully aware of this instance when he wrote the words quoted above. Not only had he scanned my Indian section through and through in search of misprints,¹ and refers to my section on shadow-plays, but he himself actually treated of the *Dutangada* and the date of its performance in his *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in the Indian Institute, Oxford* (Oxford, 1903), p. 82: "There can be little doubt but that the Kumarapala for whose yatra the play was written at Anhilvad at Tribhuvanapala's request was the famous prince of Anhilvad A.D. 1143-1272." Bendall, however (JRAS., 1898, p. 229), ascribes the work to the reign of Tribhuvanapala, A.D. 1242-3. Dr. Keith gives no reason for differing from that eminent scholar.

But Professor Pischel ("Das altindische Schattenspiel," *Sitzungsb. d. Königl. preuss. Akademie*, xxiii, p. 496, 1906) accepted Bendall's conclusion, remarking on Dr. Keith's words: "das ist zwar von Keith bezweifelt worden, aber unzweifelhaft richtig." In one passage Subhata its author states that "it was performed at the festival of the Lord Kumarapala", and in similar passages in other plays the same phrase is used with the name of a god in the place where that of Kumarapala stands in the case before us, thus showing that the latter was honoured by dramatic performances like the gods who like him had once been men. Pischel shows that the Tribhuvanapala at whose instance the play was performed was the fifth successor of Kumarapala. There can therefore be no

¹ Dr. Keith, like similar critics, is himself guilty of some far worse than my two, e.g. "saying" (*sic*) for "slaying" (p. 340), *Kṛṣṇu* (*sic*), JRAS. 1908, p. 171, etc.

doubt that this is an instance of a play being performed in a temple to honour an ancestor of the reigning king. Pischel (loc. cit.) cites various parallels.

9. Dr. Keith alleged that "it is suggested, without adducing any evidence other than some facts about funeral rites among the Tangkuls, that the actors originally were representatives of the spirits of the dead, and performed the ceremony as a means of propitiating the dead. But such an idea is wholly unknown to Indian drama, and no trace of it is even suggested by Professor Ridgeway. This is an important matter" (pp. 339-40). He now does not deny that I cited the *mimus* at Roman funerals, the Veddas of Ceylon, the mediums of the Burmese Nats, the actor in the Chinese ritual for the dead, and the dancer in the Japanese *Kagura*, whence sprung Japanese tragedy, and that (pp. 205, 303) I did "suggest" that the same was the case in India on the ground that the actors in the religious dramas are Brahmans "because for the time being they are taken to be equivalent to gods". His only defence is that "Professor Ridgeway now states that the fact that the actors in the religious dramas are regularly Brahmans because for the time being they are taken to be equivalent to gods is a ground for assuming that originally in India the actors represented the spirits of the dead". By the word "now" he would imply that that statement was not in my book, but only made for the first time in my reply. His only attempt to meet the argument is to say that I assume that the gods are later than the spirits of the dead. But as he himself admits that many Indian gods are deified men, whilst most scholars agree that the great majority of them are such, their worship as gods is posterior to the belief in their existence as spirits after death.

10. Dr. Keith alleged that I rested my doctrine—that the belief in the immortality of the soul is primary—solely on the case of Uganda. He now replies that (pp. 348-9)

he "expressly noted his [Ridgeway's] evidence of the priority of belief in the souls of the dead from other lands and pronounced it worthless". He thus not only does not deny my charge, but admits that when he made the statement on p. 347 he knew that I had cited a vast body of evidence from the rest of the world. The fact that he pronounces that evidence "worthless" does not bring his other statement a whit nearer the truth. The charge of worthlessness is useless, unless Dr. Keith was or is able to invalidate my facts. He has not challenged one of them, and by this time the reader knows the value of his unsupported *ipse dixit*. He has carefully refrained from attacking my principle that mankind always begins with the concrete and not with the abstract. Until he can upset that, no amount of scorn will upset my contention that the noun precedes the verb.

11. Dr. Keith no longer denies that the vast majority of Hindu gods, amongst whom fall Rama, Krishna, and Siva, are deified human beings, nor does he deny that the vegetation spirit doctrine which he follows "has no support in India or anywhere else", except his own interpretation of "a detail" in the slaying of Kansa, nor again does he deny that not one of Usener's flimsy folktales, with mimic fights, is from India. With his reiterated appeal to the authority of Usener and to Dr. Farnell's "well thought out scheme" I have dealt above (7). Once more he makes no attempt to explain the hopeless difficulty in which he is enmeshed by his explanation of the Kansa story, especially as he admits that "to the actors" the slaying of Kansa "was a human drama understood in purely historical sense, the slaying by Kṛṣṇa of his wicked uncle", and consequently the Indians themselves plainly regarded the colours as racial. Now, whilst my theory rests on a worldwide induction, Dr. Keith's depends wholly on what he himself terms "a detail" in the Kansa story, and his failure to explain

the difficulties involved in his interpretation is fatal to his theory of which his interpretation of that "detail" is the sole basis. He declares that "in the case of Kṛṣṇa we have a real vegetation spirit ritual, the killing of a representative of the spirit of vegetation" (p. 345). He thus makes Kansa "the spirit of vegetation". But when he interprets the colours of the two sets of actors, he says "red man slays black man, the spirit of spring and summer prevails over the spirit of the dark winter", in this case making Kansa the spirit of "the dark winter". He thus identifies "the spirit of vegetation" with the spirit of "the dark winter". But why "the dark winter" should be the proper season for "the vegetation spirit", or why black should be the proper livery for that spirit, he does not attempt to explain. Now, as when vegetation is black it is dead and rotten, Krishna, "the spirit of spring and summer," had no need to reslay the slain. Again, Dr. Keith, who admits that Krishna was black, does not explain why black is the proper livery for "the spirit of spring and summer". Moreover, not only does he make Krishna the black slay Kansa the black, "the spirit of winter," and thus commit suicide, but he also by making Krishna, whom he holds to be "a vegetation spirit", slay Kansa, whom he also makes "a vegetation spirit"; for the second time he makes Krishna perform "happy dispatch". Finally, Dr. Keith's only attempt to prove that Krishna was primarily "a vegetation spirit" before he was held to be a human person is an assertion that "no one who has read the *Vishnu Purana* could possibly doubt that in one aspect at least Kṛṣṇa is a vegetation spirit". But as the *Vishnu Purana* is dated to the sixth century A.D., and as the *Mahabhashya* cannot be later than 60 A.D., but is dated by Dr. Keith to the middle of the second century B.C., at which time he admits that the Indians held the play to be historical, the earliest evidence which he can produce to show that Krishna

was primarily a vegetation spirit is not less than four centuries, and, by his own chronology, not less than seven centuries, later than the date when already, by his own admission, the Indians regarded Krishna as a really historical person. Where, then, is there a shred of evidence for that imaginary period prior to the *Mahabhashya* in which Dr. Keith postulates that Krishna was regarded as a vegetation abstraction pure and simple? He might just as well assume that because in the *Bhagavadgita* Krishna is regarded as the Supreme Being, the Hindus had so regarded him from the first, or that because an historical Burmese king is now regarded as the patron Nat of agriculture, he too was held to be a vegetation abstraction before he was regarded as a king.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

[*This controversy must now cease.*—Ed.]

NALANDA

Dr. Spooner began his excavations near the end of March, directing them chiefly to the monastery area in the east. He states that little damage has been done by earlier exploration, and that the site, which is extremely large, is of high promise. He has found a monastery wall more than 24 feet high still standing, and acquired a collection of over 600 clay tablets or "sealings". His most interesting discovery is that of 211 stone panels arranged in a band round the plinth of a temple, which he describes as "fascinating". The carving of many of the panels is delicate, and no two are alike. The Director-General of Archaeology in India has kindly sent to the Society one complete set of the photo-prints taken in connexion with these excavations in 1915-16, and a short section will be given in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle. Dr. Spooner hopes in due course to publish a detailed plan of the site and

full reports. Meantime, this brief notice will suffice to satisfy the Society that the funds granted are being properly utilized.

V. A. S.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

COMMUNICATION

1. Le Conseil de la Fondation, n'ayant subi aucun changement depuis le mois de septembre 1915, est composé comme suit : MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtsma, T. J. de Boer, K. Kuiper, et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Au mois de septembre 1916 la Fondation a fait paraître chez l'éditeur Brill à Leyde sa troisième publication, une étude de M. I. Goldziher, ayant pour titre *Streitschrift des Gazâlî gegen die Bâtinijja-Sekte*. Des exemplaires ont été offerts à plusieurs bibliothèques publiques et privées ; les autres exemplaires sont en vente chez l'éditeur au prix de 4.50 florins hollandais.

3. Le Conseil a pris à la charge de la Fondation la publication d'une étude de M. C. van Arendonk sur le commencement de la dynastie des Zaidites au Yemen. Cet ouvrage paraîtra probablement dans les premiers mois de 1917.

4. Sont encore disponibles un certain nombre d'exemplaires des deux premières publications de la Fondation, c'est à dire de la reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde, réputé unique, de la Hamâsah d'al-Buhturî (parue en 1909; prix 100 florins hollandais) et de l'édition critique du Kitâb al-Fâkhîr d'al-Mufaḍḍal par M. C. A. Storey (parue en 1915, prix 6 florins hollandais). C'est au profit de la Fondation que sont vendues toutes ces publications.

Novembre, 1916.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CONSIDERATIONS ON SOME ASPECTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY. By K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Professor of History and Economics, Trivandram. S.P.C.K. Press, Madras, 1916.

In this book Professor Aiyangar has published two lectures that he delivered before the University of Madras in 1914, after revising them and supplementing them with two appendixes containing notes and references. The full title explains the scope of the lectures, which are not an exposition of ancient Indian polity but rather prolegomena thereto.

He first emphasizes the necessity of a thorough and impartial *historical* study of the whole of Indian polity, lamenting the tendency in India "to treat history as the ally of dogma and to look into the armoury of our ancient polity for weapons to be used in the arena of modern political controversies". He also deprecates the assumptions that political conditions have ever been uniform, and that the characteristic in the realm of practical life has been an invulnerable quietism. After noticing various old treatises on polity, he dwells on the immense importance of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, pointing out its ancient prevalence and authority and its almost total disappearance now. He discusses its authenticity on the grounds of its homogeneity, chronological position and matter, which last he tests by its internal evidence, religious, political, historical and literary, and concludes that it is really what it professes to be, the work of Candragupta's great minister.

He then insists on the necessity of an "extended discussion of the range, nature, date and validity of the original authorities", and adds, "To attempt any historic

reconstruction without a preliminary investigation of this kind appears to me to be at the present time both futile and misleading. For want of such enquiry, much unequal work, which 'combines the information' gathered from sources of different periods, localities and character, has been in evidence." Consequently he objects to such "historical averaging", and doubts whether the general history of India confirms such a method, pointing out that ancient political institutions have sometimes long survived in secluded areas and have at other times even been revived, and that India has not been mentally stagnant in and since mediæval times, though here his argument proves modification rather than progress proper.

In his second lecture he directs attention to the theory and general form, aim and consequences of the ancient schemes of government and especially of the great Indian empires. He criticizes the mutually inconsistent views that have been put forward by various writers, and maintains that ancient thought agreed on two matters, the essential elements of a State and the natural necessity of a State, which imply its unity, represented normally by monarchy, with a specialized administration, resting on (though not emphasizing) a territorial basis, bordered by small states and possessing weak international law. Dealing with these features he contends that Kautilya had in view a large kingdom, while Manu and others imply small kingdoms. He then discusses the Indian theory of the origin of the State. The great obligation in a State was the observance of *dharma*, "righteousness," both by the king and also by the people under his guidance. *Dharma* comprised many subdivisions, some of which required to be expounded by religious teachers, while others were guarded by the injunction upholding all special customs that were not detrimental. The whole was enforced by a fairly extensive judicial and administrative machinery, guided by practical provisions

and simplified by local arbitration. Legislation lay with the king, though he required enlightenment from spiritual teachers as to what dharma was. Dharma was impossible without public safety; hence a king was bound to protect his people, and this head of "protection" would require and comprehend generally all the other departments of the administration. This duty depended on an adequate revenue, hence elaborate provisions were laid down to obtain and preserve financial prosperity. This exposition is no doubt correct from the time when thinkers had worked out schemes of polity, but the conception of dharma as the basis of it could hardly be much prior thereto. The author considers that the French word *Étatisme* best sums up the ancient polity.

His object is thus to elucidate ancient polity by showing the principles involved in it. His treatment is marked with insight and good sense. He writes lucidly and expresses his views definitely, while his criticism is acute and rather incisive. The book is a valuable contribution to the study of the subject.

F. E. P.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT INDIA. By
PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA, M.A., D.Sc. Econ.
Macmillan & Co., 1916.

This book is a thesis approved by the University of London for the degree of D.Sc. Econ., and Dr. Banerjea investigates in it the whole subject of public administration in ancient India. He begins with the structure of society, and the territory, origin and nature of the State; then discusses the system of government in relation to political divisions, the position of the king and his councillors, and administrative, executive and legislative functions; deals next with the various departments of public affairs, law, finance, foreign relations, military organization and public

works; and concludes with industry, commerce, religion and local government. The period that he deals with mainly is the millennium from 500 B.C. to A.D. 500, but he also notices the earlier period back to Vedic times and the later period almost down to the Mohammedan invasion, that is, nearly two millennia.

The investigation depends of course on the information available. The sources of our knowledge are various but are of very unequal value as regards the region, period, quantity and quality of the information which they supply. Little is known of the earliest times and most of that is drawn from the Vedic literature. For later times there is much more material, including works on polity and law. The age of which we have the best information now is that portrayed in the *Arthasāstra* of Kaṭilya, the famous minister of Candragupta in the fourth century B.C., whose authorship there seems to be no sufficient reason for doubting.

Dr. Banerjea makes use of all the information that has been rendered generally available. He marshals his material reasonably and impartially in the main, yet he has not altogether escaped a tendency, too common now in India, to view ancient times through rose-coloured glasses, over-estimating the good conditions and passing lightly over defects. There is much to be found in Sanskrit books, and in Kaṭilya too, about the dark side of ancient India, all of which suggests matter for filling into the picture; while a personal knowledge of Indian ways naturally suggests qualifications. He endeavours rightly to distinguish the various periods and to frame some course of development in political ideas and practice, but difficulty arises in that the information available is so unequally distributed. It is tempting to extend statements about one period to eke out the delineation of other periods, especially where Kaṭilya with his fascinating wealth of practical instruction supplies almost the only

clues. Dr. Banerjea makes use of the *Arthaśāstra* in that way, and it naturally forms a large part of his groundwork, yet such treatment can at best be tentative. He also takes into view the whole of India and even Ceylon, yet the various countries differed widely in their conditions and development. Statements obtained about one period or country may or may not have held good for others, and he treats such information as supplying indications.

He relies largely on the brahmanical literature. It has been well studied and is the main source of our views about early times. Its results are useful so far as they go, but Kauṭilya's treatise is most valuable in checking and adding to the estimate of ancient times as drawn from the Vedic literature, which must seemingly be wanting in completeness and accuracy of presentment, since its authors were religious scholars, living outside the busy world, intent on religious problems and philosophical disquisitions, free in intellectual speculation but intensely conservative in temporal matters. Thus, in the matter of writing, without which public administration could hardly have developed much, Kauṭilya's provisions and Aśoka's edicts show that it was in use a vast deal more widely and generally than the Vedic literature discloses. Manifold hints are to be found in the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas*, but these have not been equally elucidated, and he cannot take full advantage of them. Of the *Purāṇas* he hardly uses more than the *Agni* and *Viṣṇu*. When relying on that epic he cites largely from the *Śānti parvan*, though that is a later brahmanic addition, in which theorizing almost engulfs fact. There was little in the way of speculation that Indian thought did not touch, and the existence of theories is an unsafe premise from which to infer facts, as, for instance, in the relations between kings and people. Similarly, the law books describe, as he notices, not only what was prevalent but also what their authors thought ought to obtain. In

this connexion the continual wails over the evils of the Kali age supply useful comments.

These general remarks arise out of Dr. Banerjea's general method of investigation. To notice the several subjects treated of would open out a wide field of discussion and would far exceed the limits of this review. His book shows much reading and puts together a large quantity of useful information. He has stated his facts and conclusions compactly; his style is clear and his treatment temperate. He has cited references for many of his statements, yet more would have been welcome, and those given are not always precise; thus, to cite merely the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 252) or the *Śānti parvan* (pp. 64, 71) is inadequate. He has added an index, which is good, yet not complete; thus, for "gopas" he refers only to p. 298, omitting pp. 49 and 294.

This book must be regarded as pioneer work, and as such will be useful to those who are interested in the public life of ancient India. He has assayed to do in it much what Professor Aiyangar deprecates in the book reviewed above, and that book should be read with this.

F. E. P.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF A BENGAL DISTRICT. By J. C. JACK, of the Indian Civil Service. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1916.

Mr. Jack has published in this book the results of investigations conducted by him and his subordinates into the economic conditions of the district of Faridpur in east Bengal during the survey of, and record of rights in, the land made by Government there in the years 1906-10. These results are a by-product, which was worked out in the opportunity afforded by that great undertaking. The district is as large as Devon, almost all rural, yet thickly populated with 900 persons to the square mile, of whom

77 per cent are agriculturists, while the rest almost entirely minister to their needs. Two-thirds of the people are Mohammedans, and one-third Hindu. The district is part of the Ganges delta, flooded during the rainy season. The soil is fertile and the crops abundant, while trade is small because communications are poor, jute being the only valuable export.

He first describes the villages and homesteads, their internal arrangements, and the life of the people both when at work and in their leisure. Life is generally easy for the cultivator, whose occupation, strenuous only at certain seasons, renders him almost self-sufficing, but harder for the other classes whose work is continuous. The information used was collected by his Bengali subordinate officers and was well tested by them. The people were ranked in four classes according as their condition indicated comfort, below-comfort, above-indigence and indigence. He gives and discusses domestic budgets displaying all the items of expenditure in the two extremes both of agriculturists and non-agriculturists; and then examines their incomes and economic condition from statistics, showing the percentages of the four classes, namely, $49\frac{1}{2}$, $28\frac{1}{2}$, 18 and 4 among cultivators, and similar though not quite such favourable figures among non-cultivators, the average incomes being about £18 $\frac{2}{3}$ per family of the former and about £19 $\frac{1}{2}$ of the latter. Valuations of the various kinds of crops are also set out. Next Mr. Jack deals with indebtedness, showing that, while the percentage among non-agriculturists who are free from debt, 73, is far larger than that among agriculturists, 53, yet the percentage of debt among those who are involved in it among the former is much greater than among the latter, the average for all the former being £17 4s. and that for the latter £8. These results exceeded anticipation, and show that the co-operative credit societies, which have existed ten years,

have not yet produced much amelioration. On this matter he offers suggestions. Last, he examines the incidence of taxation, both Government and local, and compares it with that in Great Britain, France, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Holland and Japan. The total burden per head in the district is 3s. 8d., which is only one-ninth of that in Japan, the most lightly taxed of those countries, so that the allegations of grievous taxation so often made are wholly erroneous in Faridpur. The same will certainly hold good in all the surrounding districts. An abstract of the instructions under which the information was collected is appended, with elaborate tables of statistics on the various matters treated of.

The book is full of interest and apparently almost unique in India in its scope and aims. It is a valuable contribution towards our knowledge of the people. Their general condition is well known to all who know Faridpur or the surrounding districts, but such detailed information could not have been obtained except through the operations described, and Mr. Jack deserves the thanks of all for utilizing them so profitably.

F. E. P.

FORERUNNERS AND RIVALS OF CHRISTIANITY, BEING
STUDIES IN RELIGIOUS HISTORY FROM 330 B.C.
TO A.D. 330. By F. LEGGE, F.S.A. Cambridge,
University Press, 1915.

The centuries from Augustus to Constantine are the most important in the history of mankind. In them the Roman Empire was inaugurated, and Christianity was born; the antique world passed away, but of its ashes the new world arose; and in this novel society the individual, the soul, and humanity became for the first time dominant factors of men's consciousness. No other age presents such a fascinating spectacle, or is so full of conflicting religions, intermingling currents of thought, potent

influences, strange contrasts, and bizarre effects. The impiety and atheism of the revolutionary period, the attachment of the masses to the local deities, the perpetuation of savage ritual and the survival of primitive superstitions, migrations of religions from the East and even from the West, the philosophy which, after ousting the older gods, itself became a religion, the passion for mysteries, the spread of magic and astrology, all these and many other currents swell the religious history of the times.

Out of this mass of warring religions and beliefs Mr. Legge has selected the Gnostics and Manichæans, together with the Orphics, the Alexandrian deities, and Mithras, for a particular study; and his book is a valuable contribution to their history, more especially on the side of ritual and myth. The Alexandrian divinities with Mithras and the Orphics have received much attention from scholars of late; and in summarizing the results of their researches Mr. Legge had a fairly easy task, although even here, having gone to the original authorities, he judges for himself. But the chief value of the book consists in its treatment of the Gnostics, with whom I include the Manichæans. It is the fullest exposition in English of Gnosticism, and the most important, which has appeared since the publication of Salmon's and Hort's articles in the Dictionary of Christian Biography.

The scholar who girds up his loins to such a task must devote himself to years of hard labour; and Mr. Legge's earliest paper on the *Pistis Sophia* appeared in 1893. Since then our author seems to have read almost every important publication of recent date bearing on the subject—except, alas! this critic's article on Basilides in JRAS. for 1902! Among other works of value from which Mr. Legge might have profited is Drummond's *Philo Judæus*; but twenty pages is insufficient to give the titles of the books he has consulted. Apart from the

learning displayed, the reader will admire the sobriety of judgment, the moderation and accuracy of statement, and the neatness of Mr. Legge's translations. Of course, Mr. Legge has his weaknesses. His anti-Semitic prejudices sometimes interfere with the justness of his views; and he takes every occasion to belabour the unfortunate Epiphanius. The immense care and labour he has expended on the work is everywhere apparent. The index alone occupies sixty pages.

In passing from the manner to the matter of this book I feel some difficulty, a difficulty inherent in the subject. The Gnostics are Mr. Legge's main subject; they take up the greater part of the two volumes; and in dealing with them our author is at his best. Between them and the other cults treated of the connexion is slight. All alike were Oriental in origin; they were contemporaneous; and they professed to reveal the secrets of the other world with the aid of astrology and magic. There resemblance ends. Mithras and Isis and the rest were semi-conscious essays at a universal religion; and their history belongs to the conflict of religions within the Empire. Gnosticism was particularist; it addressed itself to the elect; and although not necessarily Christian, it is bound up with the history of Christianity. Neither Mithras nor the Alexandrian divinities contributed anything of permanent value to religious thought; Gnosticism has shown a wonderful vitality. It influenced the Persian Sûfis, and it may be traced in the speculations of modern poets and divines. One ancient Gnostic sect, the Mandaites, still survives, although sadly debased. Mr. Legge tells us that a Valentinian Church was started twenty years ago in Paris; and two generations earlier a Hindu reformer founded a novel Hindu sect on Gnostic lines, a lineal descendant of the Gnostics through the Persian mystics. Gnosticism expressed ideas which the world will not willingly let die.

We have therefore two disparate subjects to deal with, their connotations and their values being different and unlike. We may treat them from the standpoint of magic and astrology, since in astrology and magic they all dabbled; or we may regard them as cosmogonies; and it is from this double point of view that Mr. Legge has chiefly treated them. But the title suggests a third way, the historical. Mr. Legge rather indicates this than discusses it, and he is not at his best when he touches on it. The opening chapter on Alexander appears to me the poorest in the book; and the scattered attempts to connect the religious movements he talks of with the history of the times are seldom convincing. But it is ungrateful to dwell on drawbacks where so much is good; and we congratulate Mr. Legge on having produced a very valuable work.

J. KENNEDY.

THE INDO-ARYAN RACES. By RAMĀPRASĀD CHANDA.
Part I. Rajshahi, 1916.

This, the fifth of the publications of the Varendra Research Society, is by far the most important work yet issued by the Society, and forms a valuable addition to the literature dealing with the origin of the Indo-Aryan peoples. The author, who is the Hon. Secretary of the Society, has adumbrated in magazine articles some of the views now put forth, but his opinions gain greatly both in value and clearness from their ordered exposition, and, whatever conclusions be arrived at as regards his main theses, all interested in the question must recognize the catholic character of his erudition, and the ingenuity and effectiveness of his arguments, which render his work a serious contribution to the subject with which it deals.

The first chapter contains perhaps the least tenable hypothesis of the whole work. Accepting in a sense the distinction of outer and inner countries which Sir G.

that the inner people were first in their abodes and that the outer people came later, and finding the Midland occupied pushed across Central India to Bihar, while others, the Rāṣṭikas or Rāṭṭas, wandered into Kathiawar and the Deccan. Now these outer people serve another purpose: they explain the presence of brachycephalic types in India in which Risley saw Scytho-Dravidian and Mongolo-Dravidian admixtures in the west and the east respectively. To the existence of Scytho-Dravidians the objection is taken, as it has already been taken by others, that there is no evidence of any Scythian penetration so far south as is necessary to explain the extension of the brachycephalic types, while in the case of the east stress is laid on the fact that the legends, e.g. of Nepal, fully recognize the Mongolian strain in the people, but this is not the case with the legends of Bengal. The theory of Dr. Spooner,¹ which sees in the outer people descendants of Magian immigrants, is decisively rejected (chap. vi), but in place of Magians are supplied men of the physical type of the *Homo Alpinus*, the original inhabitants of the Pamirs and the Takla-Makan desert as determined by the investigations of Mr. Joyce,² speakers of Tocharian, an Indo-European but not Indo-Iranian speech. Later comers of this race are to be recognized in the Vāhikas of the Punjab, and the speakers of the modern Piśāca languages, the Kaśmīris, Darads, and Kāfirs of the Hindu-kush. Among these outer peoples arose the Vaiṣṇava cult of Kṛṣṇa, which is not due to Christian influences (chap. iii), and they also borrowed, in all likelihood from the Draviḍas, the matriarchal influences which produce Śāktism, of which Bengal is the chief abode (chap. iv). This physical type in the outer lands is due to the

¹ JRAS. 1915, p. 430. References to the discussion of Dr. Spooner's views are given by Mr. Chanda (p. 219).

² Mr. Joyce's suggested classification as Iranian is more properly replaced by connecting the race with the Tocharian speech.

combination of *Homo Alpinus* with Vedic Ārya, Niṣāda, and Draviḍa, producing the mesaticephalic Indo-Aryan of the outland, while admixture with Draviḍa, Vedic Ārya, and Avestic Ārya has produced the Indo-Afghan type of the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

The theory has one great merit in that it drops the "wedge" theory, and enables us to accept the natural view that the Vedic Aryans entered India via the Khyber Pass with their wives and families, and were not a band composed almost of men only, who came down by Chitral and Gilgit. It cannot be too often or too clearly asserted that the two invasion hypothesis of Dr. Hoernle and Sir G. Grierson has not the slightest support whatever in the Vedic literature. It has certainly no secure support in the Prākṛits, the complication of whose relations Sten Konow's recent work has emphasized. It has, therefore, to depend on theories as to the modern vernaculars,¹ i.e. deductions are to be drawn for the period 1500-1200 B.C. from our imperfect knowledge of the comparative development of these tongues in the last five centuries or so. From the point of view of physical type we have not the slightest evidence of the real type of the Vedic Indian, except that he must have had a nose different from the broad flat type: if we assume that he was dolichocephalic, it is on the basis of general theories as to the Indo-European. Moreover, despite the affection which is naturally cherished for skull measurements as indications of race, it is well to remember that we do not know to what extent environment and nurture affect the shape of the skull, and that it is very possible that, long before an Indo-European race ever developed, both kinds of head existed side by side in the same area. The precisely opposite views that the Indo-Europeans were dolichocephalic and that they were brachycephalic are

¹ See e.g. *The Empire of India*, i, 357 seqq.

perhaps best reconciled by the view that the race presented both types before the breaking up of its unity. Moreover, to add to the difficulties of the problem, we must remember that India has been repeatedly overrun from the north-west, and that both European scholars like Mr. Jackson and Mr. Vincent Smith, and Indian scholars like Mr. Bhandarkar,¹ have striven to show that the foreign element is much greater than we were wont to believe.

Given these considerations, perhaps it is wisest to realize that a clear-cut theory is not attainable. If the "wedge" theory is not acceptable, the Tocharian must remain in the air unless and until, e.g., traces can be found in Bengali of the characteristics which mark out that speech as non-Indo-Iranian, and even then the question would arise whether this was not merely due to the Kushan supremacy, if we accept the view that the Yueh-chi absorbed the Tocharian people. Moreover, a further question presents itself: if we assume an influx at some date of *Homo Alpinus*, what ground have we for supposing that he spoke an Indo-European tongue at that time? The nature of Mr. Joyce's researches and the material on which they are based give us no right whatever to assume that men of that type originally spoke any such speech: we are perfectly entitled to hold that they borrowed it from a race of different physical characteristics, which physically they absorbed or modified, as history would *prima facie* represent to be the case. The connexion of the Nāgar Brahmins of Gujarat and the Kāyasths of Bengal, which both Mr. Bhandarkar² and the author³ recognize may be admitted, but we have no decisive ground on which to assign the connexion to

¹ IA. xl, 21 seqq. But the identification of Gujars and Khazars is wildly speculative. Reference should also be made to an ingenious effort to equate with history the difference of races by C. V. Vaidya, JBRAS. xxiv, 33-55: *tot homines quot sententiar.*

² IA. xl, 32, 33.

³ p. 189.

a prehistoric invasion of *Homo Alpinus* rather than a historic immigration from the north-west. The problem, in truth, is far more complicated than the efforts at solution are willing to recognize.

Apart from the main themes of the work, there are many matters of interest. The author will not merely have nothing to do with the belief in the Christian origin of the worship of the child Kṛṣṇa, in which view I entirely concur, but he denies that the Kāmsavadha is a nature myth. In doing so he raises¹ a point of general importance, for he argues that the famous passage in the *Mahābhāṣya* does not allude to the Granthikas, who recite the story, dividing themselves into two sections as supporters of Kāmsa and Kṛṣṇa respectively, but merely refers to the audience. This view is that of Haradatta in his commentary, the *Kāśikāpadamañjarī*, as cited by the author, but it is obvious that it is not possible to read this sense into the *Mahābhāṣya*, and that Haradatta has committed the same error as the author, by attempting to interpret his text, not in its own light, but by the usage of his own time, when the practice of dramatic recital has passed into oblivion, and the mere recitation of epic (not dramatic) accounts was practised. The real difficulty of the now prevalent theory of the teacher Kṛṣṇa, who proclaimed a monotheistic Bhāgavata faith, and was gradually himself deified, is one which the author does not face; how comes it that we have in the epic the picture of a most immoral Kṛṣṇa, a cunning trickster, the evil genius of Arjuna and the Pāṇḍavas?² In the tribal god of a rude agricultural or pastoral people these traits do not surprise greatly, for man makes his gods in his own image, but what an extraordinary fate for the preacher of

¹ pp. 92-5.

² Holtzmann, *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata*, pp. 137, 138; Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, p. 210. How Garbe explains the contrast between the infamous Epic Kṛṣṇa and the pious pupil of the CU. iii, 17. 6 I do not understand.

a pure and elevated monotheism! But in detail there is much of interest in Mr. Chanda's views, especially on the question of the relation of the Vyūhas and the Avatars.

The author's attribution of the source of Śāktism to matriarchy is not indeed novel, but it is ingeniously worked out. It must remain, however, unproved; nor, it must be remarked, is it at all necessary to see in matriarchy the explanation of brother and sister marriage, whether in Egypt or elsewhere, and still less to find in it the explanation of marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle, though the author has eminent predecessors in these opinions.¹ But he is probably right in holding that when practised among Indo-Aryan tribes it is a borrowed custom. The connexion suggested between matriarchy and Śāktism is not, however, supported by any evidence other than the analogy of cults such as those of Asia Minor, and the distinction in this case is as remarkable as the likeness. Curiously enough, the author omits the conjecture, natural from his own point of view, that between the cults of Asia Minor and Śāktism there is a true connexion; in point of fact, it is clear that Asia Minor is deeply affected by man of the *Homo Alpinus* type, and—discarding the alleged Indo-European character of this type—we might see in Śāktism a support for the theory² that *Homo Alpinus* at some time entered India in large numbers, and the differences between the Asianic worship and Śāktism we might attribute to development during a long period in India. Such a theory would also remove Mr. Chanda's grave difficulty, which he fully recognizes,³ that it is strange, if matriarchy produces Śāktism, that it has not been evolved by the Tamils.

¹ For various views compare the essays of Lang, Rivers, Thomas, and Crawley in *Anthr. Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, pp. 203 seqq., 309 seqq., 345 seqq., 57 seqq.

² Cf. Haddon, *The Races of Man*, pp. 60, 61.

³ p. 156, where it is suggested in explanation that the Tamils fell under Vedic influence before they had developed monotheism independently.

One other point of importance in the history of religion merits mention. Mr. Chanda accepts¹ Dr. L. H. Gray's explanation of the Magophonia as once the ritual slaying of the king-priest, and conjectures that at one time in India as in Iran the priest was also king, and that finally the two functions were separated. But the assumption that kingship and priesthood are inseparable which we owe to Sir J. Frazer's influence must be challenged. There is no trace of the union in India in Vedic times, and Dr. Gray's interpretation of the Magophonia derives its plausibility solely from the parallelism with the *Sacra*, that curious rite which led Sir J. Frazer into his famous theory of the Crucifixion. This view, however, of the *Sacra* can hardly survive in any critical judgment the complete refutation by Andrew Lang in *Magic and Religion*, to which Sir J. Frazer has never attempted any serious reply.²

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE SHANS. Vol. I. By the Rev. W. W. COCHRANE, M.R.A.S. The Government Printing Press, Rangoon, Burma.

The Shans are a most baffling race. It has been latterly assumed that they call themselves Tai, but even this is disputed by many authorities. The late Colonel Gerini, who studied them from Siam, said the proper national name was Lao. The Siamese themselves

¹ pp. 209-18.

² It may be noted that Mr. Chanda's correction (p. 228) of Mr. Shamasastri's rendering of Kaut. i, 2 is untenable, as it involves construing *anu-ikṣ* with a genitive. The correct view is to construe *etāsām* with *balābale*; Anvikṣiki considers the relative weight of the three sciences—the Vedas, business, and policy. The same text really renders impossible any doubt as to the identity of Lokāyata with the atheistic system which bears that name throughout Indian literature, and may be regarded as finally disposing of Professor Rhys Davids' ingenious suggestion in *Dialogues of the Buddha* (1899), pp. 166 seqq.

take the name of Tai. Siam is the only kingdom remaining to the race which at one time held nearly all Indo-China, and still is, in the shape of petty states and scattered communities, the most numerous race in and around the territory that goes by that convenient name. Mr. Cochrane estimates that there are between eighteen and twenty million Shans in existence, and of these there are under a million according to the latest census (1911) in the British Shan States, where he has worked for so many years and about whom this volume is written. There are, however, probably a quarter of a million more in various places in the Province of Burma, ranging from Mergui in the far south to Hkam-ti Lông in the far north, which has so recently been taken under British protection.

Nevertheless, the British Shan States, which are the only territory where the race goes by the name of Shan, may be taken to be the area where the people are of purest descent and nearest to the old type. The five millions of Siam and the three and a half millions of the Lao States, who streamed south when Kublai Khan overthrew the Ai-lao kingdom of Nan-chao established at Tali-fu, represent perhaps the most compact body, though the claim of the Roman Catholic fathers that half the population of Kwang-hsi and Kwang-tung are ethnologically and linguistically Shans would imply greater numbers. The two Kwangs are reckoned to have twenty millions of inhabitants. The Shans are there, however, *foie gras* in an aspic of Chinamen. Moreover, there are the millions of Hakkas, the boat population of the West River, besides the Li of Hainan. They scout the idea that they are Shans, but their faces and even their tongues betray them. There are plenty of "Swiss" in the United Kingdom who are uncommonly like Teutons.

It is hopeless, however, to look for historical records among these branches of the race. Siamese history does

not date back more than five or six hundred years. The people south of the Yangtzu have been absorbed by the Chinaman. The Lao have more chronicles, historical and religious, but they are obviously borrowed from their neighbours, the Burmese and the British Shans. It was hoped that old chronicles and pagoda histories would be found in the Shan States which would tell us much. The whole country is a maze, a sort of nutmeg grater of hills, and hill peoples change less than the plain dwellers. But the British Shan States were burnt and ravaged from end to end in the years of civil war which came before the British occupation, and nothing has been found. A very modest sum (Burma is consistently starved by India) was set aside for the acquiring of documents, or copies of them from elsewhere, but it does not appear that much was obtained. Mr. Cochrane is stationed on the border of the Chinese Shan States, and there were great hopes that he might make some valuable finds in the "diamond character" MSS. of the monasteries beyond British territory. But, though he had the authority of Government behind him, he seems to have been unsuccessful. We are as far off as ever from knowing where the Shans came from. For the matter of that, we do not know where the Chinese came from, but we do know that for a very long time after the days of Confucius the very much larger part of what we call China was inhabited by "barbarians", who were unknown to and uninfluenced by the Chinese. Mr. Cochrane gives very substantial reason for believing that these people were Shans, but unhappily there is no proof. But he does prove at great length that the late Professor Terrien de Lacouperie's hypothesis that they emerged from the Kiulung Mountains in Ssu-ch'uan is untenable. One might as well say that the inhabitants of the United States of America, hyphenated and otherwise, came from Great Britain.

The great period of the Shan race was when the kingdom of Nan-chao existed. We do not know very much about it. We are not even certain that it was a kingdom. At any rate, it was a powerful confederation, distinct as the billows, yet one as the sea, for it warred not without success against both China and Tibet. Kublai Khan disrupted it as effectually as a high explosive shell, and now the bulk of the race is as homeless as the Jews, except for the collection of rather insignificant states under the suzerainty of Great Britain, China, and Siam. To make up for this they have a vast number of names, not one of which can be said to be generally accepted, even in the British Shan States, without a demand for a poll. They have even a number of different alphabets. There are four of them in regular use in our British Shan States alone. Mr. Cochrane is almost certainly right in his contention that the present Shan alphabets came from the south and possibly from the Môn, with the Lao as the distributing agency. That, however, does not prove that there was not an earlier more truly national alphabet in use in the Nan-chao period, just as the Burmese had an earlier alphabet. At the time when Anawrata began trustworthy Burmese history the Shans held all Central and Northern Burma, and earlier they may have pushed as far as Prome. Excavations which, for want of money, proceed very slowly at Tharekettara, the ancient Prome, prove that Northern Buddhism existed there before the Southern Canon came and with it the Southern alphabet. The fragments of the Pyu script which Mr. Blagden is deciphering may clear the matter up, and it is possible that the Pyu may turn out to be the Ai-lao of Nan-chao. The Sao Ing of the Ahom cosmogony and of Siam is the Adi-buddha of Northern Buddhism, and it is to be noted that present-day Siamese understand Hkamti-Lóng Shan much more readily than the Shan of Hsenwi or Mông

Nai. The Chinese still call the Shans² Pai-y, and this might easily be slurred into Pyu.

We hope that Mr. Cochrane's book is not final. It is at any rate a very valuable contribution to a very obscure question. In the second volume, which is to follow, he will treat of the Shans from the anthropological side, with an account of their customs, superstitions, and traditions. It should be exceedingly interesting. The present volume is illustrated with photographs taken by Mrs. Leslie Milne and by Dr. L. Scherman, of Munich. They are mostly types. It may be hoped that the second volume will have pictures more suggestive of the life of the country. It is worth noting that the Germans took a very considerable interest in the Province of Burma and its fringes, even to the extent of carrying off plaques and inscriptions from Pagân. It was not, however, Dr. Scherman who did this.

J. G. S.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT IN BRITISH INDIA. By JOHN MATTHAI. London: Fisher Unwin. 1915.

This is one of the monographs on Economics and Political Science published by Dr. Pember Reeves, and in it Mr. Matthai, who is a Vakil of the High Court of Madras, deals with village government in British India, Mr. Sidney Webb commending it in a preface.

Sir H. Maine's writings are the classical authority on village communities, and Mr. Baden-Powell, using later official reports and district gazetteers, has in his books supplemented Maine. Their works deal largely with the village community in its relation to land, and Mr. Matthai here endeavours, by bringing together the chief facts about village government which have been noticed in Indian official publications especially during the past fifty years, to present a connected picture of the methods

adopted by village communities to meet their other simple administrative needs, so far as these may be gathered from the relics which have survived and been recorded, and to show how far these methods have been retained, adapted, or re-fashioned under British rule. By village government he means the parts of the village administration in which the village officers and institutions are utilized, excluding the work done therein by Government officials and Local Boards. His scope embraces all British India, including Burma but not the native states. These are left out of view, because of the greater diversity of their conditions and the inadequacy of reliable information about them. He also omits the whole subject of land revenue, though the village communities play an important part therein, because Mr. Baden-Powell has dealt with it in detail.

The importance of village government is shown by the fact that the vast majority of inhabitants live in villages. He follows the definition of "town" and "village" framed for the Census, and so "village" means a collection of houses (not a municipality or cantonment) inhabited by 5,000 persons or less, with some however above 5,000. This distinction may be sound for Census purposes, but involves a liberal expansion of the idea of a "village community"; still, it seems more academic than material here, for of the "village" population over 84 per cent live in villages of 2,000 persons or less. In an introduction he discusses the constitution of the village community, its origins and territory; its functionaries and especially its three chief officials, the headman, accountant and watchman; its common life; its characteristic features, the panchayats and committees, with their modes of election and conduct of business; and lastly the relation of the village to the State.

Mr. Matthai then deals in separate chapters with the main departments of village administration:—Education

and the village schoolmaster: Poor Relief as administered (1) by the family, the caste and the community, the last making use of religious and charitable institutions and communal funds; and (2) by the State during periods of famine: Sanitation, which included the public health as attended to by the physician, midwife and others, and especially sanitary work performed by the employment of scavengers: Public Works, such as wells, tanks and especially irrigation which was carried out by communal labour, roads and public buildings such as temples, mosques and schools: Watch and Ward, for which the headman and watchman were mainly responsible, but which were sometimes secured by subsidizing robbers and criminal tribes; and which included the liability of the village community for crime committed within its area: and lastly, Administration of Justice, generally through arbitration under the control of the headman or the panchayat, who often settled judicial and non-judicial matters, both civil and criminal, by traditional unorganized methods, and who had some power of punishment; and also through the caste in matters affecting caste.

The whole subject, as mentioned above, consists of two parts, former conditions so far as discoverable, and present conditions. Mr. Matthai discusses all the above-mentioned departments of village administration in both these aspects, citing ancient provisions and then explaining what has been done under British rule. His references to ancient authorities, such as Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* and epigraphic records, are illustrative only, because he often combines their statements (as on pp. 34-5) without sufficiently discriminating differences in age and country. He does not, in truth, profess to make his exposition of ancient conditions thorough, and rather treats his citations as elucidating the nature and forms of present conditions; and so regarded, his use of them is helpful so far as they go. His main theme is village government under British

rule. He has drawn his materials for this from a large quantity of official publications as well as other books, and has appended a list of them. His description of this subject is careful, full and lucid. The work is a valuable exposition of village government in the various provinces, especially in Madras, with which his personal knowledge enables him to deal more fully than with other Provinces.

The index unfortunately is very perfunctory. Its mere five pages are wholly inadequate for a treatise of two hundred pages dealing with the diverse conditions of all British India. A perusal of almost any page, as for instances pp. 57, 127-8 and 169, will show matters that should have been noticed in the index.

F. E. P.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT EXISTING SYSTEMS OF
SANSKRIT GRAMMAR: being the Vishwanath Narayan
Mandlik Gold Medal Prize Essay for 1909. By
SHRIPAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR, M.A., Ph.D. 8vo;
pp. viii, 148. Poona, 1915.

The author of this work modestly deprecates criticism by declaring that "it is an essay—a mere tentative attempt—and not a profound treatise"; but nevertheless it is a careful and scholarly survey of its large and important theme. After a short chapter on early grammatical speculations, Mr. Belvalkar devotes a long section to the school of Pāṇini, embracing the famous Aṣṭādhyāyī and the *vārttikas* thereupon, Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, Jayāditya and Vāmana's Kāśikā with its commentaries, Bhartrihari's Vākyapadiya, Kaiyyāṭa's Pradīpa, and the various recensions into which later grammarians recast Pāṇini's aphorisms. Then come surveys of the other schools, namely, the Chāndra, Jainendra, Śakatāyana, Haima, Kātantra, Śārasvata, Mugdhabōdha, Janmara, Saupadma, and a few miscellaneous versions, followed by appendices, in which are printed for the first time

a Chāndra-varṇa-sūtra and Jōgarāja's Pāda-prakarṇa-saṅgati. The book, as the author admits, is far from being exhaustive, even in outline; for example, something might have been said of the circulation of the Kātantra in Chinese Turkestan; but on all essentials it is full and sound.

L. D. BARNETT.

SHIVAJI THE MARATHA; HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By H. J. RAWLINSON, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

This is a useful book, and it deserves a welcome as being, it seems, the first English biography of the founder of the Maratha Power. It is well written, gives much information, and has in an Appendix a translation of a long and interesting Maratha ballad. But it has its defects. Professor Rawlinson does not seem to have read the Persian and Maratha authorities in their originals, and he makes slips when he touches upon general Indian history. Thus he says (p. 22) that Bābur established his kingdom in 1530. But that was the year of his death, and he had, in two great victories, established his power two or three years before 1530. He refers in his Introduction to Briggs' translation of Ferishta's *History of the Deccan* and to Briggs' *History of the Muhamadan Power*, as if the latter were not also a translation of Ferishta, and he makes no mention of Jonathan Scott's translation of Ferishta's *History of the Deccan*. At p. 20 he says the last Hindu monarchy of the Deccan was destroyed in 1313, but on p. 22 he refers to the Vijayanagar State, which was founded in 1336 (not in the sixteenth century, as Mr. Rawlinson's context would lead one to suppose), and was not destroyed till 1565. His quotation from Hiuen Tsiang is interesting, but does the Chinaman specifically mention the Maratha nation, and were the people he praises the progenitors of Sivaji's Marathas? Did Mālik Kafur really get as far as Adam's Bridge

(p. 21)? At p. 46 Professor Rawlinson speaks of Aurangzeb's cruelly murdering his *three* brothers. He ought to have known that Aurangzeb had nothing to do with the murder of Sultan Shaja'. At p. 92 he derives *Borgi* from *bārgīr*, surely a very doubtful etymology. There were *bārgīrs* in all the Indian armies, why then should *Borgi*, if derived from *bārgīr*, be a common native term in Bengal and elsewhere only for the Marathas?

But our gravest charge against Professor Rawlinson is that he has, in spite of his preface, extenuated Sivaji's crimes. He has a note at p. 99 which contains two serious errors. First, it states that the murder of Afzal Khān was no more treacherous than the murder of Comyn, and secondly, he implies that no historian has seriously blamed Bruce. But the murder of Comyn was not premeditated; there was no treachery in it, and it was the result of a sudden quarrel. Sivaji, on the other hand, went prepared to murder, and carefully laid his plans beforehand for the murder of Afzal, and the attack on his troops. Nor is it correct to say that no historian has blamed Bruce's act. At all events, Sir Walter Scott does so, for he says "the circumstances attending the slaughter were such as to render the act detestable in the eyes of all except those who belonged to Bruce's party". And I make little doubt that other historians have said the same thing. Professor Rawlinson excuses Sivaji's act because Afzal Khān had defiled Hindu temples. But what evidence is there that Afzal did this? Maratha chroniclers and ballad-makers may say so, but what is their date, and what reliance can be put on their statements? They also, I believe, say that Sivaji was justified in killing Afzal because the latter was just about to kill Sivaji. But against their rhodomontades we have the account by Khāfi Khān—whose truthfulness Professor Rawlinson admires—who says that Afzal went to the interview without arms, and after leaving his attendants

at a distance. And there can be no reasonable doubt that Sivaji ostensibly did the same thing. He took the tiger-claw weapon with him because he could hide it up his sleeve. Professor Rawlinson arms him in addition with a dagger and a famous Genoese sword! Afzal may have been imprudent, but he was not such a fool as to allow Sivaji to approach him fully armed while he himself had no weapon.

Professor Rawlinson, p. 98, quotes a passage from Elliot & Dowson's *History of India* in order to show that Khāfi Khān speaks favourably of Sivaji. The translation is not very correct, and Professor Rawlinson, not unreasonably, leaves out a sentence that is somewhat obscure, and which Dowson has not correctly translated. The meaning, I think, is not that Sivaji or her captor looked upon the slave-girl as the property of her master, but that he, or the soldier who captured her, considered that he had, as it were, bought her from her former owner, and so had succeeded to his rights. After all, with the exception of Sivaji's humanity to women, there is very little praise in Khāfi Khān's account. It is rather a statement of the businesslike way in which he, like other bandit-chiefs, distributed the booty. If Khāfi Khān was to be quoted at all, he should have been quoted fully. That is, it should have been mentioned that he calls Sivaji a bloodthirsty assassin, and that he states that Sivaji approached "unarmed and fearing and trembling".

H. BEVERIDGE.

THE SOCIAL LEGISLATION OF THE PRIMITIVE SEMITES.

By HENRY SCHAEFFER, Ph.D., Member of the American School for Oriental Study and Research. Syria, 1908-9. New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press. 1915.

There is no need to emphasize the importance of the study of early Semitic social legislation, which has attracted

the attention of so many scholars. Notwithstanding that the author disclaims any real originality for his work, he states, in his preface, that he has often had to choose his own road in the case of conflicting theories and arguments.

The first chapter treats of Matriarchy—a section of the subject with which prominent scholars have occupied themselves. Dr. Schaeffer reviews this portion of his subject in the light of the works of Wellhausen and Robertson Smith, whose arguments seem exceedingly forcible, but the extant evidence is in the main rather suggestive than convincing (p. 3). And this seems to be true, for there is no real proof of the existence of matriarchy in (for example) the fact that it was the mother who gave names to her children. Even Laban's claim that his daughters' children were also his may be merely based on an ardent desire to retain them all with him. In connexion with matriarchy, real or theoretical, it is worthy of note that whilst paternal parentage was uncertain, there could be little doubt as to the mother. In Babylonia, the author states, traces of matriarchy had nearly all disappeared, though, as pointed out by Professor Sayce, the Sumerian bilingual hymns place the female before the male, this order being reversed in the Semitic translation. This can naturally hardly be held to confirm the theory of Semitic matriarchy, at least among the Semites of Babylonia. (The translations were probably made about 2000 B.C.) It is also to be noted that the Hebrew account of the Creation, like those of the Babylonians, give the first place in the Creation to man, and that in Babylonian mythology the Babylonian gods are more important than their goddesses, notwithstanding that the latter are associated with them in acts of creation.

In spite of the fact that Dr. Schaeffer is of opinion that "the matriarchal plan was the dominant form of social organization prior to the settlement in Canaan", the rights of the father became the great factor in the age

after the change from nomadic or semi-nomadic life to that of agriculture. The supremacy of the father, indeed, even now prevails not only in the East, but is also at the bottom of social life in all civilized lands. Descent, moreover, is always through him—never through the mother.

Of special interest are the remarks of the author on the question of inheritance and the leaving of a son to represent him on earth and to perform the funeral rites when his father, having gone to dwell with his god, was buried. This, the author points out, has special bearing upon the incident of Naboth's vineyard. "God forbid it me," says Naboth, "that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee." Even the request, with offers of compensation, by the highest in the land, could not move him from this resolution. No reason is stated, but it is regarded as being implied in the statement that the vineyard was "the inheritance of his fathers". Perhaps, says the author, Naboth's fathers were buried there, and he had to perform the ceremonies at their graves. This, it is thought, might be a remnant of Babylonian ancestor-worship, a practice which went back to Sumerian times, and of which the memory existed 880 years B.C., or later. The general desire of the Babylonians in having sons was that they should act as *naq mé* or "water-pourers" at their graves, and the same may have been the case with Naboth. If this be the case, King Ahab ought to have known what a sacred inheritance Naboth's vineyard was likely to be to him. To us the refusal seems to be very bluntly expressed, but there is no hint that it was taken as disrespectful in the sacred narrative.

Dr. Schaeffer's explanation of the difference between the three social classes—the *awêlum*, the *muškênum*, and the *wardum* in Babylonia are clear, and ought to arouse interest. Probably the fullest light is thrown upon them by the Code of Hammu-rabi, from which it would seem

that the first, the "man", was the "gentleman", whilst the second was the poor freeman, and the third the servant or slave, the fem. being expressed by the Semitic *amtum*, "handmaid." It is probable that these three classes of the community had existed in Babylonia from early times, as corresponding words existed in Sumerian—indeed, there was a special expression for the lowest class, namely *sag-gen-ura*, "head (of) handmaid-male slave" (compare our "head of cattle"), translated likewise by a special word in Semitic Akkadian, *aštapiru*, used to denote slaves without distinction of sex. The Code of Hammu-rabi indicates their respective importance in the community.

Other interesting sections concern the "Bride-price", "Circumcision" (about which the wedge-written records give us so little information), "Dowries," "Land-values," "Land-ownership," "Marriage-contracts," the "*Nudunnū*" (husband's gift to his wife), etc. It will thus be seen how much ground this book, notwithstanding its modest dimensions, covers; and it may be regarded, in its way, as a monument to the completeness of our knowledge of the wonderfully complex nature of Semitic social life in the long past ages to which it refers. A flood of light is thrown upon the subject by the numerous records of Babylonia and Assyria, and Dr. Schaeffer has rendered his speciality a real service by his many quotations from this source.

T. G. PINCHES.

L'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT. Réponse à M. le Professeur GRESSMANN, par EDOUARD NAVILLE. Extrait de la Revue de la Théologie et de la Philosophie (No. 20, Septembre-Octobre, 1916).

This reply to Professor Gressmann's strictures on Professor Naville's *Archaeology of the Old Testament* is

well worth reading, even though one may not altogether agree with the renowned Swiss Egyptologist's conclusions. He points out that before the introduction of the Phœnician alphabet there was no script but the Babylonian cuneiform available for records, and he argues, with much acuteness and detail, that what we know as Hebrew was simply the tongue of the tribe (or kingdom) of Judah, and contends that all the other tribes of Israel spoke Aramaic. The books of the Bible had, therefore, to be translated into what we now call Hebrew, and this work was performed by various persons, who each imported into his renderings his own vocabulary and peculiarities of style. This naturally not only deposes Hebrew (the language of Judah) from its position as the original tongue of the Old Testament, but makes the researches of the "Higher Critics" to be of no effect. Professor Naville's arguments are weighty, but naturally require accepting with caution, and only after having proved them from every point of view. The fact that they will be as welcome to some as they are distasteful to others makes it probable that much controversy will be aroused upon the questions involved.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT IN CHINA. By P. Y. SAEKI.
S.P.C.K., London, 1916.

For a Japanese to succeed in writing a book in excellent English is in itself a notable achievement, and this book is surprisingly free from linguistic errors. But one frequently recurring phrase invites criticism, and that is "Religion of the Pills of Immortality". To translate *Chin-tan Chiao* thus is to convert a high-sounding and picturesque title into one smacking of the comic and trivial. *Chin-tan* is that mystical something—the central quest of all alchemists—wherein is supposed to lie the

essence of the powers of life. Perhaps a fitter rendering and one more in keeping with the Oriental habit of euphemistic nomenclature would be "Doctrine of the Soul of All Things" or possibly "Cult of the Philosopher's Stone".

It is with this sect of the *Chin-tan* that the main argument of the author is concerned; for here he finds not only a solution of what became of the Chinese Nestorians, that most perplexing of problems, but also proof of a Christian influence permeating China throughout the last twelve and a half centuries. That Western culture brought by Nestorian missionaries to Ch'ang-an modified and helped to build up the famous civilization of that ancient capital, is a theme that stirs the imagination. If proved to be more than a theory, our ideas of the balance of mutual indebtedness between East and West will have to be readjusted. Nevertheless, except in a few details of little importance, Professor Saeki cannot be said to carry conviction in the thesis he elaborates round the Nestorian Monument. Certainly his case is not strengthened by being based upon a statement made by Dr. Timothy Richard in the *China Mission Handbook* for 1896. Without giving his authority Dr. Richard asserts that the *Chin-tan Chiao* was founded by Lü Tung-pin. Then he makes the astounding suggestion that in the legend relating to Chung-li Ch'üan, the spiritual father of that *hsien*, there are features identifying Chung-li Ch'üan with Jesus of Nazareth. Dr. Richard ignores the fact that Chung-li is one of the family names of China, and writes of the senior of The Eight Immortals thus:—

"The real name of this one does not seem to be given, but the symbolical ones are 'The Warning Bell, which does not trust physical force' (Chung-li Ch'üan); 'The Quiet Logos' (Chi-tao); 'The King of the Sons of God' (Wang-yang Tzū); 'The First Teacher of the True Doctrine of Immortality' (Ch'ang-shêng Chên-chüeh); and 'Teacher from Above' (Yün-

fang Hsien-shêng); and there are other important truths not indicated in these names which remind us strongly of Christian truth."

After reviewing the evidence concerning the finding of the Monument in the early part of the seventeenth century, the author concludes that the precise spot where it was dug up cannot be located. He also mentions the abortive attempt to buy the Monument made in 1907 by Dr. Frits Holm, which resulted in the recognition of its value by the Chinese, and its consequent removal from a neglected and ruined temple to the august precincts of the Pei-lin at Hsi-an Fu. Having failed to obtain the original, Dr. Holm had a replica made, which until recently remained in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. In view of the special interest always taken in the Nestorian Monument by the Roman Catholic Church it is worthy of note that the final resting-place of this replica is in the Vatican, whither Dr. Holm conveyed it in November of 1916. Another copy has been obtained by the Hon. Mrs. Gordon, and erected by her upon the summit of Koya San in Japan.

The most captious critic cannot complain of the lack of Chinese characters in this book. In fact, they are sprinkled about in such generous profusion that it is fancied the general reader might be somewhat disconcerted. Still, if fault there be, it is one in the right direction; and it is to be hoped that producers of future books on things Chinese will imitate in this respect the example of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

W. P. Y.

THE ETHICS OF CONFUCIUS. By MILES MENANDER DAWSON. New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1915.

It is a curious fact that the Confucian classics are not easily accessible to the general reader. There are many

translations, it is true, but they appear in a number of highly-priced volumes, much of the contents of which is of interest only to students of Chinese. This handy book of some 300 pages is therefore specially welcome.

To quote from his introduction, the author's aim "is to put before Occidental readers, in the words of the Chinese sage and his followers, as translated, everything concerning ethics and statecraft contained in the Confucian classics which is likely to interest them, omitting nothing of importance". These extracts have been arranged in categories in accordance with a scheme of Confucius himself laid down in *The Great Learning*, and they are connected in running narrative by Mr. Dawson "showing briefly the relationship of one with the other, stating from what book taken and by whom enunciated, and most sparingly accompanied by quotations from other moralists, ancient or modern".

Inconsistency in the transliteration of Chinese names is a pitfall into which Mr. Dawson stumbles in common with so many writers unacquainted with the language. It seems a pity, too, that a very poor drawing by a Japanese artist should have been chosen for the frontispiece, when a rubbing of one of the masterly portraits on stone preserved at Ch'ü-fu might have been reproduced.

But these are small defects, and the author is to be congratulated on the production of a book that cannot fail to bring about a better understanding of many of the most admirable aspects of Chinese civilization.

W. P. Y.

CHINESE PAINTINGS. By Madame WU HSING-FÊN. 1915.

Those who deplore the decay of Chinese painting will be cheered by this delightful album from the brush of Madame Wu Hsing-fên, who is described on the title-page as "the most distinguished paintress of modern

China". It contains 117 reproductions in colotype which, though of provokingly small size, are of uniform excellence with the exception of two or three attempted in colour.

Madame Wu follows established custom in studying the great masters closely, and a number of the examples of her work express the genius of famous painters interpreted each through the medium of his own particular technique and idiosyncrasy. It is a remarkable proof of her versatility as an artist as well as of her sympathetic understanding of the national tradition that she achieves her purpose with equal success whatever school or period she selects. Here are landscapes in the styles of Wang Wei and Li Ssū-hsün of the T'ang, of Li Ch'êng of the Sung, of Chao Mêng-fu and Wang Mêng of the Yüan, of Ch'iu Shih-chou and Wên Chêng-ming of the Ming, and of Wang Hui and other less known artists who lived under the late dynasty. The great Wu Tao-tzū lives again in the dignified drawing of a Buddhist figure in rapt contemplation, and Hua Yen of the seventeenth century is represented by a powerful version of his portrait of the wife of Chao Mêng-fu, herself a famous artist. Birds and animals are adequately expressed in several pictures reminiscent of the Ch'ing artist Shên Nan-p'ing.

A painting of lotus flowers, in the style of Hsü Hsi of the Five Dynasties, recalls a criticism concerning that artist quoted by Professor Giles. He says: "'In painting flowers, people ordinarily aim at strict resemblance; but not so Hsü Hsi. And the painter who can ignore such resemblance becomes what Ssü-ma Ch'ien was among prose writers and Tu Fu among poets,'—an artist of the very front rank." What is meant, of course, is that Hsü Hsi did not concern himself with the mere academic representation of form, but rather that he sought to suffuse his subject with his own poetic sentiment. And

therein lies the secret of that haunting charm possessed by some Oriental paintings of humble objects such as flowers and fruits. Imagination and a love of nature, combined with an innate genius for composition, impart a lofty spirituality to the most commonplace themes.

Every sympathetic student of this volume will feel that Madam Wu's work shares the wonderful qualities distinctive of the art of Hsü Hsi, and with characteristic significance nowhere is this community of genius so apparent as in her beautiful pictures of flowers.

W. P. Y.

OBITUARY NOTICE

DR. JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., ETC.

THE death of Dr. James Burgess, on October 3rd, at 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, where he had lived for many years, deprives the Royal Asiatic Society of one of its oldest and most distinguished members. His labours in the field of Indian antiquities and history, prolonged as they were for more than half a century, can never be forgotten, for he was in large measure the founder and father of modern Indian archæological science; while his monumental volumes will always remain standard works of reference.

James Burgess was born in 1832 at Kirkmahoe, Dumfriesshire, and was educated at Dumfries, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. He went to India in 1856, engaged for educational work at Calcutta, and was transferred to Bombay in 1861. Fascinated by the antiquarian treasures in the neighbourhood of Bombay, he began those historical and architectural studies which were destined in after life to bear such great fruit. In 1866 he became a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1869 he published his first book, *The Temples of Satruñjaya*. In 1871 appeared his *Rock-cut Temples of Elephanta*. In 1868 he was appointed Secretary to the Bombay Geographical Society, and in 1872 he founded the well-known scientific journal, *The Indian Antiquary*, which he edited and published for thirteen years, transferring it then to Mr. Fleet and Sir Richard Temple. In 1873 he was appointed by the Government of Bombay to be head of the Archæological Survey of Western India. The news of this appointment was received with much gratification in scientific circles in Europe; for it was felt that historical and archæological

research had not been sufficiently encouraged up to that time by the authorities. Too much had been left to private hands, and though General Cunningham had been entrusted ten years previously with the duty of surveying the monuments of Northern India, no such concession had been made to the requirements of the West and South. Great things were expected of Burgess, and the world was not disappointed. He set to work with characteristic energy and on a well-considered system. In 1874 appeared a handsome volume, the *Report on the Antiquities of the Belgaum and Kalādgi Districts*, the issue of which made it abundantly clear that the Government had found the right man for the work in hand. This was followed by a second volume on *Kāthiāwād and Kachh* (1876), and this by another (1878) on *The Antiquities of the Bidar and Aurangabad Districts*. In 1883 his work on *The Buddhist Caves and their Inscriptions* was published, and shortly afterwards another on *The Cave-Temples of Elurā and other Brahmanical and Jaina Caves in Western India*. In 1887 yet another on *The Buddhist Stupas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēṭa*. These formed a series, in royal quarto, brought out in the highest style, printed on excellent paper, handsomely bound, richly illustrated, filled with information historical, antiquarian, and architectural, and constituting an important collection of authoritative works of reference.

Meanwhile, in 1881, Burgess had been appointed head of the Archaeological Survey of Southern India. The last of the volumes mentioned above dealt with the great Buddhist remains on the Krishna River in the Madras Presidency, and two other publications of his dealt with South Indian antiquities, namely, *Notes on the Amarāvati Stupa* (1882) and *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* (1886), these being respectively vols. iii and iv of the Archaeological Survey of South India. In 1880 he had published, jointly with the late James Fergusson, *The*

Cave-Temples of India, a most valuable and important work.

In 1886 Dr. Burgess was promoted to the post of Director-General of the Archæological Surveys of India, and took up his residence in Calcutta, supervising therefrom the work of research over the whole country. Here he planned one of the great works of his life, namely, the systematic and scholarly publication, with facsimiles, transliterations, and translations, of the ancient records on stone and copper-plate known to exist in great numbers all over India, but more especially in the south. The *Epigraphia Indica* took the place of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* projected ten years previously by General Cunningham, and supported by Mr. Fleet, whose treatment of the Gupta inscriptions was published as vol. iii of the series, the first volume being the *Inscriptions of Asoka* by General Cunningham himself. Vol. ii, intended to contain the Indo-Scythian inscriptions, was entrusted to other hands and has never been issued. Burgess believed that it would be unwise to attempt to carry the series farther on Cunningham's plan, which was to collect, as far as possible, for appearance in one or more volumes, all the known inscriptions of a particular kingdom or dynasty or period. To attempt this, he wrote, "would necessitate infinite delays," and the result would still be imperfect. It seemed better to publish the records in order as received by the editor from the scholars employed in their examination, trusting to the index of each volume to facilitate reference. This plan has been carried out, and to-day there can hardly be anyone living who doubts its wisdom.

Sanctioned in 1888 the first volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*, containing articles and translations by Bühler, Kielhorn, Eggeling, Hultzsch, Fleet, and Jacobi, only made its appearance, owing to unavoidable delays caused by difficulties in the press, in 1892. The second volume was

published in 1894 equally under his editorship. (He had retired from the Government service in 1889.) The series has continued regularly to the present day, the fourteenth volume being now in hand; and it is safe to say that in addition to being of such immense use to scholars at home, no Government publication has had a greater or more far-reaching effect on the minds of the people of India themselves. These Indian historical records, as Burgess wrote in the preface to vol. i, "more so than those of any other country, are the real archives of the annals of its ancient history, the contemporaneous witnesses of the events and of the men whose deeds they hand down . . . They supply important [he might have said 'invaluable'] data bearing on the chronology, geography, religious systems, affiliations of families and dynasties, taxes, land-tenures, magistrates, customs, manners, organization of societies, languages, and systems of writings of ancient times. Hence the great need for collecting and publishing them, with the best translations and comments that modern scholarship can supply." His high hopes were justified. The *Epigraphia Indica* has thrown a flood of light on the buried history of the country, history which, practically unknown before, can now be mapped out almost as clearly as that of any of the nations of Europe; and it must have been a source of constant gratification to him in his declining years to find that the best brains in India have since been applying themselves to the study of the past of their country, and are now, particularly in Southern India, steadily collecting historical information from those infallible sources, the contemporaneous statements of their own ancestors. Other Governments, too, have observed the importance of the work, and we now have a parallel series of epigraphical publications in Burma, Ceylon, Mysore, and Travancore, doubtless to be followed by others in the principal native States.

It may perhaps be more appropriately said of James Burgess than of many others to whom the old epitaph has been applied—"Si monumentum quæris circumspice."

That he was a man of very exceptional powers of mind, by no means confined to one groove, may be gathered from the fact that, having devoted considerable time to the study of abstruse mathematical subjects, he was awarded, nine years after his retirement from Government service in India, the Keith Medal of the Royal Society of Edinburgh for a paper "On the Error-function Definite Integral".

Dr. Burgess in his last years suffered much from ill-health and heart-weakness, but in spite of this he was always ready to give his assistance to those working in the field of archæology. No one ever wrote to him for information, even up to the last few weeks of his life, without receiving such cordial and willing help as he could give for the solution of difficulties. Regarding his deep religious convictions and the quiet happiness of his home life it is not for me to attempt to draw aside a sacred veil.

As to his honours, he was a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire (1885); Honorary LL.D. of Edinburgh University (1881); Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; Hon. A.R.I.B.A.; Hon. Member of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, the American Oriental Society, and the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow; Hon. Associate of the Finno-Ugrian Society; Hon. Correspondent of the Berlin Society of Anthropology and of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences; and sometime Fellow of the University of Bombay. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and a member of the Société Asiatique, Paris.

R. SEWELL.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October-December, 1916)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

November 14, 1916.—Mr. M. Longworth Dames, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Chairman announced with regret the death of Mr. H. A. Good, the Assistant Secretary, who had been killed in action on September 15, also that the Council had appointed Miss Frazer, who had been acting Assistant Secretary since the outbreak of the War, to the vacant post.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Dr. Sten Konow.

Mr. Abdul Majid.

Twenty-eight nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Kennedy read a paper entitled "The Gospels of the Infancy, the Lalita Vistara and the Vishnu Purana, or the Interchange of Legends between India and the West".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Pargiter, Sir George Grierson, Dr. Gaster, Professor Hagopian, and Dr. Thomas took part. The paper will be published in a later number.

December 12, 1916.—Sir Charles Lyall in the Chair.

The Chairman announced that Professor Sylvain Lévi had been elected an Honorary Member of the Society in succession to Professor Gaston Maspero.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. Chintamani Acharyya.

Abdul Qadir Akhtar Sahib.

Mr. Lala Sardharam Berry.

Mr. Umes Chandra Sinha Chaudhuri.

Mr. Wilayat Hussain Cossar.

Mr. J. Dass.

Sir J. G. Frazer.

Mr. O. C. Gangooly.
Rev. W. G. Goddard.
Rev. G. Buchanan Gray.
Mr. Maung Gyi.
Mr. A. R. Duraiswami Iyengar.
Mr. K. Ramaswami Iyer.
Pandit Lachhmidar Kalla.
Mr. Kanshi Ram Kapur.
Mr. D. R. Kocha.
Rev. N. Jatila Mohathera.
Mr. C. J. Marzetti.
Mr. Harendranath Maitra.
Mr. Gunendra Chandra Mallik.
Mr. H. Panday.
Mr. Jogesh Chundra Patranavis.
Mr. Sydney Willbur Radden.
Mr. Kumar Birindranath Ray.
Srijut Jaimini Kishore Roy.
Babu Nutu Gopal Tantraratna.
Rev. Howard Arnold Walter.
Captain H. Wilberforce-Bell.

Fourteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Dr. A. Cowley read a paper on "Professor Hrozny's Views on the Hittite Question", explaining and criticizing the views of the Professor of Semitic Languages at Vienna. Dr. Cowley mentioned that there were two classes of Hittite inscriptions to be deciphered, cuneiform and hieroglyphic. In the first of these we had a known system of writing expressing an unknown language; in the other we had the much greater puzzle of an unknown system of writing concealing an unknown language. It was with the former only that Professor Hrozny had concerned himself. The most important of them were found in the years 1906 to 1912 by Winckler at Boghaz-keui, the Hittite capital in the north of Asia Minor. Some of the tablets were in Semitic cuneiform,

and could be read with comparative ease; others, though written in cuneiform, were in a language which was certainly not Semitic. While engaged in editing the texts Dr. Hrozný had arrived at the theory that this people, living in the north of Cappadocia, beyond the Halys, shut in on the west by the non-Greek states of Asia Minor and on the east by the kingdom of Van, in close contact with, and strongly influenced by Babylonia, spoke an Indo-European language, and one, moreover, belonging to the western branch rather than the eastern. Dr. Cowley examined some of the evidence advanced in support of this theory, concluding that it was not proven, but that we ought not to reject it off-hand, because we have not all the material on which Professor Hrozný bases it. We must wait for the publication of the new texts. While allowing the possibility of an Indo-European element in the Hittite language, he suggested that it belonged essentially to the same group as some (or all) of the non-Greek languages (Lycian, Lydian, etc.) of Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Crete. These cannot help much, since none of them is really known, and each has still to be interpreted from its own scanty remains. Some of the directions were indicated, however, in which a solution of the problem might be sought.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Pinches, Professor Bevan, and Professor Hagopian took part.

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Macler (F.). Notre Dame de Bitlis. Texte arménien, traduit et annoté.

Rossini (Conti). Les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie.

II. TRANSACTIONS OF THE KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. VII, Pt. i.

Mills (E. W.). Gold Mining in Korea.

III. CEYLON ANTIQUARY AND LITERARY REGISTER.

Vol. I, Pt. iv.

Perera (Rev. S. G.). The Jesuits in Ceylon in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

Codrington (H. W.). The Polonnaruwa Coin Weight Standard.

Senaveratne (J. M.). The "Gal-pota" or Stone-Book of Polonnaruwa.

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Horsburgh (B.). Sinhalese Place Names in the Jaffna Peninsula.

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Wolfson (H. A.). Crescas on the Problem of Divine Attributes.

Efros (I. I.). The Problem of Space in Jewish Mediaeval Philosophy.

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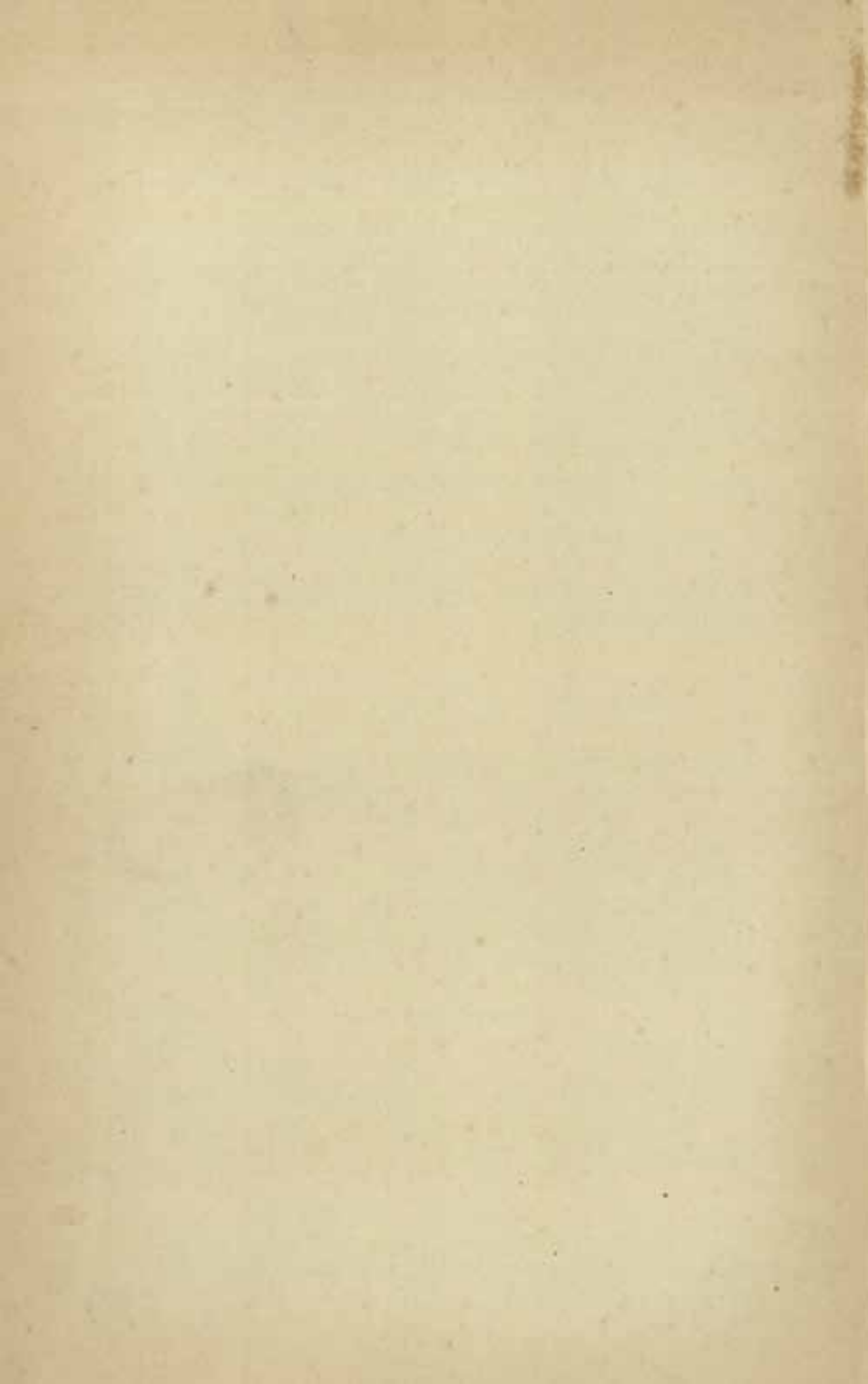
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JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1917

VI

THE GOSPELS OF THE INFANCY, THE LALITA VISTARA,
AND THE VISHNU PURANA: OR THE TRANS-
MISSION OF RELIGIOUS LEGENDS BETWEEN INDIA
AND THE WEST

By J. KENNEDY

I

BUDDHISM and Christianity are essentially unlike, no two religions more so, but no other worldwide religions have so many points of superficial resemblance. Some of these resemblances are natural or accidental. For instance, Christ and Buddha taught in parables, because, as Galen says, parables are the most instructive form of teaching for simple men.¹ Again, Buddhism and Christianity lay stress on right conduct; and although Buddhists and Christians do not mean exactly the same thing by these words, both lay hold of great ethical principles. Such coincidences are in the nature of things. But the greater number are undoubtedly due to the secular contact of the two religions in Central Asia from the second to the twelfth century A.D., and they are confined of necessity to legend and to ritual.

¹ Quoted by Harnack from an Arabic translation. *Expansion of Christianity*, i, p. 266, Eng. trans.

With Hinduism it is different. Here we are dealing with ideas, some of them the natural expression of the universal religious consciousness, others the product of schools of philosophy. Religious men are of one brotherhood, and travel far together. Mystics of every age have seen the ladder which leads from earth to heaven, they have seen the angels ascending and descending, and they have heard the Voice of God calling from the top, and their speech is one when they try to express the inexpressible.¹ Similarly with different schools of philosophy it often happens that various lines of thought lead to identical conclusions, and this was never more the case than in the early centuries of our era.² But after making all due allowance for coincidences of the kind, we have a certain number of cases where Hinduism and Christianity seem to have borrowed from each other. Sir G. Grierson has shown reason for thinking that Rāmānuja was influenced by Christianity, and the Christian doctrine of faith seems to have profoundly influenced Rāmānuja's successors.³ If we turn from India to Europe, we find a great schoolman, Albertus Magnus, who lived in the same century with Rāmānuja, and was the master of St. Thomas Aquinas, teaching doctrine characteristically

¹ In the course of a long life I do not remember to have seen devotion more visibly expressed than in the faces of a rather uninteresting, middle-aged Hindu magistrate at the Rāmlilā, and of a Russian *monjik* at the Holy Sepulchre. Some of Goya's Spanish nuns have the same look of rapt devotion and of awe.

² "The convergence of these lines of development in the various nations of antiquity during the age of Hellenism is among the best established facts of history. Contemporary ideas of a cognate or similar nature were not simply the result of mutual interaction, but also of an independent development along parallel lines. This makes it difficult, and indeed impossible in many cases, to decide on which branch any given growth sprang up. The similarity of the development on parallel lines embraced not only the ideas, but frequently their very mode of expression and the form under which they were conceived" (Harnack, *op. cit.*, i, p. 33, n. 1).

³ *JRAS.* 1907, pp. 311 ff.

Indian. Union with God, he says, is the object of the soul. Through the pure intellect alone can this object be attained, and the ascent is by the way of interior contemplation. The mind is immersed in what is not itself, in sensible appearances. Divest the mind of all that is sensible, all that is phenomenal, make the mind indifferent to everything external, naked and bare; and then rise through the pure intellect to union with Divinity. This, says Albertus, is Gentile philosophy, but it is also Christian.¹

¹ I have summarized the teaching of Albertus in the first part of his little work *De adhaerendo Deo*. Not many of my readers probably know the work, and the sentences are very curious. I therefore give a number of extracts, which convey the doctor's meaning much more forcibly than I can.

(a) *The end of all exercises is to attain to union with God through the pure intellect, divested of all sensible objects*: *Finis omnium exercitiorum hic est, scilicet intendere et quiescere in Domino Deo intra te per purissimum intellectum et devotissimum affectum sine phantasmatibus et implicationibus*, c. 4. *Est hominis in hac vita sublimior perfectio ita Deo uniri ut tota anima cum omnibus potentiis suis et viribus in Dominum Deum suum sit collecta, ut unus fiat spiritus cum eo*, c. 3.

(b) *Man is deceived by his senses and appetites*: *Quamdiu homo cum phantasmatibus et sensibus ludit, et insistit, videtur nondum exisse motus et limites bestialitatis suae, hoc est, illius quod cum bestiis habet commune*, c. 4.

(c) *The way of ascent is by interior contemplation*: *Super omnia valet ut teneas mentem nudam sine phantasmatibus et imaginibus et a quibuscunque implicationibus; ut nec de mundo, nec de amicis, nec de prosperis, nec de adversis praesentibus, praeteritis, vel futuris in te nec in aliis, nec etiam nimis de propriis peccatis solliciteris, etc.*, c. 8. *Ascendere ad Deum hoc est intrare in se ipsum. Qui enim interius intrans et intrinsecus penetrans se ipsum transcendit, ille veraciter ad Deum ascendit*, c. 7.

(d) *In this way the soul becomes transformed*: *Sic transformatur quodammodo in Deum quod nec cogitare nec intelligere nec amare nec memorari potest nisi Deum pariter et de Deo*, c. 6.

(e) *Indifference to externals*: *Unde si voluntas adsit bona, et Deo in intellectu pure conformis et unita fuerit, non nocet si caro et sensualitas et exterior homo moveatur ad malum, et torpeat ad bonum*, c. 6.

(f) *Union with God only possible through the pure intellect when stripped of all things sensible or temporal*: *Non multum cures actualem devotionem, aut sensibilem dulcedinem, vel lacrimas, sed tantum per bonam voluntatem in intellectu sis mente cum Deo intra te unitus. Quippe super*

From what source came this philosophy which Albertus shared with the Gentiles? He got it through the medium of the Arabic; but it is not the intuition or ecstasy of Plotinus. I cannot say whether it is to be found in any of the later Neo-Platonists, or in the independent speculations of Arabian metaphysicians; but the ideas are distinctively Indian, and must have come from India to the West.

Omitting, however, all questions of dogma there is one important Hindu cult, the worship of the child Krishna, which has been supposed to owe not only some of its legends but its entire conception to Christian influences. The controversy over this problem has lasted for close on three-quarters of a century.

In 1914 Professor Garbe published a book entitled *Indien und das Christentum*, in which he reviewed the whole subject. The uppermost thought in my mind as I closed the work was the question of method; is it possible to arrive at a satisfactory solution by such methods as Professor Garbe employs? His method is the common one. He takes two stories, and on comparing them he finds certain points of resemblance. He then refers to the supposed date of the books, Hindu, Buddhist, or Christian, in which these stories are found, and he assigns the story to whichever book he considers the older. The method is certainly simple, but at the same time it is unconvincing.

The first thing which occurs to one is the proverbial uncertainty attaching to all Indian literary chronology,

omnia placet Deo mens nuda a phantasmatibus, id est, imaginibus, speciebus, ac similitudinibus rerum creatarum, c. 10.

(g) And lastly Albertus admits that he shares this doctrine with the Gentiles: Animadvertendum est etiam in hoc differentiam inter contemplationem catholicorum fidelium et philosophorum gentilium quia contemplatio philosophorum est propter perfectionem contemplantis, et ideo sistit in intellectu, et ita finis eorum in hoc est cognitio intellectus. Sed contemplatio sanctorum, quae est catholicorum, est propter amorem ipsius, scilicet contemplati Dei, c. 9.

Buddhist and Hindu, prior to the general adoption of a standard era. Many of these works, moreover, and those among the most important, were not committed to writing, but preserved orally in the schools, and subject to additions, glosses, and interpolations.¹ It is much as if the Gospels and much Christian literature of the first six centuries had been orally preserved with comments and glosses by various churches, and first reduced to writing under Gregory the Great; only in this latter case the numerous historical references would have made the work of restoration easier. Unless, therefore, some bas-relief at Bharhut or Sanchi, a fresco at Ajanta, or a Chinese translation comes to our aid, we are often doubtful regarding any particular incident, whether it be really ancient or no.

The uncertainty of Hindu and Buddhist literary chronology is inevitable, and we must put up with it. But that is not the chief objection to Professor Garbe's method. It is the personal equation. Where one man sees a resemblance, another sees only the difference. Take one example chosen almost at random. Professor Garbe finds in a Buddhist Jātaka² a story of a giant who was fond of eating young princes. One day he seizes on the youthful Buddha just as the boy was about to welcome a holy and learned Brāhman; and he carries the Buddha on his shoulders to his cannibal den. The Buddha weeps at the thought that he will be unable to profit by the discourse of the Brāhman sage, and the giant relenting lets him go, on his promise that he will

¹ This remark applies only to the literature of Southern Buddhism. The works of the Northern Buddhists were written from the beginning, but they do not go back beyond the first century A.D. For the age of the more important works of the Southern Buddhists see the Introductions by Max Müller, Rhys Davids, and Fausbøll in *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. x, xi.

² Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, pp. 101-11. Jātaka No. 537 in the Pali, No. 31 in the Jātaka-māla.

return. The Buddha goes and returns, but refuses to impart to the giant what the Brāhman had said. In vain the giant argues and entreats. The Buddha converts him (as usual), and the giant gives up eating little boys; moreover, the giant, who is in reality an excellent king afflicted by a curse, is freed from the curse, and restored to his kingdom.

See, says Garbe, the original of the legend of St. Christopher. That legend first occurs in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacopo da Voragine, Bishop of Genoa, and hardly needs quotation; but I give it for the sake of contrast.

St. Christopher is a giant who sets out in quest of some one stronger than himself. He attaches himself to a king with a great army, but the king fears the devil; and St. Christopher follows the devil. The devil shrinks at the sight of the cross. St. Christopher leaves the devil, and falls in with a hermit who, since St. Christopher can neither fast nor pray, employs him to help travellers across a ford. One night a little child calls to him from the opposite bank of the river. St. Christopher takes the child on his shoulder and enters the water, but the child becomes heavy as lead, and St. Christopher trembles and begins to sink. "Who art thou?" he asks; and then he learns that the Christ-Child is the strongest power in the world.

We have in both stories a giant who carries a boy on his shoulders,¹ and the giant is converted, for conversion always follows on the sermons of the Buddha. Both stories were invented for pious uses, and therefore the one

¹ Soon after I had written the above, a child brought me his story-book. The very first story was of a gigantic ogre who carried off a little girl on his shoulder in order to eat her. It is the proper thing for giants to carry little boys and girls on their shoulder, and devour them in their dens. The framework of the Buddhist Jātaka is as old as the history of the doings of the giants. What has St. Christopher in common with such giants?

makes the boy Buddha, the other the Child-Christ. But what other connection is there? Garbe blames Winternitz for not seeing the likeness. I am equally astonished at Garbe's finding any. With such different points of view discussion is impossible.

The case of St. Christopher is perhaps exceptional, since the history of the legend is well known. Christopher was a symbolical name sometimes assumed by the early Christians at baptism. Various martyrs, bishops, and others of the name are known; and the companion epithet, Theophoros, was given to St. Ignatius and Isaiah. A celebrated martyr of the name suffered in the Decian persecution (A.D. 250)—a historical fact which we have no reason to doubt. Long afterwards two distinct legends sprang up regarding him. The earliest, which may go back to the sixth or seventh century, represented him as a Canaanitish giant and cannibal, with a dog's head, who was taken captive by the Imperial troops, and being miraculously converted and taught Greek by an angel, converts his captors. In the Latin romance the giant's name is Reprobus, and this was the version common from the seventh to the tenth century.

There is no boy in the earlier version. The second version has nothing in common with the first, except the gigantic stature and the name of the saint. Italian artists started the idea as a kind of rebus or play upon the meaning of the word. The earliest representation of the Christ-bearer is said to be on an eleventh century pillar in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The Christ was necessarily represented as much smaller than the giant; and from this kernel the whole legend was evolved.¹

¹ I have epitomized the article on St. Christopher in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, where all the authorities are given. For Garbe's discussion of the history of the Christian legend v.o.c., pp. 101-4. The English reader will remember the story of the ferrymen who ferried St. Peter across the Thames one night to found his church on the island of Westminster. The two stories have always been associated somehow in my mind.

Where differences of opinion are so great, it is evident that we require another method. We need a criterion which will eliminate the personal equation, a historical criterion external to ourselves.

Religious legends are our subject; that is, legends which have had at one time or another a religious significance. They may form (1) a cycle of stories which have gathered round the object of worship; such are the tales of the infant Christ, the youthful Buddha, and the child Krishna, related respectively in the Gospels of the Infancy, the *Lalita Vistara*, and the *Vishnu Purāna*. Or (2) they are single stories, like Barlaam and Joasaph, manifestly borrowed for pious edification. Or (3) they are stories religious once, but degraded into folk-tales. Solomon's judgment serves as an example.

In dealing with these stories the first step is to secure a firm foundation for our argument. We must therefore discard the merely probable, and confine ourselves to those narratives where the incidents are identical, and also peculiar. Peculiar as well as identical, because coincidences—even strange coincidences—are among the commonest of occurrences.¹ Most of us have known them in our personal experience. I shall take an illustration sometimes used to prove Buddhist influence, from archæology.

Consider the ground plan of one of the older Buddhist rock-temples in the Western Ghats. We have a nave and aisles and apse and altar, together with a vaulted roof, and a porch or vestibule. Except that the aisles are too narrow, and that the roof is vaulted, it would appear to

¹ Here is one which will be novel to my readers. The retired head of a department of the British Museum employed his leisure in arranging the records of Westminster Abbey, and is my authority. On one occasion the mediæval Abbot took Mr. Winkle with him to visit Pickwick Manor; and on another occasion he gave Sam Weller a licence for a public-house at Croydon. Where did Dickens get these names? They are uncommon; but the conjunction of them in a mediæval MS. would be held good proof of Dickens' prodigious learning, if we did not know that it was fortuitous.

be the duplicate of a basilican church. But move the rock-temple into the open, and rebuild it of brick and wood after the manner represented in the Buddhist bas-reliefs, and the difference is obvious. We have a long room with a thatched roof and verandah, a *daghoba* at one end, and a perambulation path round it. The resemblance has vanished.¹

Here, on the other hand, is an example of the stories which do come within our rule. The introduction to Jātaka No. 190 tells of a Buddhist monk who walked across a river to the Buddha. Full of thoughts of the Buddha he got half-way, but then realizing his position he began to sink; a sudden rush of faith and devotion filled his mind; he once more walked on the water, and was welcomed by his master. This is an exact parallel to St. Peter walking on the sea; the incidents are identical, they are unique, and the moral is the same. An undoubted case of borrowing we say; but by whom? By the Evangelist, says Garbe.² When the reader has finished this dissertation he can answer for himself.

¹ The basilican church according to the received theory had its origin in the Roman house with such modifications as were required for the accommodation of large numbers. The atrium, implavium, and tricladium are all represented. See Schulze, *Archæologie der alt-christlichen Kunst*, pp. 48 ff., and Essenwein, "Christlicher Kirchenbaues," pp. 22 ff., in *Durm & Wagner's Handbuch der Architektur*, Bd. iii, to mention only the books that happen to be at hand. Garbe, pp. 124-5, claims a Buddhist origin for the Christian round tower or campanile on the strength of two somewhat antiquated authorities; but it is unnecessary to discuss such vagaries. The canon holds good that India got so much of its architecture as was not indigenous from the West, and influenced in its turn the architecture of the East in Java, Central Asia, and China, etc. I have discussed elsewhere (JRAS. 1898, pp. 282 ff.) the influence of Babylonian and Assyrian art and architecture upon India. As for the Indians in Armenia referred to by Garbe, p. 124, they were a rude tribe of North-West India, which fled to Armenia from the turmoil and anarchy that attended the last throes of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom; and so far as we know they had no architecture of their own, or any influence whatever. Moreover, they were Hindus and not Buddhists. JRAS. 1904, pp. 309 ff.

² Garbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-8.

Let this, then, be the first canon of our inquiry. We exclude some things that are probable, much that is doubtful, and everything that is fantastic. We confine ourselves to those cases where there is no reasonable ground for suspicion, and the chances of accident are, as far as possible, obviated. We have next to determine the mode of inquiry. It is twofold.

1. These stories are not folk-tales which pass at haphazard among neighbours, and from one people to another. They are tales strange in themselves, and yet similar in their details, which two different religions have severally adopted for religious uses. The conclusion is obvious. The one religion must have borrowed from the other; the possibility of a third but unknown source, that *Deus ex machina* and last resource of loose thinking, is excluded. These tales were borrowed direct; they form part of the intellectual *commercium* which went on for centuries between India and the West. Our first business, therefore, is to determine their place. Other stories travelled which were not religious. What kind of stories were they which found favour with the Indians, or the peoples of the West? And since these tales are religious, and adopted for religious uses, we must inquire what knowledge Christians and Indians possessed of each other's religion. We must discover who were the intermediaries; and we must determine the opportunities and the times. It is not until we have completed this historical survey that we are able to judge of the movements that took place, and to assign to our stories their particular part. This inquiry occupies the first portion of our present task.

2. The *Lalita Vistara* and the *Vishnu Purāna* share a whole series of stories in common with the Gospels of the Infancy. Here we look for a special test. If we can find in any of these stories doctrinal matter peculiar to one of the three religions and foreign to the other two, it will be decisive of the question of origin. I am of opinion

that such matter can be found; and the second part of my paper is devoted to proving it.

II

Buddhism antedated Christianity by five centuries; and attempts have frequently been made to show that Buddhist stories and Buddhist expressions found their way into the New Testament, more especially into the first three Gospels. To justify this contention it is alleged that Indian stories reached the Near East long before the Christian era. Pythagoras and Æsop are quoted as instances in point. Indian stories of course did reach the West in pre-Christian times, although they were neither so early or so numerous as scholars sometimes imagine. I shall try to show in the course of this narrative that Buddhism and Christianity first met in fruitful contact *c.* A.D. 100—a date two or three decades later than the Synoptics.¹ After that date our materials grow apace. In order to prove that any prior contact is improbable, it is necessary to review as briefly as may be the earlier period, and to show what kind of Indian stories or Indian religious ideas it was that travelled to the West before the Christian era. By way of prelude to our inquiry, I draw attention to two very general considerations, obvious in themselves but very often overlooked.

¹ I believe I am right in saying that according to the school of Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort, the school which prevails in England, and which I regard as the sanest of all schools, the Synoptics are to be put before A.D. 80. Among Germans I would point to Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, for a similar opinion. Harnack dates St. Mark and St. Matthew between A.D. 65 and A.D. 75, St. Luke between A.D. 78 and A.D. 93. Regarding the Fourth Gospel, there is as yet no general consensus of opinion; but, as a Cambridge don wittily observed, for every year the Germans study it they have to put it a year further back. It purports to have been written by St. John and another, and this is a view very commonly taken. Lightfoot has pointed out that the O.T. quotations are taken, not from the LXX, but from the Hebrew. The author must therefore have been a Jew.

For tales to travel there must be communications and intermediaries; and the spread of religious ideas presupposes a class of men interested in such matters, and in their propagation. Goods must be exchanged before tales can be repeated; and geographical knowledge precedes the imparting of religious information. Here we have a double test. Before we can speculate on the migration of tales or ideas, we must prove in one or other of these two ways that their transmission was possible.

India stands midway between Persia and China, and the physical obstacles which intervene are very great, so that in the earliest times direct intercourse between the Indo-Aryans and the great civilizations east or west of them was impossible. It was the conquest of intervening countries by the Achæmenids and of Eastern Turkestan by the Chinese that first opened the way.¹

India proper, the land of the Āryas east of the Indus—and it is with them that we are chiefly concerned—is separated from Media and Persia by vast tracts of mountain and desert, tracts that were very sparsely inhabited until a late period by tribes, some of them nomads and others savages.² No Indian tribe is ever mentioned by any Assyrian or Babylonian king; and India was non-existent so far as the records of the Tigris and Euphrates Valley are concerned.³ Before the time of

¹ The Chinese had no knowledge of India until late in the second century B.C. For the earliest attempts to reach India by a direct route through South-Western China, see Wylie's translation of the History of the Early Han in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. ix, pp. 55 ff., and Richthofen, *China*, i, pp. 452-4.

² De Morgan, *Les Premières Civilisations*, pp. 265-6. De Morgan points out that the population on the eastern slopes of the Zagros range must have been small; the neolithic remains that he found were few. Cf. Herodotus, i, 125, for the ten tribes of the Persians; also Rawlinson's notes on them, i, pp. 412 ff. For the Eastern Satrapies of Darius, v. Herodotus, iii, 92 ff.

³ An Asiatic elephant represented on the black obelisk of Shalmanasar (B.C. 858-24) forms the earliest proof, so far as I know, of any intercourse between India and the West (JRAS., 1898, pp. 259, 260). It formed

the Achæmenids there was little or no intercourse by land;¹ and what there was, was indirect. With the sea folk of the Dekhan the case is somewhat different. The sea between the west coast of India and the Persian Gulf is navigable by native craft for six months of the year; and some small coasting trade existed from an early age. The proto-Phœnicians of the Persian Gulf and the Semites of South Arabia were seafaring peoples from the earliest times; and they may have taught the Dravidians the art of navigation. The oldest trace of their activity is the invention of an Indian alphabet, an

with other animals part of the tribute of an Armenian tribe, the Muzri. How it came into the possession of the Muzri, the obelisk does not say. Less than seven hundred years before Shalmanasar, Tahutimes III had hunted a herd of 120 elephants in the Euphrates' lands (Petrie, *History of Egypt, XVIIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties*, p. 124); and the elephant roamed at one time over all the country intervening between Syria and India. The elephant brought by the Muzri may not therefore have been Indian; but probably it was; and if so, it must have passed through the hands of various Seythian tribes. The introduction of the horse from Turkestan into Media and Babylonia, as well as the diffusion of cereals and fruit-trees, shows the kind of commerce that went on among these neolithic folk. The Āryas brought both horses and cereals with them into India; but these must have been known there at a much earlier time.

¹ De Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-8, gives a bird's-eye view of the movements of the peoples about the commencement of the second millennium B.C. The migration of the Āryas from the regions north of the Elburz range and the Hindu Kush into Mesopotamia, Media, Persia, and the Panjāb was made in successive waves, and covered several centuries. They had to pass through mountainous districts occupied from the earliest times by a brachycephalic race, the *Homo Alpinus* of the anthropologists; and the Indo-Afghans are the evidence of this passage, being the descendants of the Druhyus and other Aryan tribes which settled in the neighbourhood of the Kabul River among the earlier broad-heads. Once the Indo-Aryans had settled in the Panjāb, they were separated from the Medes and Persians by a vast extent of mountain, desert, and marsh; the intervening spaces were nowhere thickly peopled; and some of the intermediate tribes were pure savages even in Alexander's time. The Dravidians on the lower Indus with the "Black Ethiopians" of Mekran may have had some ethnological connexion with the "Black-heads" of Babylonia, and the Brāhmani bulls which came to Babylonia in the seventh century B.C. probably came by this route.

alphabet employed at first only for mercantile uses. Other traces of commerce between the Dravidian coast and the Persian Gulf are rare and late.¹

Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη.²

Under Cyrus the Persian arms reached the confines of India. Darius conquered the Panjāb and the Indus Valley, and so brought for the first time Indians and Persians—and through the Persians the Greeks—into contact with each other. Scylax of Karyanda is the first Greek who to our knowledge set foot on Indian soil. He took part in Darius' great naval expedition to explore the coastline from India to the Gulf of Suez—an expedition far surpassing that of Alexander in the extent of its discoveries and the importance of its results, though inferior to it in renown²; while Hecataeus of Miletus, an Asiatic subject of Darius, is the first Greek writer to show any knowledge of the country.³ After him comes Herodotus, and then Ctesias. Less than a century after Ctesias we have Alexander's campaign.

It is the fashion to credit this Achæmenian period, and even the times that preceded it, with an active importation of Indian stories and ideas. The Neo-Pythagoreans first gave rise to this opinion. They surmised that their master, who flourished c. 530 B.C., had learnt his wisdom from the East; they even sometimes said that he had gone to India; and von Schroeder made an ingenious attempt to prove that he had borrowed both geometrical and other notions from Indian sources.⁴ The claim has

¹ In JRAS., 1898, pp. 241 ff., I have given all the evidence I could find regarding the earliest intercourse by sea between India and Babylonia. In the light of further knowledge I would now modify some things I have said there, particularly where I have followed the late T. de Lacouperie, a learned and unfortunate man, but no trustworthy guide.

² Herodotus, iv, 44.

³ A list of place-names is preserved to us by Steph. Byz., but nothing more.

⁴ *Pythagoras und die Indier*, von d. v. Schroeder.

been more than once disproved, and by none more exhaustively than by Professor Keith.¹ But it seems to me that the hypothesis scarcely required such an elaborate refutation. A preliminary objection is fatal to it. Pythagoras surely must have heard of India before he could borrow science from it. But we have no evidence to show that the existence of such a country was known to the Greeks of the Ægean when Pythagoras migrated to Italy. Even articles of Indian provenance, such as pass among neolithic tribes from hand to hand, are not forthcoming at this early date.

It was next the turn of Æsop; and Max Müller quoted Æsop's fables to prove the migration of Indian stories.² Æsop is supposed to have lived in the sixth century B.C., but his fables were apparently never reduced to writing. Like Joe Miller, a hundred stories were fathered on him, but the fables which bear his name are late; in one case there is even a quotation from the Book of Job.³ Babrius and Phædrus were the first to put Æsopian matter into literary form, and with this matter they mixed much of their own. We are thus brought down to the Augustan age, and the age immediately preceding it. The possibility, therefore, of borrowing cannot be denied; and at one time there was much controversy as to which country—India or Greece—was the borrower, or whether there was any borrowing at all. The study of savage psychology and folklore has to some extent antiquated these discussions. The belief that beasts can reason and speak, and that they converse with each other, is practically universal; and

¹ JRAS. 1909, pp. 569 ff.

² Max Müller, *Last Essays*, i, 269, 270, quoted by Garbe, op. cit., p. 24. Good summaries of the whole controversy will be found in Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, Eng. trans., 2nd ed., pp. 211-12; and in D'Alviella, *Ce que l'Inde doit*, etc., pp. 138 ff.

³ Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, etc., s.n. Æsop. See also the articles on Babrius and Phædrus. Æsop was a slave, and according to one account a Phrygian; and the Phrygians had much in common with the Scythians.

gods assume bestial forms in most cosmogonies. Beast stories therefore form a part of the mental equipment of most savage tribes. To use these stories for the purpose of pointing a moral is an elementary step in literary expression; and the apologue was very old in both India and Greece. Since the ways of beasts are everywhere much the same, coincidences may be expected. I do not propose to enter into the controversy regarding the stories, a dozen or less, which are supposed to have been borrowed, the one party says by India, the other by Greece. It is not certain that they were borrowed at all; or if borrowed, they may have been derived by both Greece and India from Scythian originals. They belong to a totally different class from the stories the Greeks admittedly got from India; and in any case they are late.¹

Other scholars have suggested an Indian origin for Greek and Persian stories which we find in Herodotus. Some of these comparisons are fantastic²; none, so far as

¹ No nation has carried the love of animal forms in art to such an extent as the Scythians dwelling between the Carpathians and the Altai Mountains. Not only the art but the beast-fables of the Middle Ages in Europe owe much to them; and Celtic art is directly descended from the Scythian. The Middle Ages went a step further when they used the beast-fable as a vehicle for satire. Bishops, priests, monks, and nuns all came under the biting tongue of Reynard.

² e.g. Garbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5, following Winternitz, compares a Jātaka story (No. 32) of the peacock who lost his bride, the mallard's daughter, with the story of Hippokleides given by Herodotus, vi, 129. Hippokleides, the Athenian, was one of the many suitors for the daughter of Kleisthenes. He was first favourite until on the last day, after the banquet, he summoned a flute-player and began to dance. He danced in Laconian fashion, then in Attic, and finally he had a table brought in, and acted a pantomime with his feet, standing on his head. "Son of Tisander," says Kleisthenes, "you have danced away your match." "What care I!" quoth Hippokleides. If the learned Professor had ever watched the slow and pompous strut of the peacock *naughting* in his native jungle, and exposing to his admiring seraglio the naked beauties of his nether person, he would scarcely have been reminded of Hippokleides' lively dancing. Hippokleides forfeits a wife through youthful levity and drunken jollity, the peacock through stolid and gross indecency.

I have seen, are convincing; and if we judge by antiquity, Herodotus is the older authority. A tacit assumption that India is the birthplace of stories seems to underlie the whole argument. Greece and Syria have surely been as prolific in stories and folk-tales as India. It would be hard to beat the Arabian Nights; and who can compare with the matchless poet of the Odyssey? At a later time when Indian stories came to Europe, they came in their Indian framework¹; but that was long after the period with which we are dealing.

If we turn from these very dubious claims to the stories which are admittedly Indian, we find that they belong to a very different class. They mostly come from Herodotus or Ctesias—particularly from Ctesias. They tell us of the gold-digging ants, the dog-headed men, the men who covered their backs with their ears, or held up their broad-spreading feet, umbrella-like, to shade them from the sun; we hear of these and similar marvels. Both Herodotus and Ctesias knew only the India of the Indus Valley; and as Sir G. Grierson has pointed out, the original tellers of these stories must have been the Paisachi-speaking folk of the Panjāb,² although the Greek authors got them through a Persian channel. The "Middle land" and Magadha, the land of the Epics and of the Jātakas, was unknown to the West before the Indian campaign of Alexander, and so were the stories that were current in them.

¹ "The form of the Hindu collections of fables is a peculiar one, and is easily recognizable, the leading incident which is narrated invariably forming a framework within which stories of the most diverse description are set" (Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 212).

² Sir G. Grierson has shown that the Paisachi dialect must have been widely spoken at one time in the Panjāb, and he has found traces of it in Kashmiri. In a private letter to me he pointed out that the Greeks rendered Indian words and names according to the Paisachi pronunciation: the phonetic changes, e.g. Marti-khora and Sandracottus, for *Mard-khor* (man-eater, a synonym for tiger) and *Chandra-gupta*, are instances in point. Pausanias, ix, 21, 4, first identified Ctesias' Marti-khora with the tiger.

The tales told by Herodotus and Ctesias form the bulk of the Indian stories known in the West for many a long day. They were repeated over and over again in antiquity; they were popular in the Middle Ages; and they lasted down to the time of Sir John Mandeville.¹ We have seen that they deal with marvels, fabulous races, impossible animals, wonder-working gems. They have nothing in common with the beast-fable or the moral apologues of the Buddhist birth-stories²; and they discredit the speculations which would bring these from India to Europe in pre-Christian times. Nor have they anything religious about them. The only one that has any religious colouring is Ctesias' story of the two trees which uttered oracles. This story was a favourite in after-times because it was marvellous, not because it was religious. Philostratus repeats it; and Pseudo-Callisthenes makes Alexander visit these trees and learn from them his approaching fate.

The historians of Alexander's campaigns, or who visited the Court of the Mauryas under the first two Seleucids, had personal knowledge of Northern India, and their knowledge was considerable. They give us almost all that was known of the country before the Christian era. So far as the Gangetic valley is concerned, these accounts were never surpassed in antiquity; but the fresh stories they relate are few; regarding Indian religions and religious practices they are more communicative. They tell us how the Indians worshipped Herakles and Dionysos and Zeus Ombrios and the country gods. They were astonished at the self-inflicted tortures of the Jogis, and on the principle of *omne ignotum pro magnifico* they credited the Brāhmins with superlative wisdom. What struck them

¹ The work of Iambulus on India, which Diodorus Siculus quotes as his authority (ii, 55), appears to have been entirely taken up with marvels of this kind.

² On the Jātakas or Buddhist birth-stories see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 189-208; more especially pp. 206-8.

most was the contempt of death these wise men displayed, and their occupation with the future life; more especially their voluntary suicide upon the pyre.¹ But the knowledge which the Greeks thus gained was very superficial, nor did they seek for deeper insight into Brahmanical learning. Even Megasthenes, who had unequalled opportunities, fails to distinguish between Brāhmins and Buddhists, and yet he had evidently seen something of the latter.² Buddhism had not come in his time into the blaze of full sunshine at Pataliputra.

The curiosity of the Greeks was great, but they regarded everything from a Greek standpoint, and they were bad linguists. On the other hand, the Indo-Bactrian Greeks were thoroughly acquainted with the peoples with whom they lived, and with whom they intermarried. Of these hybrid Greeks some, following the religion of their mothers or their neighbours, turned Buddhist. It might therefore be supposed that they would add to the scanty store of information which reached the West. Far otherwise; they added nothing, not even geographical knowledge, and their Buddhism never got beyond the Yavana pale. Nor is this to be wondered at. The earliest colonists were broken soldiery and political exiles. Those who came later came in small parties or singly. They were chiefly mercenaries, traders, and artisans,³ landless men who came to the East to make their fortunes. With them came a few Greek physicians and artists. We hear of only one colony, a Cretan one,⁴ founded after the old

¹ The account given by Megasthenes in Strabo, xv, pp. 711-14, summarizes almost all that was known of the Brāhmins and Garmānai (Sarmānai) or Sramanas.

² Strabo, xv, p. 712.

³ Eudoxus of Cyzicus embarked a company of singing girls, physicians, and other skilled artisans—*μουσικά παιδίσκαια καὶ ἰατροὺς καὶ ἄλλους τεχνίτας*—on board the ships with which he proposed to circumnavigate Africa, and make the voyage to India (Strabo, ii, p. 99). This gives a fair idea of the civilian emigrants to the East.

⁴ Asterusia in the Hindu Kush. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i, p. 274, from Steph. Byz.

Greek fashion. The supply of Greek women was scant; the colonists must perforce marry native wives, and the children grew rapidly more native than Greek. The Indo-Bactrian Greeks were the Goanese of antiquity. They drank, they quarrelled, they fought, they split up into petty states; their whole history was a history of military pronunciamientos, and few of their dynasties outlived a couple of generations. The trading population and the mean whites alone survived these revolutions of fortune, and preserved in places an independent status down to Roman times.¹

It is idle to look for any high intellectual standard or to expect any religious propaganda under such conditions. Some of the Greco-Bactrian kings display a certain love for art, such as semi-barbaric kings have often displayed. A great artist was employed by Eukratides, and Greek art and architecture furnished models for the workmen of Gandhara. These Bactrian Greeks doubtless had some knowledge of Homer, such as every Greek possessed; but they never produced a single author, and their history was written by Apollodorus of Artemita and Trogus Pompeius, a foreigner born in Syria. Like all Greeks they lived in urban communities. Towns are the nuclei of trade, and most of the Greek colonies were planted on trade routes. The Greco-Bactrians traded with the Persian Gulf, and upon this trade the Greco-Bactrians and the Babylonian Greeks imposed their own language, so that Greek became the *lingua franca* of the bazaars. Greek was also the language of the court, and it must have been to some extent the language of official and legal documents. But so troublous were the times, and so little were these mongrel Greeks of a literary cast,

¹ Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, vol. iii, and Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, vol. i, pp. 206-79, review at length all the colonies known to have been founded by Alexander, the Seleucids, and the Ptolemies. S. Lévi's excellent monograph, *Quid de Græcia*, etc., gives some further light.

that they have left not a single inscription, apart from the legends on their coins.¹

We have now completed the survey of the negative side of our inquiry. So far as the Greek world is concerned the conclusion is certain. The knowledge of Indian religions which reached the West was too superficial and too slight to make any impression, while the tales were of freaks of nature, of monsters, and of marvels.

The field which now awaits us is more interesting and more fruitful. But before I discuss who were the intermediaries or what they exchanged, it is necessary that I should point out the historical framework by which our investigations are conditioned.

The early centuries of the Christian era are the most important in the world's history, and to be sharply distinguished from all that went before. They saw the birth of Christianity and the establishment of the Roman Empire in the West; while the irruption of the Romans into the affairs of the peoples of the East, and the conquest of Eastern Turkestan by the Chinese Emperor Wu-ti at the end of the second century B.C., determined the whole subsequent history of the Asiatic continent. Asia was traversed for the first time from end to end by royal embassies and merchant caravans; and for the first time Roman ships ploughed the waters of the Indian seas. In this new world the Romans made the greatest commotion. It was not only the Parthians who stood in awe of Rome. In the Panjāb, in South Arabia, and on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, native princes in the first century A.D. put the head of a Roman emperor on their coins, and desired his friendship. The Chinese attempted to communicate with him. Ambassadors with presents passed to and fro

¹ For the use of Greek in the countries east of the Euphrates see JRAS. 1912, pp. 1012 ff., also JRAS. 1913, pp. 122 ff., and various other passages, and Minn, JHS. 1915, pp. 22 ff.

between China, Northern India, and Parthia; but no Chinaman succeeded in getting beyond the Persian Gulf.¹

For our purposes the times between Augustus and the Arab conquests fall into two periods—the Roman and the Sassanian. The Roman period extends from the annexation of Egypt by Augustus in B.C. 30 to the death of Caracalla, A.D. 217. During this period the commerce by sea between Alexandria and the East was only second in importance to the traffic between Alexandria and Rome; it was direct and it was lively; Roman ships sailed even to Tonkin; but it was an intercourse not with the Āryas of Northern India, but mainly, though perhaps not entirely, with the Dravidians of the Indian Peninsula.

The Sassanian period begins with the overthrow of the last Arsacid by Ardashir in A.D. 226. For the loosely knit states and obscurantist rule of the Parthians the Sassanians substituted a powerful and well-compacted kingdom which brought all the provinces into close connexion with each other. New life sprang up everywhere, and the glories of the Achæmenids were revived. This Sassanian Empire had intimate relations both with the Roman Empire and with Northern India, more particularly with the Kushans. Hence its importance for our investigations. From the Romans the Sassanians learnt how to take fortified cities; they copied to some extent the Roman art of war, and the land revenue system of the Roman census. Byzantine architects are said to have assisted in the erection of Sassanian palaces; and the Syrian Christians of the Euphrates Valley and of the Mediterranean were closely connected by the bond of a common religion. The relations of the empire with

¹ In A.D. 79 Pan Teh'ao sent his lieutenant Kan Ying on a mission to the West, but Kan Ying never got beyond the Persian Gulf. The *History of the Later Han* gives the first Chinese account we have of the Roman Empire, or more properly of Syria, known as *Tu-ts'in* or *Lî-kien* and later as *Fou-lin*. Chavannes, *Les pays d'occident d'après le Heou Han Shu, T'oung-pao*, série II, vol. VIII, pp. 159, 179-87. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, etc.

Northern India were after a brief period of hostility equally close. Hormisdas (A.D. 301-9) married the daughter of the Kushan king of Kabul. Indian troops took part in the campaigns of his successor Sapor II (A.D. 309-78); and may have been present at the siege of Amida (A.D. 359). On the downfall of the Kushan kingdom early in the fifth century the Sassanians took possession of Seistan, and perhaps of Kabul. Chosroes I (A.D. 531-78) is said to have made an Indian campaign; a Persian prince with his seraglio is represented on the frescoes of Ajanta; and Magas from Sakadvipa introduced their sun-worship at Multan. So says the Bhavishya Purāṇa.¹

Two other factors enter into our inquiry: the migration eastward of the Jews, and the establishment of a Kushan kingdom in North-West India and on either side of the Hindu-Kush. The Jewish migration is part of that great movement of Semitic peoples which took place when the Seleucids were driven beyond the Euphrates. Among other things an Arab prince made himself king of lower Babylonia, the district situated at the head of the Persian Gulf, and known after one or other of its two component parts as Mesene or Characene. At this time the Parthians had cut off all direct communication by way of Media between the Bactrian and the Syrian Greeks. The Arabs of Characene came to their help; regular caravans went to and fro between North-West India and the head of the Persian Gulf; and the Characene coins copy the coins of the last Greco-Bactrian king, Heliocles.² In consequence of this trade Semites settled all along the line from the

¹ Rawlinson, *The Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, pp. 141, 161, 169, 298, 426, 427. Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 327, 328. Cunningham, "Coins of the Tochari," etc., p. 62 of the reprint from *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. III, vol. ix, pp. 268-311. JRAS. 1907, pp. 959, 960.

² For the connexion between Characene and the Panjab v. JRAS. 1912, pp. 987 ff.

Persian Gulf to the Kabul River, as Josephus tells us.¹ And among these Semites we find Jews.

The second notable fact is the irruption of the Sakas and other Scythic tribes into the Indus Valley, Kabul, and Seistan. They were speedily followed by the Yue-che, a Turki people from the Chinese province of Kan-su, who, having been expelled from their seats by the Hiung-nu, migrated to Sogdiana. In the middle of the first century A.D. one of their tribal chiefs, the Kushan Kozoulo Kadphises, brought the various Yue-che clans, or as they were now generally called the Tochari, together with all the neighbouring countries, under one rule. His son Wema Kadphises added North-Western India. The Kushan kingdom now embraced Bactria to the north, and the Panjāb, Kabul, and Arachosia to the south of the Hindu Kush. For two hundred years it was the most powerful kingdom in Asia between the Euphrates and the Yellow River, and its fame was great; classical and Armenian writers bear witness to its renown, and a Hindu author compares it with the Empires of Rome and of China. It split up into four independent states which lived together in fraternal amity. The White Huns overthrew it north of the Paropamisus in the beginning of the fifth century, while Samudra Gupta had already broken its power in the Panjāb. But long after its decline the petty princes of Bactria and Sogdiana boasted their descent from the great Kushan line.²

The union of the Panjāb with these frontier countries brought thousands of Indians into Bactria; the Indo-Scyths south of the Paropamisus were partially absorbed among the Hindus; and the Kushan kingdom exhibited

¹ Antiq. I, c. 6, para. 4.

² There are numerous articles in the JRAS. 1912, 1913, by Dr. Fleet, Dr. Thomas, myself, and others which deal with most of the questions regarding early Kushan history. For their later history see JRAS. 1913, pp. 1054-64; Allan, *Coins of the Guptas*, pp. xxvi-viii; Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, sér. II, vol. viii, p. 189, etc.

a mixture of Indian and Scythic elements, so far as civilization went. But it is the religion of these Indo-Scyths and Kushans which has a bearing on our subject. What their original religion may have been it is hard to say; probably Shamanist, so far as one can judge. But one and all they adopted Buddhism, not in its sober and true Indian form, the Hinayāna, but in the Mahāyāna, or Indo-Scythic form.

This Mahāyāna Buddhism first appears full-fledged at the Buddhist Council of the Kushan Kanishka, which has been variously dated 58 B.C. and c. A.D. 100.¹ Of its origin and previous history we know nothing. It grew up alongside of, and in the same region with, the development of the Siva cult; and with Sivaism it seems to have always had some obscure connexion. Its deification of Gautama, its multiplication of the Buddhas, the vast and ever increasing mythology, and the capacity for absorbing foreign elements point to the influence of the Indo-Scyths. The Indo-Scyths were Buddhists, but the Kushans were ardent propagandists. Now it was the Mahāyāna doctrine which the Kushans preached.²

We have now got all the peoples between Egypt, Syria, and India beginning to intermingle with each other in this new stir of the Old World. As the centuries pass, their intercourse grows greater and more intimate. We have now to inquire in what ways and in what localities they met, and through what channels religious ideas and pious legends were conveyed.

The possible intermediaries were three: the sailors, the merchants, and the communities where Indians, Jews, and Christians lived side by side. The value of these

¹ JRAS. 1912, pp. 687 ff., and JRAS. 1913, pp. 627 ff. (Thomas), and the discussion on Kanishka's date, pp. 911-1042.

² De la Vallée Poussin in his work, *Bouddhisme et religions de l'Inde*, pp. 65-6, gives a brilliant little sketch of the Mahāyāna doctrine, etc. See also Garbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 ff., for a detailed discussion of numerous points.

different agencies in the dissemination of religious stories and religious ideas is very unequal.

1. We may eliminate the sailors. They contributed nothing. The classical writers, from Herodotus downwards, give us numerous yarns of the Erythræan Sea—the magnetic rocks, which drew the iron nails out of the ship's hull and sent it to the bottom; the breezes, heavy with spice, which calmed the waves and lulled drowsy mariners to sleep;¹ the great birds which built their nests of cinnamon in inaccessible cliffs, but being tempted with great lumps of flesh, overloaded these nests, and so brought the cinnamon to the ground; these stories and others of the sort we have. But none of them are Indian with the exception of the tales brought back by the crews of Nearchus. The men employed in the sea trade were either Dravidian lascars, half sailor-men, half pirates, or Greeks and Egyptians of a servile class. Even the superior officers were of little account. Apollonius confesses with shame that in a former life he had been one of the four pilots of a great Egyptian ship, and Tertullian speaks with contempt of the noisy revelry of master-mariners on shore.²

2. Unlike the sailors, the merchants count for a good deal. Not that any stories can be traced to them, nor were they usually propagandists, but they possessed

¹ "As, when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabeian odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the Blest, with such delay
Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles."

MILTON: *Paradise Lost*, iv, 159-65.

² Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.*, iii, 23: "I know that a knowledge of maritime affairs is held as reputable as that of governing a city or commanding an army, but it has fallen into contempt on account of the character of such as follow it." It was "a condition of life not only ignoble but detestable". Tertullian, *Adv. Valent.*, xii: "What ship's captain (*nauclerus*) fails to rejoice even with indecent frolic? Every day we witness the uproarious ebullitions of sailors' joys."

information which Greek curiosity might elicit. The Indian traders who came by sea were mostly Dravidians from the west coast of India. Other traders came by land from the Panjāb and Kābul, and these were not Dravidians but Indo-Aryans, or Indo-Scyths and Kushans. These merchants as a class were ill fitted to be missionaries. Dio Chrysostom says that the Indians who traded to the West were men of little repute¹; and Hiouen Tsiang describes the people of Surashtra as entirely engaged in maritime commerce, and indifferent to learning.² The traders from the Roman Empire were no better fitted to be missionaries. The geographer, Marinus of Tyre, reprobated merchants "as a class of men too much engrossed with their own proper business to care about ascertaining the truth".³ Strabo makes a somewhat similar complaint, and the *Periplus* never touches on religion.

But there were exceptions to the general rule. Although Indian merchants at the present day are exceedingly conservative and indifferent to foreign religions, yet they often show much interest in their own, and lively controversies and frequent conversions take place between Vaishnavas and Jains. Doubtless it was the same in antiquity. Scythianus (of whom more hereafter) is an Indian instance, while of Christian merchants who travelled Indiawards we have several examples, Metrodorus, Meropius, and others, of whom Cosmas Indicopleustes is the best known. Another source of information was found in the occasional Indian embassies which visited the West. From such a source Bardaisan of Edessa got the materials for his *Indika*. Nicholas of Damascus and Pliny had previously learnt various facts in the same way. From one or other of these two sources comes most

¹ Dio Chrysos. orat. xxxv.

² Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, p. 269.

³ Ptolemy, *Geog.* i, c. 11, para. 8; McCrindle's translation, p. 14.

of the additional information regarding India acquired in the first three centuries of our era.

3. Were these the only channels of knowledge, the intercourse between Christians and Indians could not have borne much fruit. It is in the communities where they lived side by side that we must seek for mutual influences. These communities were three, but one may be briefly dismissed. Indian traders had been accustomed to meet the Roman ships at Aden, and there to exchange cargoes; but when Hippalus steered a direct course across the Indian Ocean to the Tamil coast (c. A.D. 50), Aden was deserted, and a small Indian colony took up its abode in Alexandria. After Caracalla's massacre of the Alexandrians in A.D. 216 it seems to have removed to Adule (Massowah), where we meet with Indians; and Adule became the clearing-house for Indian goods. The Indian traders who composed this Alexandrian colony were mostly Dravidians from the western seaboard of India. Ptolemy used them, and Basilides and Clement may have learnt what they knew of Indian religions in this way. But except for a few curious inquirers the influence of these Indian merchants was *nil*.¹

The real meeting-ground of Christians and Indians was in (1) Babylonia, and (2) in the group of countries north and west of the Indus, that is to say, Bactria, Kabul, and Arachosia, a group which formed the Greater India. In all these countries we have Indians, Kushans, Jews, and Christians. While the Indians in Babylonia were Dravidians, those from Greater India were Indo-Aryans.

1. Of all Indian colonies the colony in Babylonia is the

¹ The sponsors for this colony are Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* xxxii, and Ptolemy, *Geog.* i, c. 17, paras. 4 and 5 (McCrindle's trans., p. 29). From *Periplus*, c. 26, it may be inferred that these Indians had settled in Alexandria not long before the *Periplus* was written, i.e. A.D. 70-5. v. JRAS. 1916, pp. 832-5, for the destruction of Aden, Hippalus, and the date of the *Periplus*, and JRAS. 1907, pp. 953-4, for a history of this colony, etc.

oldest. Herodotus, after describing Darius' exploration of the coast from the Indus to Suez, says that Darius made use of the Erythræan Sea.¹ The establishment of Indians in Babylonia was a result of this policy. Among the business tablets of the great banking house of Murashu and Sons at Nippur, which cover the latter half of the fifth century B.C., we find records of their dealings with certain Indian merchants.² If there were Indians residing at Nippur, there must have been Indians in other towns of Babylonia. And they must have come from the west coast, for about the same time articles of Indian provenance, rice, peacocks, and the like, became known for the first time in Greece; Sophocles, Aristophanes, and others mention them; and they were known under Dravidian names.³ This Indian colony carried on a trade with Barygaza in the days of the *Periplus* (c. A.D. 70-5),⁴ and it was still flourishing in the seventh century A.D.⁵

This first settlement of Indians was followed by a second. About the commencement of the Christian era there came to Babylonia Bactrians, Kushans, and others from Greater India,⁶ people who were Zoroastrians or Buddhists. The Babylonians themselves had been for centuries the most mixed of races;⁷ and besides the Babylonians

¹ Herodotus, iv, 44: μετὰ δὲ τούτους περιπλάσαντας, Ἰνδοὺς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ ἐχρῆτο.

² The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, ed. Hilprecht, vol. x: *Business Documents of Murashu and Sons*, ed. Rev. A. T. Clay, Introduction, pp. viii, ix. I have to thank Dr. Daiches for the reference.

³ JRAS. 1898, pp. 268-9.

⁴ *Periplus*, c. 36.

⁵ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, p. 278.

⁶ JRAS. 1912, pp. 981 ff.

⁷ Babylonian Expedition, etc., p. viii. "The Babylonians of the time of Artaxerxes I and Darius II evidently contained more foreigners than direct descendants of the earlier inhabitants—a thorough mixture of native Babylonians and Cassites, Persians and Medians, and even Indians, including also members of the mountainous tribes of Asia Minor." Cf. vol. ix, pp. 26-9. Nebuchednezzar had transported thousands of captives to Babylonia; with Cyrus came Persian officials

there was a large Jewish population. Jewish Christians, orthodox or Gnostic, must have been numerous from the earliest times,¹ although unfortunately we know next to nothing of them. Babylonia is thought by some to have been the birthplace of Gnosticism.² Whether it were or no, Gnosticism is full of Jewish magic and the astral divinities, the immense mythology, and monstrous cosmogonies of Babylonia. In this welter of peoples and of creeds, the Babylonian Gnostics have a considerable part.

The Judæo-Gnostics of Babylonia date probably from the first century A.D. They formed various obscure sects which kept up an active intercourse with their Ebionite brethren living to the east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. They were congregations of ignorant men, extremely syncretistic, and in one of these sects I think we can see the earliest trace of Buddhist teaching.

But besides these Jewish Gnostics, common and unlearned men, Bardaisan's followers, a much higher class, abounded in lower Babylonia. In Bardaisan's great Hymn of the Soul Egypt and Babylon are foreign lands, while Maisan is a friendly country; and a youth from 'far Maisan' is

and Persian merchants; and there were "constant invasions of nomadic tribes". Persian and Aramaic names are especially numerous: there is also a very large number of Jewish names. All these intermarried. Slaves got Babylonian names from their masters. Persians, Aramaeans, and others gave their children Babylonian names; parents with Babylonian names have children who bear Persian, Hebrew, or Aramaic ones. These tablets extend from B.C. 464 to B.C. 404. According to Clay, Ezekiel's river of Kebar is the Kaburi Canal not far from Nippur, p. 28.

¹ Acts ii, 9. "The church that is at Babylon . . . saluteth you," says St. Peter (1 Peter v, 13). There is no tradition of St. Peter, the Apostle of the Circumcision, having visited Babylon, and Babylon is generally taken to be Rome. But Blass points out (*Philology of the Gospels*, pp. 27-9) that if Rome had been meant the order of the provinces to which the epistle was addressed would have been different. Now (if we put the epistle before the Neronian persecution), is there any proof that the Christians used Babylon as a synonym for Rome? The matter is doubtful.

² e.g. by Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus*.

the only companion of the soul in its lonely Egyptian exile.¹ Mani, a Persian born in Babylonia, devotes a great part of his "Book of Secrets" (or Mysteries) to an examination of Bardaisan's doctrines;² and in Flügel's opinion³ Mani's teaching had some very special connexion with Bardaisan's. It was the form of Christianity Mani knew best.

In the middle of the third century A.D. the Eastern churches began to assume a more organic and corporate form under the Catholicos of Seleucia, and the Jewish element was gradually replaced by the Persian. A century later we find Christian traders on the coast of South Arabia and at Adule (Massowah); but they are no longer Jews. It was the same with the Indian seaboard. Pantænus⁴ (c. A.D. 180) found Jewish Christians there. When we next hear of Christians in this region they are Persians. It was probably the same everywhere. The earliest Oriental Christians were Syrians and Jews; later they were Persians and Syrians.

2. Let us now turn to the second region where Christians, Buddhists, and Hindus associated daily, to the Greater India north and west of the Indus Valley, which formed a part of the Kushan Empire. This empire extended, as

¹ "The Hymn of Bardaisan," rendered into English by F. C. Burkitt, verses 4, 5, 14.

² Flügel, *Mani*, p. 102.

³ Flügel, *Mani*, p. 361, n. 317.

⁴ Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.*, v, 10. Pantænus went as a missionary, says Eusebius, to the peoples of the Orient—*κέρουα τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν εὐαγγελίου τοῖς ἐκ' ἀνατολῆς ἔθνεσιν*. Harnack and the Germans generally, as Garbe, *op. cit.*, p. 418, rightly says, understand Pantænus' India to be South Arabia. But why? Because, say they, there were Jews in South Arabia. Probably there were, but Jews must also have been engaged in the sea trade with Ophir, which Josephus puts near the mouth of the Indus (Abiria). So far as mere possibilities go, the chances are equal. But we must decide the question by Eusebius' use of the word India. He refers to India several times in his *Hist. Eccles.*, the *Preparat. Evang.*, and the *Vita Constantini*, and he mentions an Indian embassy to Constantine. In not one of these passages is South Arabia meant. Why should Eusebius mean South Arabia in this solitary instance?

I have said, from the Jumna to Seistan, and from the lower Indus to Sogdiana. There was free intercommunication throughout all the countries governed by the Kushans, and Hindus and Brāhmans were numerous even in Bactria¹; they formed a considerable part of the population of Afghanistan; and they were known as White Indians in Arachosia. But Bactria was mainly a Kushan country, while the Indo-Scyths swarmed in Seistan and the Indus Valley. South of the Hindu Kush the civilization was Indian; in Bactria it was Indo-Scythic and Persian.

Buddhism was the religion of the most part of Greater India. The Chinese found it universal in the Indus Valley in the first century A.D.² The remains of Buddhist monasteries and *stupas* abound in the north-west Panjāb and in Afghanistan, and Sir A. Stein has discovered traces of them in Seistan. The monasteries of Bactria enjoyed royal patronage, and were celebrated for their magnificence. But Buddhism was only one of the many religions that flourished in that country. Bactria was one of the cradles of Zoroastrianism, and many of the later Zoroastrian practices may be traced to it. The silk trade brought Syrians and Syrian Christians to Bactria, among them followers of Bardaisan; and when the persecutions of Sapor II and other Sassanian monarchs drove Christians, Manichæans, and Mazdakites from Persia, they found refuge in Bactria, where their communities grew to be numerous and powerful. Bactria was the refuge of all persecuted sects, the Holland of the East.

South of the Paropamisus there were chiefly Buddhists and Hindus, intermixed with a small number of Zoroastrians and Christians. There were also Jews; and we shall find that the earliest religious legends which found their way to the East came through the Jews.

¹ Bardaisan in Euseb. *Præparat. Evang.*, vi, 10. See JRAS. 1907, p. 959, n. 4.

² Heou Han Shu, trs. Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, sér. II, vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 192-3.

Christians may have been known from a very early date, if we admit, as I do, an historical element in the first part of the St. Thomas legend.¹ These Christians were probably Jewish Christians; afterwards they were Persians, to judge by their clergy.

I have sketched elsewhere the spread of Christianity in the east of the Persian Empire and the adjoining districts.² We read of Christians in Bactria by the end of the second century. Mani found Christians there, and Origen's statement implies the advance of Christianity to the confines of the Seres. John, the Persian, who attended the Nicene Council (A.D. 325), signs himself "Bishop of the Church of Persia and Great India". A decade later we hear of a Bishop of Merv, and in A.D. 424 the Bishops of Herat and Merv attended a Council on the borders of Arabia. From the middle of the third century Christianity spread rapidly, so that Cosmas, writing in the early part of the sixth century, could say: "Throughout the whole land of Persia there is no limit to the number of churches

¹ The Acts of Thomas contain two stories dissimilar in character, without any necessary connexion, and in my opinion originally quite independent of each other. The first part is an apologue, the last part an ordinary martyrdom. These have been connected at some time or other by a history of various miracles said to have been performed by the Apostle. The MSS. reflect the difference. Of twenty-one codices used by Bonnet in his edition of the Acts (*Acta S. Thomæ*, p. xvi f.) seventeen contain the first part or apologue, ten the martyrdom, and sometimes two, but never more than five, the intervening history. The apologue alone mentions the visit of the Apostle of the Parthians to Gondophares: and it is the only part which concerns us. St. Thomas builds a palace in heaven, the palace is for a king, and the king is Gondophares. Why Gondophares should be selected, unless the author knew of a true tradition, and wished to give his apologue a historical character, it would be hard to say. But the palace in heaven has its parallel in the tower of the Shepherd of Hermas (Vis. iii, 2 ff.). The tower was the most popular figure in a work which was a very general favourite with the Christians of the second century, a sort of Pilgrim's Progress. The idea is taken, of course, from 1 Peter ii, 5: "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house"—καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε, οἶκος πνευματικός. For Garbe's view of the legend v. op. cit., pp. 131-56.

² JRAS. 1907, pp. 957 ff., where the authorities are given.

with bishops and very large communities of Christian people."

All the peoples which were concerned in our drama have now passed before us. Three, and three alone, the Kushans, the Jews, and the Christians, possessed a religious mission; they alone proselytized; and they alone displayed any curiosity in the matter of foreign religions. The Kushans who travelled westward were few in number, and we find no trace of their missionary zeal except in Babylonia. Their missionary efforts came to an end long before the overthrow of their empire, and the part which they play is quite a subordinate one.

The Jews were ubiquitous, and they made converts. But after the revolt of Bar Cochaba, Babylonia, the land of their captivity, became their second fatherland; and for centuries they ceased to exercise any appreciable influence on the Roman world. I do not know whether the Talmud has enshrined any Buddhist legends; but the Jews at a later period did something towards the diffusion of Indian stories. For the period with which we are mainly concerned, the Jewish propaganda, like the Kushan, manifests itself only in the earliest stage.

The Christians remain. They flourished throughout the whole of our period; their communities were numerous and large; they alone were equally at home in Syria, in Persia, and in Greater India. Their relations with each other were close; the bishops and clergy of the Far East held constant communications with Seleucia; when the Sassanians sent ambassadors to Byzantium, they frequently employed Christians; and the Nestorians of Syria rejoiced in the conquests of Chosroes II. The Christians were therefore unequalled as intermediaries between Europe and India, and we shall find them the chief agents in our history.

One thing still remains to be noted, one thing which Hindus and Buddhists, Christians and Jews had in

common. Neighbours living close to each other may acquire some superficial knowledge of each other's religion; religious stories which can pass for folk-tales are what they would be most likely to pick up. This would happen even where, as in the East, each section of the community occupies a quarter of its own. But Brāhmans and Buddhist monks, Jewish rabbis and Christian priests formed a learned class especially occupied with religious questions. They would naturally be curious regarding novel ideas, and the only persons able to adapt what they learnt, to remould it, and give it literary form and expression.

It is now time to see what these agents accomplished.

(To be continued.)

A COSMOLOGICAL TRACT BY PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS
IN THE SYRIAC LANGUAGE

By GIUSEPPE FURLANI, PH.D., J.U.D.

THE small cosmological tract I here publish, and which is attributed to Dionysius, Bishop of Athens, I have taken from the MS. marked 7192 Rich., now Add. 7192, of the British Museum.¹ This is a MS. in quarto on vellum, containing not more than seventy-six folios, and belongs probably, so far as we can judge from the good *estrangêlô* character in which it is written, to the eighth century. The treatise begins on f. 57c—there are two columns of thirty-one lines on every page—and ends on f. 63b at the bottom. It is followed by another tract from the hand of the same author—the contents and the style, and especially the concluding lines which are nearly identical to the last ones of the tract we publish, at least point to the same author—that bears the following inscription :

ܡܢ ܕܗܝܫܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

It is an anti-astrological and anti-magical tract, as it undertakes to demonstrate that divination by means of the "stars, the zodiacal signs, the horoscopes, the fortunes, the chances, the hours, the convulsions, the auguries, the divinations, and all the deception of the Chaldeans, sons of deception" is not to be relied upon, and is contradictory to the facts that daily observation affords us.

¹ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur. Pars prima, codices syriacos et carshunicos amplectens*, Londini, 1838, pp. 83-4 ; R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, Paris³, 1907, p. 281, n. 2 : Un traité de cosmographie attribué à pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite.

The MS. is, in the part at least we treat of, well preserved. Only column *a* of f. 58 is a little indistinct, but nowhere is the reading rendered difficult. The inscription and the words we have underlined are written with red ink. On the margin of f. 58c something has been written by some reader, but subsequently it has been erased.

The tract is attributed to Dionysius, Bishop of Athens, for reasons easily to be understood. It is impossible for us to discern whether the author of this tract himself is the cause of the pseudo-epigraphy or whether some copyist or reader has added the false attribution.

It presents a certain interest, as it is the first Syriac tract we know that bears a very strict connexion with the apocryphical book of Enoch, and is able to throw some light on the sources of "the book of the courses of the heavenly luminaries" that forms chapters lxxii-lxxxii of the aforesaid book.

We give a translation of it, and point out the relations and discrepancies existing between our tract and the Book of Enoch.

Before giving a translation we have to make some remarks on the text. It seems to us that in the first lines something has been dropped by the negligent amanuensis. Probably ܡܥܬܝܬܐ ܡܥܬܝܬܐ is the subject, ܠܗܝܬܐ the object, and ܡܪܝܬܐ the verb. After ܡܪܝܬܐ, therefore, we should like to insert something like "we have undertaken to describe" or something else like that. But perhaps we are wrong.

The text is in disorder also on f. 58, l. 8. I would prefer to read ܠܐܝܬܐ instead of ܠܐܝܬܐ.

f. 58c, l. 7. ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ. As the text stands it cannot be translated. I propose to read ܡܪܝܬܐ instead of ܡܪܝܬܐ and to translate accordingly "allow her twenty for the conception".

On f. 60c, l. 7, after ܡܪܝܬܐ something like ܡܪܝܬܐ, are opened, has been dropped.

f. 61a, l. 8, ܡܪܝܬܐ, ܡܪܝܬܐ.

f. 62a, l. 4. ܡܪܝܬܐ has to be changed no doubt into ܡܪܝܬܐ.

TRANSLATION

A Calculation and Computation, in which there is no mistake, made by the holy Mar Diōnēsiōs, Bishop of Athens.

As the calculation and computation of the sun and the moon are confused by many of those who think in themselves that they are wise men, . . . the heavenly courses of the sun and the moon and the stars, and the rotation and revolution of the firmament, and the breath of the air that is contained in the midst and also of the twelve winds that come out from the twelve storehouses in which the activity of the moon takes place and in which it is born. By these twelve storehouses of the wind, indeed, we know in which of them the birth of the moon takes place, whether it is born in the wind or the rain or the snow or the dew or the heat, or what is the function of every one of the months. Whensoever one of these storehouses is shut, the change of one produces darkness. For the sun and the moon do not run by one computation. That cannot take place,

because the two have not one and the same course of movement. The sun completes the course of its movement in the number of three hundred and sixty-five days, or four thousand three hundred and eighty hours. The sun has every year three superabundant hours, which constitute every four years a complete day. This day is called the intercalary (day), and is intercalated at the 25th of Shebat according to the computation that the Greeks and the Syrians use. In the year that is called the intercalary (year) there are three hundred and sixty-six days by the computation of the sun. But the moon has the number of three hundred and fifty-four days, and of these eleven days that are superabundant in the sun is constituted the month that is called intercalary. This month makes in the year in which it is intercalated a change in one of these four computations. The complete weeks of the sun are fifty-two and one day, and the weeks of the moon fifty and four days, since the sun was thirty days old when it was created and the moon fourteen, and those days that were before the sun and the moon came into existence, have been included by me in the total number. On the day, indeed, on which the sun and the moon were created they saw one another's light, but the light of the sun did not overpower that of the moon, because as soon as the rays of the sun-globe appeared from the east, the moon sank in the west. But on the fifth day the sun came out from the eastern gate of the light and the moon from the western storehouse of the wind and they saw one another freely, and the rays of the sun entered into the circle of the moon and its light was extinguished. Behold, from that time it began this succession of waxing and waning and keeps the succession of conception and birth and the changes of the days. It does not change in consequence of its existence, but because it is the key of all the storehouses of the wind and these are not opened without it. It keeps this succession of waxing and waning and runs this track of its conception and birth in the number of sixty hours, twenty for the conception, in twenty the birth (takes place), and during twenty it is visible. At the same hour, indeed, it comes out from the storehouse in which it was born, since it has nine entrances and twelve exits of the months. But the Greeks say that there are only seven storehouses of the winds

and five entrances of the moon. Hence they put the light before the darkness. Being ashamed of what they have said, they have added mistake to mistake by stating that the darkness is uncreated and has not been made. And hence they have increased their blunder by giving eternity to the darkness. A thing that has not been created and made is eternal. With all their computations, too, the Greeks mingle blunders.

Here fix the eyes of your mind on this orbit of the sun, how it moves above in the air!

The sun keeps completely the course of its movement. For it has twelve gates on the path of its movement through which the passage of its course takes place. For these twelve gates a clock is fixed that the course of its path may be equal. Every gate is separated from the next by the space of only one hour. Every hour contains a degree (step). Four winds cause the disc of the sun to run. Since the wind that is above is a strong wind, that makes the eyes flow, and if this breeze above were near to (what is) below it would not leave anything on earth that it did not destroy, and since the wind above is strong, these four moderate winds embrace the disc of the sun. If a wind did not run before it [the sun] on the path of its movement and bar its disc that it may move with discretion, the east wind would drive its disc from one end of the world to the other in one hour. If the south wind did not press it to the ends of the world, the wind that is blowing from the north would hurl it (to the south), and the south wind to the north if the north wind (did not press it to the south). These four winds retain the disc of the sun and watch over it that it may not incline towards one side. And now and then one of the storehouses that serve the wind from above is opened and the wind that comes out from one of the storehouses becomes stronger from the fact that it is yoked to the chariot of the sun and it throws its disc under the step (degree) of its passage and its light is darkened till its disc rises (again) and stands on the path of its movement. For as soon as one of the big dragons that rose from the sea in which they were born, that is outside the dwelling-place of mankind, mounts and throws himself into the middle sea, or one of the animals that are called Leviathan, one of the storehouses of the whirlwinds is opened and with

dreadful shaking and gusts and lightnings it mounts and throws itself into the midst of the mountains of the north. In these days great snakes, too, are born. The dragons, however, and the Leviathan are born only in the sea that is called Maqastekos (?). But in the days of summer the sun overpowers with its light all the ends of the earth, as soon as it mounts upon the fiery track, because when it mounts above, to the fervent heat that is under the firmament, its disc is heated by the heat from above. And the sun burns the whole earth like an oven of fire, because it has mounted to the wind of heat that blows from above.

Again, I explain without error to those who possess understanding the variation of the lower sea.

Under the earth is the dreadful sea (containing) much water, and under the water (there is) fire, and under the fire wind, and under the wind darkness, (but) under the darkness do not ask for anything. In the hot days of summer, as soon as the sun mounts to the upper region, to the heat of this firmament, its disc is heated in the heat above, and it heats the earth like an oven of fire. Suddenly the fire under the water is quenched, the waters of the lower sea stand up and the wind of cold blows on them, the cold mounts and ascends from the interior of the earth and passes into the roots of the trees and plants and into the veins of the rocks, and the dust of the earth becomes cold, that the sun may not burn the trees, the seeds, and the plants. For if the cold did not ascend from the interior of the earth the sun would not leave anything without burning it. People, too, would not be able to walk on the earth in consequence of the heat of the fire. Because the surface of the earth from beneath is made like a sponge and its whole interior is made of canals and hollows for the flowing of the water of the streams and springs, and also for the action of the cold and the heat. In the hot days of summer, where there is no water, the animals and the birds dig into the interior of the earth and find cold soil and are relieved by it. The men, too, who are in the southern countries, that is, in the land of Kûsh and Shebâ, dig into the sand of their land during the hot days of summer and, although naked, they are protected and relieved by the coolness.

Another season, the winter.

In the days of winter, as soon as the disc of the sun is thrown to the south to the cold, the storehouses of the wind of snow and ice and blasts and whirlwinds (are opened), and the heat of the sun is assuaged, that the cold may not destroy the trees, the seeds and the plants and the men, animals and birds may not die from the cold of the winter, the fire under the water is heated. The water is heated by the fire that is under it, and the heat mounts and ascends through the canals and hollows of the earth and enters into the veins of the trees and melts the cold that is in the interior of the trees, the water and the soil of the earth. By the vapour of the heat that rises from the interior of the earth, the water of the springs is melted, and instead of the wind of cold there rises from within them the vapour of heat. The course of the heat that rises from underneath flows and assuages the intensity of the cold. The animals find for themselves life in the excrements that are strewn on the dung-hills. The birds find shelter during the nights above the waters of the rivers and the fountains and springs and grow warm by what is rising from the waters of the rivers, fountains, and springs. Also the men who dwell in the north in the interior of the mountains that are called the Paps of the North—their stones are of crystal, and beyond them there is no human dwelling, since above the river called Fire-river there is nothing besides Oqianôs, the sea that surrounds the whole earth. In Oqianôs there is not one single reptile creeping in the water, and no bird is to be found flying above it, because it surrounds the sea, as a wall surrounds a city. Above it is the paradise of the gods. The angels bring the souls of men to the mansions that surround the paradise, as soon as they come out from their bodies, that is the souls of the saints. For the souls of those who have committed iniquities are not reckoned worthy to pass to that region of life. Those men who dwell amidst the mountains of the north, get their food from the fruits of the trees and are long-lived. On the crystal stones of these mountains descends the amazing Raphantion (?). Also the men who dwell in the western countries in the cold winter days make use of excrement (as a means) to support their life, since they are deprived of the use of wood, and in the evening they bury the food of the morning in the dung and in the morning

they find it cooked. In the same way they treat the food of the evening.

Now that I have explained to you the combinations of the winter and the summer fix the eyes of your mind on this other treatise concerning the heavenly courses.

The chariot of the sun is not bound within the firmament, since the disc of its light is set upon the wings of the wind and upon running wheels. It is a great distance under the firmament, of which the Creator only knows the measure. For the stars are united to the firmament. Their creation is planted in it, and they are the lamps of its light and they come out from it and run in it. The moon, too, has a chariot that runs with the wind, and its course is under the firmament. They were called the luminaries of heaven, because the light of their creation is united to the firmament. Under the sun is the course of the clouds. The clouds are not something corporeal, and the shape in which they always appear is not a permanent appearance, since now and then they are turned by the wind and they are dissolved and change from their (former) appearance. You will believe this from the clear appearance that on the day when there is no mist and clouds and the air is clear and pure, is seen in the midst of the firmament like a palm of a hand and so it flies in the air and the whole mid-air is filled with it. From this understand that the clouds and the fogs are the fountains of the rain and the dew, and that they fly on the wings of the wind, and not by themselves, as some wise-minded (men) have erroneously stated, but by the wind. And they stated foolishly that the clouds draw the water from the sea, but they are the fountains of the water and in them it is conceived and from them it is born.

Now you need profound understanding about the twelve winds which come out from the ends of the earth.

The wind is not one variety only, because it has not one storehouse only. For the twelve storehouses contain twelve varieties, the twelve winds that are enclosed in them as the twelve Apostles received tongues differing from one another. For the Apostles, too, were storehouses of the Holy Spirit. The Apostles did not because they received twelve tongues receive from twelve (different) Spirits, but from one Spirit. So neither are the twelve

storehouses twelve winds over which there is no command, but one wind, that speaks in the Apostles, dwells in them. But as the Roman tongue differs from the Greek tongue, and the Greek from the Syriac, and the Syriac from the Hebrew, and the Hebrew from the Gothic, and the Gothic from the Kushi, and the Kushi from the Barbarian, and the Barbarian from the Indian, and the Indian from the Babylonian, and the Babylonian from the Median, and the Median from the Armenian, and the Armenian from the Egyptian, and these twelve languages differ one from another, although all are included in one common name, that is in that of "men", so the twelve winds, too, are included in one common name, in that of wind.

See, if you have no knowledge from reading, you are not profited. Here I speak with you about the science of the breath of the wind.

As when an Indian speaks, a Greek does not understand what he says, since he has not learned the language of the Indians, so, too, those who hear the voice of the wind do not know what its course is, if they do not distinguish the smell of its breath. The Greek also knows that he with whom he is speaking is an Indian, but he has no knowledge to distinguish what he is saying. About the wind, too, there are those who know from which storehouse it has come out—(they know it) from the activity of the months—but they do not know what its operation is. What knowledge has he who does not distinguish the breath of the wind, whether it is of snow, or ice, or hail, or rain, or dew, or heat, or sickness? And even if he knew these things, his knowledge would not be great. Since there are also animals and birds that have foreknowledge. As soon as you have known that, I will call the ant or the gnat and the fish, as these, too, are superior to you in knowledge. Or how do you desire to comprehend the books about the wheels of astronomy, if you do not possess these (items of knowledge), (if you do) not (know) how the heaven turns, and from which side, nor the passages of the sun and its gates, nor which are the winds that put its disc in motion, nor how the axis of the sphere turns, nor what are the names of the gates, nor where the path of the rays of the light is attained, nor whither the stretching out of the curtain of the heavenly garment goes, now fix the gaze of

the eyes of your mind to know, of what kind is the way of the heavenly courses of the Pleiades and Aldebaran and the Wain and the Yoke and the Scales and the Balance and the Libra and the horizon and the path and the Hunter's Way, and the Fold and the Temple and the Watchman and the Lawgiver and the Hearer and the Ambassador and the Preacher and the Giver and the Hun-star and the Instructor and the Knower and the Teacher of Wisdom and the Rich-in-Doctrine. These are for those who possess understanding nothing, because it is the part of science to know the passages of the sun and its gates and its paths and its courses and the variation of its light and its darkness and about the moon and its storehouses and its conception and birth, and also about the times and their variations, and when the sun and the moon are darkened and the earth quakes, and about the variations of the years and the limits of the paths and the current of the sea and the ebbs and flows of the lower sea and the wars of the barbarians. These wisdom teaches through knowledge.

I cite the Book of Enoch according to the English translation of R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, Oxford, 1912, and where it is necessary to refer to the Ethiopic text, according to the edition of Dr. Joh. Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch, äthiopischer Text (Texte und Untersuchungen, N.F., Bd. vii)*, Leipzig, 1902.

The first lines of our treatise, a brief introduction, belong of course to the Syriac author of the treatise, and we have no ground for supposing that he found it in the treatise that he has epitomized. There is no doubt that he had before him a *Quellenschrift* that was different from "the book of the courses of the heavenly luminaries" of the Book of Enoch so far as the peculiarity of the cosmological theories that are there expounded is concerned, but covered much the same ground as the "book of the courses" does, namely, (1) the calendar, (2) the moon, (3) the sun, (4) the winds. It is our duty now to determine what were the exact contents of the original treatise epitomized by our author and what

relation it bore to the "book of the courses" embedded in the Book of Enoch, and it will not be difficult to point out what our author has contributed himself or from other sources to the compilation.

In our treatise a close relation is said to exist between the twelve storehouses of the wind and the moon, since in these the moon is conceived and grows. In the Book of Enoch no such relation is stated. According to our treatise the different phases of the moon depend upon the storehouses.

In the Book of Enoch there are mentioned the store-chambers of blessing (cap. xi, 1, ܡܗܩܬܐ:ܢܠܚܐ); closed chambers according to which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds (5); and I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again (cap. xli, 4-5, in the Ethiopic text ܡܗܩܬܐ); the chambers of the winds, and how the winds are divided (cap. lx, 12, ܡܗܩܬܐ); the chambers of hail, hoar-frost, etc. (cap. lxix, 23). I have no doubt that ܒܝܝܬ is a translation of the Greek word *ταμείον*, as in the title of the well-known exegetical work by Bar Ebrayā ܒܝܬ ܒܝܝܬ, i.e. *ταμείον τῶν μυστηρίων*. In the Greek text our author had before him—that it was a Greek text is proved by the fact that the style of the treatise is bad and that the author employs very frequently the demonstrative pronoun ܒܝܬ, ܝܬܐ, and ܠܝܬܐ as a substitute for the Greek article—*ταμείον τῶν πνευμάτων*.

The calendar described by Pseudo-Dionysius is completely different from the calendars—there are different calendars—set forth in different parts of the Book of Enoch. It does not agree with any one of them.

No mention is made in the Book of Enoch of the circumstance that the sun was thirty days old and the moon fourteen when they were created, and that the sun

overpowered the moon. In the commentary of Ephraim on the Book of Genesis I have found some statements that, generally taken, agree with the theories of our author, although they vary considerably in the particulars. I give a translation of the Syriac text edited by P. Benedictus (Romæ, i, 1737): (p. 15 B) the moon was placed in the west of the firmament and the sun in the east of it; (p. 16 E) if they (sc. the sun and the moon) were full when they were created and they were created in the morning, then the sun was standing in the east and the moon opposite to it in the west. But the sun was lying low and underneath, since it was created in the place from which it comes out over the earth. The moon, however, was standing high, since it was created in the place where it stands on the fifteenth day. When the sun became visible to the earth the luminaries saw one another; (p. 17 A) from the place of the moon, from its fullness and its shining, it is clear that it was fifteen days old when it was created; (p. 17 C) but it (sc. the sun), too, was four (days) old; (p. 17 D) these eleven days by which the moon is older than the sun, and which were added to the moon in the first year, are those that men who make use of the computation of the moon add every year; (p. 17 E) for from this year onwards the Adamites learned to add eleven days every year. It is not the Chaldæans, therefore, who made this order of the times and the years that were put in order before Adam.

Ephraim evidently cannot have been the source of our author. Both derive their theories from the haggadic tradition.

I cannot state anything about the seven storehouses of the winds according to the Greeks: they taught, of course, that there are seven winds. This and the following disquisition about the darkness, directed principally against Manichæism, is no doubt an addition of the Syriac author, as it breathes the same contempt

of Greek natural philosophy that is a characteristic feature of the mental attitude of most of the Syriac doctors towards Greek theories so far as they contradict the teaching and statements of the Bible.

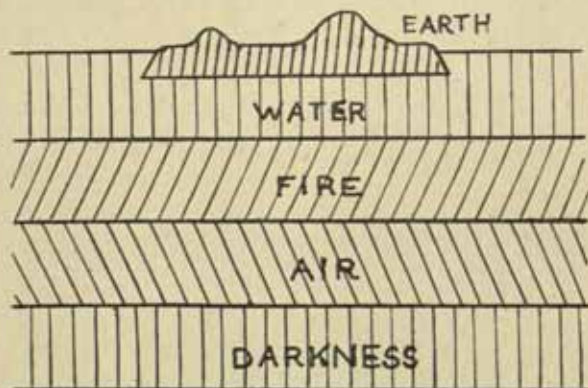
The description of the passage of the sun through the twelve gates is not to be found in the Book of Enoch (f. 58*d*, l. 7—f. 58*d*, l. 12).

Completely strange to the Book of Enoch is also the long description of the relation between the winds and the sun and of the function they perform according to the seasons (f. 58*d*, l. 12—f. 59*d*, l. 7). This description is continued on f. 60*c*, l. 4—f. 61*c*, l. 4, and is only apparently interrupted on f. 59*d*, l. 8—f. 60*c*, l. 3 by what purports to be a statement about the lower sea. In the Book of Enoch we read only that the winds turn the circumference of the sun (cap. xviii, 4) and carry the clouds: I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the circumference of the sun and all the stars to their setting. I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds. In his journey to the north Enoch sees also three portals of heaven open in heaven: through each of them north winds come out: when they blow there is cold, hail, frost, snow, dew, and rain. And out of one portal they blow for good; but when they blow through the other two portals it is with violence and affliction on the earth, and they blow with violence (cap. xxxiv, 2, 3). See also cap. lx, 12, and 17–21 on the spirits of the hoar-frost, the snow, the mist, the dew, the rain, and cap. lxi on their chambers. But nowhere in the Book of Enoch is such a description of the sun, the winds, and the seasons to be found; neither could such a theory be put together from the statements contained in different parts of it. We are therefore compelled to assume that the Syriac author found his theory expounded in the cosmological treatise which he epitomized.

All the statements in the description of our author are

not clear. We should like, for instance, to hear more about the relation existing between the storehouses of the winds and the monsters in the lower sea (f. 59c, l. 3 ff.). As there is a ܡܬܠܟܐ ܕܡܢܝܐ in which the monsters are born and from which they jump into the ܡܬܠܟܐ ܕܡܢܝܐ, there must be also a ܡܬܠܟܐ ܕܡܢܝܐ, which is in direct relation with the storehouses of the winds. We do not gather much about Leviathan and the other monsters from the Book of Enoch, and what we learn from it is at variance with the statements of Pseudo-Dionysius: (cap. lx, 7) and on that day were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters; (8) but the male is named Behemoth, etc. Our author had a very hazy idea about the monster Leviathan, as he speaks of the "animals which are called Leviathan".

For the general structure of the world, as outlined by our author, it is interesting to note that he assumes the existence of the sea under the earth—therefore also round the earth, that is, floating on it—and under the sea the fire, and under the fire the air—ܕܡܝܐ has here no doubt the connotation of air, as it has often in the commentary of Ephraim, mentioned above—and under the air the darkness.



This κόσμος does not show any similarity to the Greek or Babylonian conceptions of the world.

No mention is made of the ocean in the Book of Enoch (f. 61a, l. 4).

f. 61a, l. 8. The MS. has ܡܕܢܚܐ (paradise of the gods). The Syriac author was no doubt a Christian, as is proved by the disquisition about the Holy Spirit. But perhaps the author of the treatise epitomized was a pagan Greek, although it is unsafe to assume it.

The remark about the souls of the just is an addition made by Pseudo-Dionysius. The doctrine of the mansions for the souls was a common one and widely spread.

The universe as sketched in the Book of Enoch has not a wall of mountains round the earth, as our author assumes (f. 61a, ll. 5, 7).

The description of the nature of the clouds is not to be found in the Book of Enoch (f. 61d, l. 4—f. 62a, l. 6); it is probably an addition made by our author.

The comparison he makes between the oneness of the nature of the winds and the oneness of the languages spoken by mankind was hardly to be found in the source epitomized by Pseudo-Dionysius. It is an addition, as also the style, that is here much better than in the purely cosmological parts, shows. The same thing must be said about the following comparison with the Indian language (f. 62c, l. 9—l. 11).

The conclusion is, of course, to be ascribed to our author (f. 63a, l. 7—f. 63b, l. 12).

Of most of the terms enumerated in the concluding part, which denote no doubt stars and constellations and are therefore astronomical technical terms, I am not able to give the proper meaning. Bar Ebrayâ gives in his astronomical treatise that bears the title ܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ (edited by F. Nau in fasc. 121 of the *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études*, Paris, 1899) a long description of all the stars and constellations according to Ptolemy,

but I have not been able to trace any one of the technical terms employed by our author. Some of them look rather like names of different degrees of adepts of some religious sect. I have translated them literally.

The conclusions we arrive at after this brief examination can be summed up as follows :—

The work we have published is a compilation of an unknown Syriac author with anti-Greek and anti-Babylonian tendencies so far as cosmology and natural philosophy are concerned. It is a cosmological work dealing especially with the sun, the moon, the winds, and the calendar. The author assumes that his doctrines are derived from the Bible—although he never says that expressly—that they are therefore true, and that Greek science and Babylonian or Chaldaean astronomy are false. He thinks that his work is a useful introduction to the science of astronomy.

We cannot state definitely whether the author himself ascribed his work to Dionysius, the legendary first Bishop of Athens, or whether some reader or copyist has done so. It seems to us that the second alternative is more probable. The fact that it was ascribed to Dionysius can be explained very easily. As the Syrians and Arabs attributed all philosophical works, and particularly those about logic and metaphysics, to Aristotle when they did not know the name of the real author, and all medical works to Hippocrates or Galen, so, too, in our case we must not be surprised that this work has been ascribed to Dionysius, the reputed author of the celebrated mystical books about "heavenly science", although these books do not treat of cosmological matters. But the Syrians were not so particular about such nice distinctions. Sergius of Rish'ainâ is the first Syriac author who knows the works of Pseudo-Dionysius—he has translated them into the Syriac language—the false inscription is therefore later than the sixth century.

This treatise, too, is later than that date, as the style of it does not show in the parts the author has not translated from his Greek source any of the characteristics of the Old Syriac language.

The compilation can easily be divided into its component parts: the bulk of the work is a translation from the Greek, as is proved by the bad style. The author has himself added only the introduction, the conclusion, the observations about the darkness, the seven storehouses of the winds according to the Greeks, the souls of the just, and the nature of the clouds and the comparison between the oneness of all kinds of winds and the oneness of human languages. These parts are certainly to be ascribed to our author.

What remains of his work bears a close resemblance to the "book of the courses of the heavenly luminaries", that is, section iii (cap. lxxii-lxxxii) of the Book of Enoch.¹ It covers nearly the same ground, although it exhibits theories that are wanting in the Book of Enoch and does not contain some pieces—especially the long digression about the growth of the sun (cap. lxxii)—which we find in the third section of the Book of Enoch. The peculiarity of the theories of our author is remarkable. They do not agree exactly with any one of the doctrines contained in the third section or scattered elsewhere in the Book of Enoch. They belong, as it were, to the same family of theories, but have their distinctive features. Appel has demonstrated that the Book of Enoch is not unitarian so far as its physical theories are concerned, but that in it we find remnants of four different treatises of cosmological contents.² Our

¹ This section has been analysed by H. Appel, "Die Komposition des äthiopischen Henochbuches" (*Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, Jhrg. x, Hft. iii), Gütersloh, 1906, pp. 80-90; Fr. Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch traduit sur le texte éthiopien*, Paris, 1906, p. 46; and Charles, l.c., pp. xlix-l.

² Appel, l.c., p. 85.

work is not identical with any one of those four treatises, but is a *parallel text* to them. The doctrines expounded in it are, so to say, more up-to-date and more in accordance with astronomy than the doctrines of the four treatises epitomized in the Book of Enoch. This holds good especially for the calendar.

From our treatise we can therefore infer that the literature about the mysteries of the heavens must have been very extensive indeed. Some remnants of this literature we find in the Book of Enoch and in the treatise we have published. The parallels we could cite from the so-called *Slavonic Enoch* (trans. by W. P. Morfill and ed. by R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1896) are only scanty and rather remote, if we except the calendar.

VIII

NAHAPANA AND THE SAKA ERA

By RAKHALDAS BANERJI, M.A.

AT the present moment scholars seem to be agreed about the date of Nahapāna, and some are of opinion that he was the founder of the Śaka era. This theory was propounded by M. l'abbé Boyer in his paper entitled "Nahapāna et l'ère Śaka".¹ Though the theory has not met with general acceptance, eminent scholars are still to be found who maintain this opinion even at the present date. In 1913, during the great debate on the date of Kanishka, Dr. J. F. Fleet said, "I hold that the era [Śaka era] was founded by the Kshaharāta king Nahapāna, who reigned in Kāthiāwār and over some of the neighbouring territory as far as Ujjain from A.D. 78 to about A.D. 125, and held for a time Nāsik and other parts in the north of Bombay, and who seems to have been a Pahlava or Palhava, i.e. of Parthian extraction."² There are others who, though they do not assert that Nahapāna was the founder of the Śaka era, maintain that the dates in the inscriptions of his son-in-law Ushavadāta at Nasik and Karle, and of his minister Ayama at Junnar, are Śaka dates. Mr. V. A. Smith says, "Almost all students are agreed that the inscriptions and coins of the Chashtana line of Satraps are dated in the Śaka era, and I see no reason for doubting that the Kshaharāta records are dated in the same way."³ Mr. Smith holds that Nahapāna ascended the throne between 60 and 90 A.D., and that the Āndhras succeeded in extirpating the Kshaharāta dynasty and annexing

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, tom. x, pp. 120 sqq.

² JRAS. 1913, pp. 992-3.

³ *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 218.

their dominions about A.D. 124.¹ Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his latest statement on the subject has also tacitly assumed that the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law and minister are Śaka dates.² The materials for the reconstruction of the history are as follows:—

I. *Inscriptions*

1. Inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta at Nasik and Karle. One of these contains the years 41, 42, and 45.³

2. Inscription of Ayama, the minister of Nahapāna, at Junnar. This is dated in the year 46.⁴

3. Inscription of the Āndhra king Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāyi at Nasik, mentioning that his father Gautami-putra Śātakarṇi rooted out the Khakhārāta race.

II. *Coins*

Nahapāna was not the first ruler of this dynasty, having been preceded by one named Bhūmaka, whose coins exist and are regarded as being earlier than those of Nahapāna.⁵ The existence of Brāhmī and Kharoshthī legends on his bilingual coins proves conclusively that he or his family was of Northern origin.⁶ The Northern origin of the Kshaharātas has also been proved by the discovery of a fragmentary Brāhmī inscription at Mathurā, bearing the name Kshaharāta, in the Northern Brāhmī of the first century B.C.⁷ The prevalent theory about Nahapāna is that he continued to rule over Kathiawar, Gujarāt, Mahārāshtra, and the adjoining territory till the Śaka year 46 = 124 A.D. In that year or immediately

¹ *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., pp. 209-10.

² JBBRAS., vol. xxiii, pp. 66-73.

³ *Epig. Ind.*, vol. x, App., p. 126, No. 1133.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134, No. 1174.

⁵ Rapson, *British Museum Catalogue of Indian Coins; Andhras and Western Kshatrapas*, p. cvii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. civ.

⁷ See *ante*, 1911-12, p. 128, pl. lviii.

afterwards the Āndhra king Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi drove out the Kshaharātas. About twenty-five years later another dynasty of foreigners drove out the Āndhra kings, and established a new kingdom in Gujarāt. The second king or Great Satrap of that dynasty, Rudradāman, claims to have twice defeated the "Lord of the South" in his celebrated inscription on the rock of Girnār.¹ Seven years ago, in my monograph on the Scythian Period of Indian History, I drew attention to the fact that the characters of the inscriptions of the son-in-law of Nahapāna are earlier than those of the records of princes who are regarded as his contemporaries, and that the dates in these inscriptions are to be referred to the same era as that used in the Taxilā Copper Plate inscription, or the Mathurā stone inscription of the time of Śōdāsa.² Soon after this the discovery of a number of Brāhmī records proved the correctness of my statements. These are the Andhau inscriptions of the *Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman*.³ The importance of this discovery has not as yet been fully realized by scholars. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has indeed published a short note on these records,⁴ but certain defects in his arguments have in my opinion invalidated his conclusions.

The Andhau inscriptions are four in number, and all of them are dated in the year 52. Their wording is rather loose and the meaning ambiguous. They begin "*Rājño Chashtanasa Ghsamotikaputrasa* ⁵ *Rājño Rudradāmasa Jayadāma-putrasa varshē dvipamchāse, 50, 2*".

The absence of any connecting link between the two names makes these records ambiguous. Mr. Bhandarkar, however, has removed this difficulty by supplying the

¹ *Epig. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 44.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 63.

³ See *ante*, 1905-6, p. 166.

⁴ *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiii, pp. 66-73.

⁵ [This is read by Professor Liders as *Ysamotika* (Berlin, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1913, pp. 406 sqq.).—F. W. T.]

word *pautrasa*.¹ We know from the coins that Rudradāman's father Jayadāman was not a *Mahākshatrapa*. He is simply entitled Kshatrapa, and most probably had never come to the throne; consequently his name is not mentioned.

The era used in the coins and inscriptions of the descendants and successors of Chashtana is certainly the Śaka era of 78 A.D. The Andhau inscriptions were therefore incised in $52 + 78 = 130$ A.D. If the Junnar record of Ayama, the minister of Nahapāna, was incised in the year 46 of the same era, then we find that only six years intervene between the latest date of Nahapāna and the earliest date of Rudradāman. Within these six years we have to crowd a number of events. In the first place, we find that Nasik, which was included within the dominions of Nahapāna, at least up to the forty-fifth year either of his reign or of the particular era used in the records of Ushavadāta, had passed into the hands of the Āndhra king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi before the eighteenth year of the latter's reign, as a record incised by that king's order in that year of his reign is still to be found there. Now, in an inscription of Vāśishṭhīputra Puṣumāyi, the son of Gautamīputra, it is mentioned that the latter rooted out the Khakharāta race.² Therefore the defeat of Nahapāna or his successor must have taken place in or before the eighteenth year of the reign of Gautamīputra. Gautamīputra's occupation of Nasik must have lasted for six years more, as another record of this king was incised at Nasik in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.³ Therefore Gautamīputra held Nasik when the Andhau inscriptions of Rudradāman were incised in the year 52 of the Śaka era. After Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi

¹ JBBRAS., vol. xxiii, p. 68. [The word is inserted in the Junagadh inscription. See Kielhorn's edition in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. viii, p. 42.—F. W. T.]

² Ibid., vol. viii, p. 60.

³ Ibid., p. 73.

his son Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāyi continued to hold sway over Nasik till at least the twenty-second year of his reign, i.e. till the Śaka year 74 = 152 A.D., as there are records at Nasik incised in the sixth, nineteenth, and twenty-second years of his reign.¹

In the Gīrnār inscription of Rudradāman, which must have been incised shortly after the Śaka year 72 (150 A.D.), it is stated that he twice defeated Śātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, but did not destroy him on account of the nearness of their relationship.² Now if, for the sake of argument, it be assumed that Nahapāna was defeated and dethroned in the year 46, the date of the Junnar inscription of Ayama, and that Gautamīputra defeated Nahapāna in the year 18 of his own reign, and that this year, again, coincided with the year 46 (of the Śaka era or of the reign of Nahapāna), even then it is impossible to cram all these events within the period of six years. Suppose we agree that Nahapāna was dethroned by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi in the year 46 of the Śaka era, which was also the eighteenth regnal year of the Āndhra king. Then we find that Gautamīputra held Nasik for six years at least and was, to some extent, the contemporary of Rudradāman. Then Gautamīputra's son Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāyi held Nasik in the year 6 of his reign. Between the sixth and nineteenth regnal years of Puṣumāyi, Rudradāman may have vanquished him once and occupied Nasik. But Nasik was regained by Puṣumāyi some time before his nineteenth regnal year, and he was certainly in possession of it in the twenty-second year of his reign. The year 22 of the reign of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī-Puṣumāyi cannot be placed earlier than Śaka 74, and that is possible only if we admit the year 24 to be the last year of Gautamīputra's reign. But according to the Gīrnār inscription of Rudradāman the double defeat

¹ JBBRAS., vol. x, pp. 122-3, Nos. 1122-4.

² Ibid., vol. viii, p. 44.

of Puṣumāyi was accomplished before the year 73 of the Śaka era. Consequently, this chronological arrangement must be regarded as faulty. Mr. Bhandarkar had fully recognized the difficulty created by the discovery of the Andhau inscription at the time he wrote his note on the subject entitled "Śātakarṇi of the Gīrnār Inscription". He himself has proved on two occasions that the present theories about Nahapāna, Gautamīputra, Puṣumāyi, and Rudradāman are faulty.

1. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and Dr. George Bühler held that the Śātakarṇi referred to in the Gīrnār inscription is posterior to Puṣumāyi. Now Nahapāna was possibly dethroned in the Śaka year 46. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi reigned at least six years after that and Vāsishtīputra Puṣumāyi for at least twenty-four years, as shown by the Karle inscription of that year of his reign. Therefore Puṣumāyi could not have died before the year 76, nor could his successor have ascended the throne before that year. The Gīrnār inscription was incised shortly after the year 72. Therefore this theory of the chronology cannot be valid.

2. According to the theory of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Yajña-śrī Śātakarṇi is the Āndhra king referred to in the Gīrnār inscription. Sir Ramkrishna is of opinion that he was the immediate successor of Puṣumāyi and that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi did not reign in the Deccan at all. In this case, as Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi did not reign in the Deccan, we are to add only twenty-four years to the year 46, which is the latest date of Nahapāna. Puṣumāyi, therefore, must have been living in the year 70, and was followed to the throne by Yajña-śrī Śātakarṇi, who is the Śātakarṇi of the Gīrnār inscription according to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. But the Andhau inscriptions had shown that Rudradāman had vanquished Śātakarṇi and retaken his ancestral dominions before the year 52. Therefore the

Śātakarṇi vanquished by him must have come to the throne some time before the year 52, and cannot possibly have ascended it after the year 70.

3. Both Dr. Bühler and Pandit Bhagwanlal regard Chashtana (*Tiastanes*) as the contemporary of Puṣumāyi (*Siro-Polemaios*) on the authority of Ptolemy. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar holds that they can be regarded as contemporaries only if Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Puṣumāyi are taken to have reigned conjointly, one in Western India and the other in Southern India. If, however, this is not taken as granted, we find that Chashtana cannot be regarded as the contemporary of Puṣumāyi. The latest date of Nahapāna is 46. Then, according to Bühler and Bhagwanlal's theory, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi must have reigned for at least six years before Puṣumāyi came to the throne. Puṣumāyi, thus, according to their view, must have ascended the throne in 53 at the earliest. But the Andhau inscriptions inform us that Rudradāman was on the throne in the year 52. His grandfather Chashtana must, therefore, have died sometime earlier. Consequently Puṣumāyi, who came to the throne in the year 53, cannot be regarded as the contemporary of Chashtana, who was dead before the year 52.

After these examinations Mr. Bhandarkar comes to the conclusion that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi must be the Āndhra king who was twice defeated by Rudradāman, and that he must have reigned simultaneously with his son Puṣumāyi. In this connexion he cites two arguments adduced by Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in favour of his theory about the simultaneous reign of two Āndhra kings mentioned above:—

1. In the long inscription in Cave No. 3 at Nasik, dated in the nineteenth year of Puṣumāyi, his grandmother Gautamī Balasiri is called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar this statement would be pointless

if she were not both at one and the same time. If the object of the writer was to represent Gautamī's special claim to honour, that is better served by supposing that her son and grandson were great kings at one and the same time. Every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the mother of a king and grandmother of a king; and there is nothing special in the fact if the son and grandson bore the title at different times.

2. If it was a fact that Gautamīputra was dead when the cave temple was dedicated and Puṣumāyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him. If Puṣumāyi became king only after Gautamīputra, the latter must have died nineteen years before the dedication of the temple, and it certainly is not what one acquainted with the manner and motive of Hindu inscription-writers would expect, that a king who had been dead for nineteen years should be highly extolled in the inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence.¹

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar concludes by placing the defeat and destruction of the Kshaharātas by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and the double defeat of the latter within the six years intervening between the latest date of Nahapāna and the earliest date of Rudradāman, which is absolutely impossible. It is quite true that in the Nasik inscription of the nineteenth year of Puṣumāyi the achievements of Gautamīputra are set forth in detail while those of his son Puṣumāyi are not even mentioned. It is quite true that Gautamī Balasiri is mentioned as the mother of a king and the grandmother of a king. Even then it is impossible to accept the suggestion of the Messrs. Bhandarkar about the simultaneous reigns of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and his son Puṣumāyi seriously. Many kings may have had their mothers living when they

¹ JBBRAS., vol. xxiii, p. 70.

occupied the throne, but very few kings have their grandmothers living at that time. It rarely falls to the lot of a queen who is also mother of a king to see her grandson on the throne, i.e. to be the grandmother of a king as well. It is not at all necessary to suppose that Gautamī Balasiri had her son and grandson both living at the time and both reigning in different parts of the country. The other objection is more serious. We do not know why Puṣumāyi is extolled, but there is one very serious objection against the suggestion made by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar is altogether silent on this point. If Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Puṣumāyi reigned simultaneously in different parts of the country, then why do we find the names of both of these kings in the cave inscriptions at Nasik? If we take for granted that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi ruled in Western India, then we would expect to find his name alone in the Nasik cave inscriptions. If Puṣumāyi reigned in the South, why then do the Nasik inscriptions mention him and date in his regnal years? It may be suggested that Puṣumāyi succeeded his father in Western India after the death of the latter; but Mr. Bhandarkar has himself barred this possibility by stating that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was twice defeated by Rudradāman. Moreover, we have at Nasik two inscriptions dated in the regnal years 18 and 24 of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. We have four inscriptions of Vāśiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāyi at the same place, dated in the years 2, 6, 19, and 22. If both father and son had reigned simultaneously it is natural to expect that they had done so in the earlier part of the reign of the son. In that case it is very difficult to explain how the inscription on the back wall of the verandah of Cave No. 2 and that on the front wall of an unfinished cave beyond No. 23 came to bear the name of Puṣumāyi instead of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar expresses the following view.

In his opinion all inscriptions in Cave No. 3 at Nasik were incised after the nineteenth year of Vāśishṭhīputra Puṣumāyi, because the cave itself was dedicated in that year. There are two great objections to this view. From the big inscription on the back wall of the verandah of this cave we learn that it was caused to be made by Gautamī Balasiri, the mother of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and grandmother of Vāśishṭhīputra Puṣumāyi.¹ But, again, from another inscription on the eastern wall of the verandah we learn that the king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi claims this cave to be his own religious gift (*amha-dhāma-dāne lene*).² Mr. Bhandarkar seeks to reconcile these conflicting facts by taking the year 24 of this inscription to be a year of Vāśishṭhīputra Puṣumāyi's reign. But does this really reconcile them? In the inscription of the year 19 of the reign of Vāśishṭhīputra Puṣumāyi, Balasiri distinctly calls the cave her own. How, then, can it be possible for her son to call it his own pious gift only five years later, even if we accept Mr. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the year 24? There is another difficulty here, which should not pass unnoticed. In the year 19, when Balasiri makes her donation, Vāśishṭhīputra Puṣumāyi was the owner of the tract in which Tiraṅghu or Tiraśmi mountain was situated. In the year 22, when Puṣumāyi made a grant of land, he continued to be the ruler of Nasik. But in the year 24, which for argument's sake let us take to be a year of Vāśishṭhīputra Puṣumāyi's reign, why do we find the name of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi instead of Puṣumāyi? The double claim of the benefaction of the cave both by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and by his mother the queen Balasiri can have only one possible explanation. This is, that a cave was dedicated either in the eighteenth or before the eighteenth year of the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, and it was given to people for

¹ *Epig. Ind.*, vol. viii, pp. 61-2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

whose benefit land previously enjoyed by Ushabhadāta was granted. Consequently Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was perfectly justified in calling the cave his own benefaction in the second record which was incised, alongside the first, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Subsequently, after the death of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, his mother caused the cave to be enlarged by adding chambers, which she claims to be her own benefaction. I would take the verandah in Cave No. 3 at Nasik to be the original cave dedicated by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and the remaining parts of Cave No. 3 to be the work executed by the queen Balasiri.

Mr. Bhandarkar is inclined to think that "there is no cogent reason for assuming that this year 24 pertains to the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. In many cave inscriptions the regnal year of the king is given immediately after the name of the king; but in many others the name is given just at the beginning of the record, while the date is given at the end, e.g. in No. 4".¹ Mr. Bhandarkar is inclined to think that this is really a copy of a charter issued before the dedication of Cave No. 3, which was incised in Cave No. 3 after its dedication in the nineteenth year of Vāśishṭhīputra Puṣumāyi, in order that the monks dwelling in this cave also might take advantage of the grant. It should be noted that no other copy of this inscription has come to light anywhere else either at Nasik or at any other place in India. Therefore it is evident that this was the original and the only copy of the order, which was incised for the special purpose of informing the inhabitants of this particular cave. Mr. Bhandarkar's explanation is thus not at all convincing. The irresistible conclusion therefore remains that at least one inscription was incised in Cave No. 3 a year before its dedication in the year 19 of Vāśishṭhīputra Puṣumāyi. Therefore Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's

¹ *Epig. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 71.

theory about the dedication of Cave No. 3 and the ante-dating of all records in that cave falls to the ground.

Besides these there is no evidence which may be relied on to show that certain members of the Āndhra family ruled simultaneously during the earlier part of that dynasty. In the face of this it cannot be seriously maintained that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāyi reigned simultaneously. In fact, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's ingenious theory for the vindication of discrepancies in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas has not as yet found a supporter. He writes: "Now the manner in which the two traditions are to be reconciled is by supposing that the longer period is made up by putting together the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches of the Āndhrabhṛitya dynasty. That the younger princes often reigned at Paiṭhān and the elder ones at Dhanakataka appears clear when we compare the inscriptions with the statement in Ptolemy. When the throne at the principal seat became vacant the Paiṭhān princes succeeded. But some probably died before their elders and never became kings of Dhanakataka."¹ In 1910 Professor Rapson wrote: "Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi was succeeded by his son Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāyi, who is known to have reigned for at least 24 years."² Later on, under the heading "Dynastic Lists", Professor Rapson does not even once mention the suggestion about the simultaneous reigns of some of the Āndhra princes.³ Mr. V. A. Smith says: "Professor Bhandarkar's notion that the Āndhra dynasty comprised two distinct lines of kings, one western and one eastern, does not seem to be tenable. The evidence shows that most of the kings held both the western and eastern provinces."⁴

¹ Bhandarkar's *History of the Dekkan*, 2nd ed., 1895, p. 33.

² *Cat. of Ind. Coins, Andhras and Western Kshatrapas*, p. xxxvii.

³ *Ibid.*, lxiii-lxx.

⁴ *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 201, n. 1.

The light thrown on this period by the discovery of the Andhau inscriptions shows clearly that, if the year 72 of the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman be a Śaka date, and if Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāyi did not reign simultaneously, it must be admitted that the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta at Nasik and Karle, and of his minister Ayama at Junnar, cannot be referred to the same era as that used on the inscriptions and coins of Chashtana's dynasty. The evidence of Gupta inscriptions and coins found in Central and Western India has proved definitely that the kingdom of the Scythian Satraps in Western India came to an end in the early decades of the fifth century A.D. The latest coin of the Western Satrapas now preserved in the British Museum was issued in the year 310, and the earliest silver Gupta coin in that Museum of the Gujarat fabric was issued some time between the years 91 and 99 of the Gupta era, i.e. between 410 and 418 A.D.¹ Therefore it cannot be doubted that the era used on the coins and in the inscriptions of Chashtana and his successors in Western India was the Śaka era of 78 A.D. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar was certainly right when he said that Rudradāman had reconquered his lost ancestral dominions during the Śaka era 52 at the latest, which is the date of the Andhau inscriptions.² The Nasik inscription incised in the nineteenth year of the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāyi enumerates the provinces conquered by the father of that prince, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.³ The Girnār inscription of Rudradāman mentions that he was the lord of the whole of Eastern and Western Ākarāvanti, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishada, and other territories gained

¹ *Cat. of Ind. Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, pp. 49-50.

² *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiii, p. 72, 1910.

³ *Epig. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 60.

by his own valour (*Sva-vīryy-ārjjitānām*).¹ M. Senart, while editing the Nasik inscription, has noted that the following names are common to the Girnār inscriptions and the Nasik cave inscriptions: (1) Saurāshṭra, (2) Anūpa, (3) Ākarāvanti, (4) Kukura, and (5) Aparānta.² Surāshṭra or Surāshṭra is, generally speaking, modern Kathiawar. Kukura is probably a portion of Western Rājputāna. Anūpa is a district on the upper Narmadā. Surāshṭra, Anūpa, and Ānarta, according to references in Sanskrit literature, were contiguous countries, and Anūpa lay beyond and south of Ānarta. Ākara is eastern Mālwa, the kingdom of which Vidiśā was the capital, and Avanti is Western Mālwa, the kingdom of which Ujjain was the capital. It is then certain that Western Rājputāna, Gujarat, Mālwa, and probably a part of Khandesh were conquered by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi from Nahapāna or his successors, and these were later on wrested from that Āndhra king or one of his successors before the Śāka year 52 = 130 A.D. by Rudradāman. The Girnār inscription of Rudradāman clearly states that he himself acquired the name of Mahākshatrapa, and that he acquired the countries mentioned in that inscription by his own prowess. As Kachchha or Cutch is one of the countries mentioned there, it must be admitted that Rudradāman had finished the work of conquering these provinces from the Āndhra king before the year 130 A.D., which is the date of the Andhan inscriptions. It has been argued that Northern Mahārāshṭra remained in the possession of the Āndhras after its reconquest from the Kshaharātas by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, whereas Northern Konkan, i.e. ancient Aparānta, had been first in the possession of the Āndhras, was wrested from them by the Kshaharātas, and was reconquered by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. But it was again recaptured by Rudradāman.³ How can this

¹ *Epig. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³ *Cat. of Ind. Coins, Andhras and Western Kshatrapas*, pp. cxx-cxxi.

be possible? It is very difficult to follow the line of argument here. If the Northern Konkan had been recaptured by Rudradāman from Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi or any of his successors, then how can it be supposed that Northern Mahārāshṭra, i.e. the modern districts of Nasik and Poona, continued to be ruled by the Āndhras? Northern Konkan, which Professor Rapson takes to be the modern equivalent of the ancient Aparānta, is clearly mentioned in the Nasik cave inscription of the nineteenth year of Vāsishtīputra Puṣumāyi, as forming a part of the dominions of his father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.¹ Again, the Gīrnār inscription of Rudradāman clearly states that among other countries Aparānta was acquired by that prince. Therefore it is certain that Northern Mahārāshṭra was also conquered by Rudradāman from the Āndhra king, who was his contemporary. In another place Professor Rapson states: "the Nasik and Poona districts, which seem not to be mentioned in the inscription of Queen Balasiri, were, in like manner, conquered or reconquered from Nahapāna by Gautamīputra; but, unlike the territories to the north and west, they remained in the possession of the Āndhras and were not subdued by Rudradāman."² Professor Rapson is led to this conclusion by the Nasik inscriptions of Puṣumāyi and Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi, as in a foot-note on the same page he states, "this seems clear from the inscription of Rudradāman and from those of Puṣumāyi and Śrī Yajña." It is evident that the existence of the inscription of Puṣumāyi and Śrī Yajña at Nasik has deterred him from stating that Northern Konkan also was conquered by Rudradāman. But the fact is that it is hardly possible to conquer Aparānta, i.e. Northern Konkan, before subduing Northern Mahārāshṭra,³ i.e. the Nasik and Poona districts. It is

¹ *Epig. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 61.

² *Cat. of Ind. Coins, Andhras and Western Kshatrapas*, p. xxxvi.

³ *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* gives the following description of the province of Konkan: "A name now applied to the tract of country

certain that Puṣumāyi was the contemporary of Chashtana; therefore his father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi belongs to a much earlier period than Rudradāman, the grandson of Chashtana. It is quite possible that Rudradāman was the contemporary of the son or successors of Puṣumāyi, who himself was the contemporary of Rudradāman's grandfather. It is, of course, no longer tenable that the dates in the records of Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta at Nasik and Karle and that of his minister Ayama at Junnar are years of the same era as that used in the inscriptions and the coins of Chashtana and his successors and descendants. Again, as the era used in the coins and inscriptions of Chashtana and his line is the Śaka era of 78 A.D., therefore the era used in the records of Nahapāna's son-in-law and minister must be some earlier one. In my opinion the dates used in the inscriptions of Ushavadāta and Ayama are not years of any particular era but on the contrary are years of the reign of Nahapāna. Therefore, as the latest date of Nahapāna is no longer to be restricted to Śaka 46 = 124 A.D., it need not be supposed that Northern Mahārāshṭra and Aparānta passed into the hands of Rudradāman during the reign of Puṣumāyi. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has in a previous paper tried to prove that the characters of the inscriptions of Śodāsa found in Mathurā are later than those of the inscriptions of Nahapāna.¹ If this result be true, then Nahapāna has to be placed in the first century B.C. at the latest. It is also clear that a certain period, however small it may be, elapsed between the date of the Junnar inscriptions of his minister Ayama and his own death. It is also quite probable that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi did not fight with Nahapāna personally, but destroyed

below the Western Ghats south of the Daman-Ganga river, including Bombay, the Districts of Thana, Kolaba, Ratnagiri, the coast strip of North Kanara, the native states of Janjira, Savantvadi, and the Portuguese territories of Goa."—Vol. xv, p. 394.

¹ JBRRAS., vol. xx, p. 275.

the power of his descendants or his successors.¹ Mr. H. R. Scott's study of the great Jogalthembi hoard, which contained more than 13,000 silver coins of Nahapāna, proves that "the coinage extended over many years".² The Āndhras held the dominions conquered from the Kshaharātas for at least thirty-seven years (six years of Gautamīputra, twenty-four years of Puṣumāyi, and seven years of Yajña-śrī) before they were dispossessed by Rudradāman prior to 130 A.D. In these circumstances it seems that the true date for the beginning of Nahapāna's reign ought to be placed in the end of the last century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D. The suggestion that Nahapāna founded the Śaka era need not be regarded seriously, as there is not a single instance of a provincial governor founding a separate era in the history of ancient India. The Andhau inscriptions have not been published as yet. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has kindly lent me the transcripts which he made personally from the original stone and impressions of three of the inscriptions. I have also been informed by the same authority that Dr. Lüders, of Berlin, will edit these. I do not find anything in the palæography of these records which might go against my conclusions.

¹ *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 217.

² *Ibid.*

IX

A BIOGRAPHY OF SHAYKH AHMAD-I-JAM

By W. IVANOW

I

IN the autumn of 1915 I found at Bukhârâ a few leaves of a Persian MS. forming part of an unknown work devoted to the biography of the famous saint Shaykh Ahmad-i-Jâm, surnamed Zindah-Fil.¹ There were only thirteen leaves, 23 by 18 and 16 by 13.5 cm., written on old Oriental paper, eighteen or nineteen lines in a page, in a comparatively elegant old character (like that of MSS. copied at Herât). This MS. was copied apparently in the tenth or eleventh century A.H. (The first page is written perhaps with a different qalam, but the hand seems to be the same as in the other parts.)

The beginning, perhaps a single leaf, as well as the end are lost, but the whole work cannot be very lengthy, considering the style of the parts preserved and some

¹ For scanty materials on his biography, mostly based on Jâmî's article in *Nafahât*, see Sprenger, Catalogue of the Library of the King of Oudh, vol. i, pp. 323 ff.; Rieu, Catalogue of the Library of the British Museum, p. 551; H. Ethé, Catalogue of the India Office Library, p. 568; Catalogue of the Bankipore Library, vol. i, p. 30; also *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, p. 284. Oriental works, (a) edited: Dawlat-shâh, ed. E. G. Browne, p. 348; Majâlis-ul-'Ushshâq (Nawalkishor's edition at Cawnpore), pp. 70-3; Habib-us-Siyar (Bombay, 1837), vol. ii, p. 71; Majâlis-ul-Mu'minin (Tebrix ed.), p. 262; Âteshkadah (Bombay, 1277), p. 73; Bâstân-us-Siyâhat (Tehrân ed.), p. 197; Majma'-ul-Fusahâ (Tehrân ed.), vol. i, p. 67; Riyâd-ul-'Arifin (Tehrân ed., 1305), p. 31; Tarâ'iq-ul-Haqâ'iq (Tehrân ed., 1316), vol. ii, p. 261. (b) In MSS.: Sharh-i-Nafahât by 'Abd-ul-Ghafûr Lârf; MS. in Asiatic Museum at Petrograd; Ivanow's Bukhara Collection No. 951; Sullam-us-Samawât in the same library; also Taqi-Awâhî, Haft-Iqlim, Safinat-ul-Auliya (by Dârâ Shikûh—there is an Indian litho. ed.), Riyâd-ush-Shu'arâ, Khilâsat-ul-Afkâr, Suhuf-i-Ibrahim, Makhzan-ul-Gharâ'ib, etc.

allusions made by the author, as fol. i (fol. 2b),¹ where he calls his pamphlet a short one:

این کتاب چون مختصر است . . .

Neither the title of the work nor the author's name is given in the text of the present fragment, but on fol. 3v.a the date 840 A.H. is mentioned as the current year. This allusion throws much light on the question of this work's origin.

Fortunately the unknown author points out all the works he used as his authorities, so giving precious information about some early Sufic biographies now probably lost. He calls them *maqâmât*, and names two as the most important. The first was a book composed by Imâm Muḥammad Ghaznawî (fol. 5b), a learned theologian of Ghaznah who, visiting Jâm on his way towards Mekkah for the pilgrimage, met the shaykh there, and remained his disciple for ever.

The second book was composed by a certain Ahmad-i-Tarakhistânî (?)². He was a well-educated man of saintly life, who having become a disciple of the shaykh just at the beginning of Ahmad-i-Jâm's preaching career, reached an advanced age of 108 years and died a few years after his pîr had passed away, i.e. after 536 A.H. (fol. 5v.a).

The author lays an especial stress on these two books (fols. 3b and 5v.a) when quoting them, and his categorical tone in speaking about them makes it probable that he

¹ Every page of the Persian text is divided into four parts (a, b, c, d), each containing five lines of the MS. (d very often 3-4 lines). The pages of the original are numerated by leaves—1, 1v., 2, 2v., etc.

² The author says:

... از ولایت ترخستانه بود که حالا آن بلوکر شیخ

جام کویند . . .

had the books in his hands. For instance, when telling about the descendants of the shaykh, he says (fol. 3b):

... اما این سخن در مقامات شیخ احمد ترخستانی و
مقامات امام محمد عزنوی نیست ...

The quotations from these books suggest that they were his chief authorities.

There is also mentioned a book of the shaykh's son, *Dhahîr-ud-Dîn 'Îsâ*, who flourished in the sixth century A.H. and left several works: *Sirr-ul-Badâ'i*¹ (composed in 577 A.H. and dedicated to Ghûrî Sultân Ghiyâth-ud-Dîn Muḥammad, who ruled between 558 and 599 A.H.) (fol. 3 v. b); another book quoted is *Rumâz-ul-Haqâ'iq*¹ (fol. 3a) and probably *Sirât-us-Sâlikîn*² (fol. 3a).

As authors of certain books (... نوشته اند ...) are quoted (fol. 2b) Mawlânâ Tâj-ud-Dîn Muḥammad Bûzjânî and Mawlânâ Zayn-ud-Dîn Abû-Bakr Tâ'ibâdî, who was, as Jâmi says,³ a disciple of Nidhâm-ud-Dîn Herawî, was especially devoted to the memory of Shaykh Aḥmad-i-Jâm, spent the whole of his life in prayers over the grave of this saint, and died in 791 A.H. Naturally his information, which is quoted by the author very rarely, could not be of very high value, since it was based on traditions and stories told many generations since the shaykh had passed away.

On the fol. 3a is mentioned a *Ḥadiqah* written by Shaykh-ul-Islâm, who is apparently to be identified with Shaykh-ul-Islâm Qutb-ud-Dîn Muḥammad, son of Shaykh Aḥmad-i-Jâm (fol. 3c).⁴

¹ Not mentioned in Hâjji Khalfah's Dictionary.

² Hâjji Khalfah, vol. iii, 480; Jâmi, *Nafahât* (ed. Naassau Lees, Calcutta, 1859, p. 406).

³ Ibid., p. 576. Besides this—*Majdlis-ul-Mu'minin*, p. 263 (Tebriz ed.), where he is called, not Abû-Bakr, but 'Alî, certainly because of the Shî'ah tendencies of the author.

⁴ Not mentioned in Hâjji Khalfah's Dictionary.

As persons who supplied the author with oral tradition (. . . گفت . . .) are mentioned: a certain Akhi-'Ali Isfarghâbadi (?) (fol. 8 v. c) and Imâm Raḍi-ud-Din Jamâl-ul-Islâm Tâ'ibâdi (fol. ii v. c).

Sometimes the author quotes a book composed by the shaykh himself, *Sirâj-us-Sâ'irîn* (fols. 4 c and 4 v. a), and a book on the biography of the well-known Shaykh Abû-Sa'id bin Abî'l-Khayr, but it is impossible to determine whether the author himself is quoting this book or his authority (fol. 2 c).¹

The only indication I could discover of a special work dealing with the biography of Shaykh Ahmad was a certain *Khilâsat-ul-Maqâmât*, quoted occasionally in a tadhkirah called *Tarâ'iq-ul-Haqd'iq*, composed by Mirzâ Ma'sûm Nâ'ib-us-Şadr.² Its author appears as Abû'l-Makârim bin 'Alâ-ul-Mulk Jâmi. Neither the title of the book nor the author's name could I find anywhere else, and it seems absolutely impossible to say whether these two works are the same or different ones. The title itself and the author's usual manner of quoting every book on biography under the name of *maqâmât* may have a certain connexion, although it is not enough for a precise conclusion.

'Attâr³ in his tadhkirah does not mention the shaykh's name—a circumstance somewhat strange considering the great popularity Ahmad-i-Jâm is said by his biographers to have enjoyed. 'Attâr and Shaykh Ahmad lived in neighbouring districts, and Shaykh-i-Jâm died during the early youth of 'Attâr, or at any rate not long before. Besides that, all the biographers assure us that Ahmad-i-Jâm visited Nishâpûr at least once. The reason of 'Attâr's silence may be sought either in the fact that the shaykh

¹ *Nafahât*.

² Lith. Tehrân, 1316, vol. ii, p. 261.

³ In the present MS. 'Attâr is mentioned but once as the author of a poem (fol. 2 d).

was by no means as popular as his biographers declare, or in an intentional omission on 'Aṭṭār's part, since 'Aṭṭār's work was devoted to the ancient saints, and Shaykh-i-Jām had died only a short time before the book was composed (in the *tadhkirah* is no mention of the persons who died after the first half of the fifth century A.H.).

Dawlat-Shāh,¹ in his biographical work, once merely quotes the name of the Shaykh Ahmad, without giving any particulars.

On the contrary, the famous hagiographer Jāmi, in his *Nafahāt-ul-Uns*, dedicates to the shaykh one of his most detailed articles, on the pattern of those on the saints whose life had already been described before him, fol. i on those of Abū-Sa'īd, Abū'l-Hasan Kharqānī, etc. And now a new question arises: Why does Jāmi know so many details of the shaykh's biography? Is his acquaintance derived immediately from the ancient books still existing in his time, as we can see from the fact that in 840 A.H. they were used in a certain place for the composition of the present MS.? Or does he take all this material from a book of later times? The question is a very complicated one, because Jāmi was an inhabitant of Kharjird, a neighbouring village to Nāmiq, the birthplace of Ahmad-i-Jām, and it would not be impossible that he should even claim a certain degree of kinship with the saint, because, according to the usual idea of the Persian peasantry, the population of a whole village is regarded as kinsmen. It is to be remembered that, according to the author of the *Rashahāt*, one of the shaykh's sons bore the name of Dhahīr-ud-Dīn 'Isā,² which was also the name of one of Jāmi's sons, a circumstance that might mean a revival of the local cult of the saint or an especial worship for the shaykh practised in Jāmi's family. The author of our MS. displays a perfect knowledge of the geographic

¹ Ed. E. G. Browne, p. 348.

² *Rashahāt*, lith.

conditions of the district of Jām, so we shall commit no very great error in supposing that he was a native of that place or at least a person having certain ties with Jām. In this case it seems very probable that Jāmi knew him as a countryman, or at any rate had heard about him and his book. On the other hand, if the books which served the writer as authorities were obtainable there at that time, it is not impossible that Jāmi may have used them as well, even considering the difference in time between the dates of these two works, i.e. 840 A.H., that of our MS., and 883 A.H., the year when Jāmi finished his *Nafahāt*.

In spite of all my researches in the biographies of Jāmi, I have not been able to find any mention of a person called Abū'l-Makārim bin 'Alā-ul-Mulk Jāmi who might have been in contact with this writer. But examination of the present text shows that its author was not a person of high theological learning, for he displays a common-sense unusual among men of that class by quoting his authorities together with their names. It is probable that he did not belong to the clergy, being, it may be, an official of modest rank. So he could not associate with Jāmi in the brilliant company of the learned. Devoted to the memory of the Shaykh Ahmad, and having at his disposition ancient books, he perhaps desired to prepare a comprehensive biography based on trustworthy authorities, in order to save from oblivion his miracles and glory. It must not be overlooked that Shaykh Ahmad was not very popular at that time: a "fashion" for him appeared in India a century later, when the holy shaykh was proclaimed a "celebrated ancestor" of Emperor Akbar's mother,¹ a circumstance very typical for Indian Muḥammadans, always on the look-out for a noble foreign pedigree.

¹ See Dārā Shikūh's *Safinat-ul-Awliyā*—in the Catalogue of India Office Library, by H. Ethé, c. 305.

Jāmi, making as usual no allusions to his direct authority, does not allow us even to pin him down to his own words because of the ambiguity of his expressions.

On p. 408 he says: . . . جامع مقامات شیخ کوید

and the text when compared with ours appears to be a quotation from the ancient work of Muḥammad Ghaznawī (fol. 5v.b), so it remains unclear who is meant here by Jāmi—the author of the present work or that of the ancient work. He quotes (p. 406) *Rumūz-ul-Haqā'iq* (see our MS. fol. 9v.a), but the same book is mentioned in our MS. in the same place, and it remains again impossible to find a solution.

In spite of a striking likeness, the text of both Jāmi's and of the present MS. literally corresponds in a few cases only. This circumstance cannot lead to the conclusion that Jāmi did not use the present MS. for his work, because of his usual manner of quoting an authority never literally, but, as it seems, from memory.

Jāmi seems to have used the same authorities not only for the biography of some particular remarkable saint but also for a number of his "satellites"; this is the case with many personages connected with Shaykh Abū Sa'īd, etc. Perhaps to the present biography or its authorities, if Jāmi used them, we owe certain small biographies in which the shaykh plays a significant part, as fol. i, that of Abū Ṭāhir Kurd (کرد) (p. 417), Mawdūd Chishtī (p. 370), etc.

'Abd-ul-Ghafūr Lārī, a disciple of Mawlānā Jāmi, who has composed a commentary and a supplement to the *Nafahāt-ul-Uns*, adds absolutely nothing to the article, and of course tells us no single word about the authorities.¹

¹ See the MS. in the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Petrograd, Ivanow's Bukhārā Collection No. 951.

These are the data with which the MS. can supply us concerning the biography of Shaykh Ahmad. It remains now to say a few words more about the peculiarities of the present copy.

The word *bāb* or *faṣl* at the beginning of separate paragraphs is omitted, although a space for it is reserved in several places, and the contents of each chapter are pointed out :

- (fol. 1a) (Shaykh's ancestors and pedigree) 1
- (fol. 2b) 2 در خرقه و ذکر پیران حضرت شیخ
- (fol. 2v.d) 3 در ذکر اولاد و ازواج شیخ
- (fol. 4b) 4 در تصانیف شیخ و مقامات او
- (fol. 5v.a) 5 در تاریخ ولادت و وفات و توبه شیخ
- 6 در کرامات شیخ که در ابتداء توبه و ایام مجاهدات
- (fol. 6c) واقع شده
- (fol. 9v.b) 7 در کرامات شیخ که در شهر سرخس ظاهر شده
- 8 در واقعیاتی که در جام و نیسابور و غیر ذلک در سفر
- (fol. 12c) و در حضر واقع شده

Being an old copy, the present MS. writes ج and ب instead of *p* and *ch*. Sometimes its manner of writing bears the traces of undoubted Khurāsāni spelling, but whose? It is more probable that of the scribe, not of the author. But it is not impossible that the author himself was a Khurāsāni. All these peculiarities I prefer to leave untouched in the present publication.

Every time a word beginning with a vowel follows a word ending in a consonant, they are liable to be connected. So the MS. reads: ازان ست instead of

از آن است, etc.; the examples of this use are abundant.

There are some peculiarities in writing the *idāfah*, proving that it was spelt in association with the foregoing syllable: after a short *a* (*ah*), very often throughout the whole manuscript no *hamzah* appears to be written,

as fol. i توبه شیخ, توبه من, etc. Sometimes no ی after و

as fol. i صاغو جام, پهلو خربزه, etc. Once (fol. 12 v. c)

the MS. writes بزده جام instead of بز د جام pointing to the same tendency towards assonant spelling.

As a peculiarity in the spelling of the long *i*, particular to the population of *Khurāsān* and to the language of Persian-speaking *Afghāns* and *Balochis*, there is a sound somewhat akin to *e* or *a*, fol. i هر کیز instead of هر کر ;

دهیم = داشتیم; داشتی = دهی etc. An allusion to the spelling of a final syllable *ān* as *ūn* seems to be found in the usual writing of خواندن or خوند instead of

خواندن or خواند.

If it were possible to show that all these peculiarities of the language belong to the author, it would be of interest for the student of Persian dialects.

II

Hagiographical works are a particularly important authority for a student of ancient life in general because they go into minute details of everyday life, not dealt with by ordinary historians busy only with the magnificent eventualities of princes' pastime. After clearing away all the miraculous nonsense and pious phrases we get excellent material of high anthropological and historical value, an authority still more precious as quoting the topics as a matter of course, not in an intentional description.

It is a very remarkable fact that Persian country life, judging by the descriptions in the most ancient hagiographical works, seems to have suffered no changes in essential points from the remote times of primitive Sufic saints, like Abū Sa'īd, etc., to the present day. This circumstance must not lead to the neglect of historical perspective, but on the other hand it is very difficult to believe that there were in those remote times peculiar conditions of dervish life markedly different from those now prevailing.

The biography of Shaykh Ahmad-i-Jām seems to be but a story of dervish life of to-day. The average dervishes were then probably, as they are now, members of the middle classes of the population in the towns and large villages; very rarely are they from peasant families. As a rule they begin early in youth, and one of the chief reasons for their abandonment of the world is simply a strong desire to lead a depraved life, for bad company, and for opium-smoking (or, as it was probably in the days of the shaykh, wine-drinking). Instead of working they engage in begging, intrigue, and other so-called pious business. Of course there are sometimes to be met really pious old men, tired of the fret and fume of ordinary life, and longing to be free from all troubles.

Shaykh Ahmad-i-Jām was a descendant of an ancient 'Arab family of noble origin. "God knows better" if that was true, for there are but a few good Muslims who declare themselves as being not of 'Arab stock. For a saint such a pedigree is a *conditio sine qua non*; even if he were to try to profess his non-'Arab origin, after his death a pious biographer will carefully connect him with an 'Arab clan, if not with the Prophet himself. In Southern Khurāsān, in the district of Qā'in, there are many villages inhabited by the purest Persian population, who wear exclusively blue turbans and call themselves sayyids and 'Arabs of undoubted blood. Again, in Northern Khurāsān, in many villages of the district of Meshhed you may see hazārah people (so-called *berberī*), emigrants from Afghānistān, of purest Mongol origin, who call themselves veritable sayyids.

The shaykh spent his idle life in very bad company, as he says himself. There were, it seems, many reasons for leaving home and family (fol. 7v.c). We can only say on the strength of the author's words that the shaykh abandoned a certain business (. . . کسب . . .), which circumstance was probably the true reason of his mystical resignation (fol. 7v.b), as it appears from the words of his pīr, Abū Tāhir Kurd (کرد). And then he began his

wanderings about the villages and towns of Khurāsān.

The shaykh had no real *murshid*, who should give him the "permission", as the dervishes call the right to be considered an educated Sūfi. Abū Tāhir Kurd seems not to have been very satisfied with his disciple. So our shaykh was forced to receive the *khirqah* from the hands of the prophet Khidr, which is equivalent to being an "Uweysi-mashrab", i.e. an autodidact, from the dervishi point of view a kind of impostor.

However this circumstance seems to have given a certain anxiety to the shaykh, so he tried to proclaim himself a disciple of the famous saint Abû Sa'id bin Abî'l-Khayr.¹ For this purpose he made use of the tradition of the last-named saint having died without having appointed anybody as his successor, or *khalifah*.² It is hard to say whether the shaykh did succeed in convincing the heirs of Abû Sa'id, who were in charge of his shrine and certainly receiving a good income from it, that he was the person for whom the late saint had waited in order to hand over to him the alleged ancient *khirqah*, descending from the Prophet himself. All that sounds very incredible. No doubt the heirs of the saint were people by no means lacking in practical sense, and would hardly have given up one of the most holy relics they possessed for the sake of any sentimental fancies.

The story relating how the shaykh came there and asked Abû Tâhir bin Abî Sa'id for the *khirqah* is quoted in the present MS. and in Jâmi's *Nafahât* from a certain *maqâmât* of the Shaykh Abû Sa'id. Neither of the two books dealing with the biography of that saint now known, i.e. *Asrâr-ut-Tawhîd* and *Hâlât wa Sukhûnân*,³ quotes this story. And there can be little doubt that the shaykh did not get the *khirqah*.

Being absolutely illiterate, he did not enjoy much authority among the people. Wherever he came public

¹ There is a strong tendency to connect the shaykh with Abû Sa'id. He is said to have been born in the same year as the last-named saint died, etc. In a later biographical work (probably of the tenth century A.H.)—*سالم السموات*. The unknown author says:

... از اصحاب شیخ ابو سعید مهنه بود

² It is by no means an exceptional case. We know in the history of Sufic orders that there were many shaykhs who acted in the same way, fol. i. The famous Chishti pîr Chiragh-i-Dehli died in 757 A.H.

³ Ed. by W. Zhukovsky, St. Petersburg, 1899.

opinion was unfavourable to him. Of course it may be true that the shaykh was respected to a certain degree, as the common people worship all sorts of faqirs even after having treated them with contempt and suspicion. But his followers were by no means as numerous as he and his son boast in their books. There were not 600,000 (fol. 9v.b) who were made dervishes by the shaykh, for the simple reason that the whole population of Khurāsān of those days could not have exceeded this figure.

His miraculous deeds excite a feeling of discomfort on account of their unscrupulous pretentiousness—all these voices, inspirations, messages from heaven, etc., commonly employed only in the most solemn situations, are treated here as a matter of course.

Taught by his long intercourse with people of every kind, as every dervish usually is, the shaykh has the same tedious knowledge—a mixture of primitive theology, medicine, and magics—always to be found in the brain of an old illiterate Muslim and especially of a dervish.

We are told that he composed a certain number of books on Sufic matters, containing the most important revelations of heaven, as he boasts (fol. 4a-c), and the authors of his biographies believe that these books really existed. Some of them are mentioned by Hājji Khalifah in his bibliographical work, but it is impossible to say whether the learned writer saw them with his own eyes. It seems very probable these books belonged to the class called ملفوظات, but none of them seem to be preserved now.

They are:

In 1 v.—45 ch.

1¹ انس التائبين

Comp. in 513 A.H.

„ 3 v.—75 „

2² سراج السائرين

¹ Not mentioned in H. Kh. Diet.

² H. Kh. iii, 587.

Comp. in 522 A.H. In 1 v.—7 ch. 3¹ مفتاح النجاة

„ 526 „ „ 1 v.—31 „ 4² روضة المذنبين
(Dedicated to Sultân Sinjar)

Comp. in 527 A.H. In 1 v.—18 „ 5³ بحار الحقيقة

„ 533 „ „ 1 v.—20 „ 6⁴ كنوز الحكمة

„ 1 v. 7⁴ كتاب اشعار

“These nine books,” says the author (f. 4*d*), “are even now to be found among the dervishes, the other five being lost in the time of Chinghîz-Khân’s invasion.”

The other five are: In 1 v. 8⁵ فتوح الروح . . .

„ 9 اعتقاد نامه

„ 10 تذكيرات

11 زهديات

(One of the four volumes lost) 12 سراج السائرین

“It is said,” says he again (fol. 4*d*), “that all his works, those that have perished and those that are preserved, were to be had in the library (lit. treasury) of Sultân Firûz-shâh in India.”⁶

¹ H.Kh. vi, 31.

² Not mentioned in H.Kh. Dict.

³ H.Kh. ii, 9.

⁴ Lith. by Nawalkishor, Cawnpore, 1898.

⁵ All these are not mentioned in H.Kh. Dict.

⁶ There were several kings in India with the same name of Firûz-shâh. The one alluded to is probably the Sultân of Delhi, Abû'l-Mudhaffar Firûz-shâh III (Toghîlûq), who ruled 752-90 A.H. and was especially devoted to religious questions, and about whom the author is more likely to have heard much more than about his predecessor, having learned perhaps something from persons who had already visited that town.

The character of the Shaykh Ahmad as described in the present MS. is that of an average dervish of to-day—a very enthusiastic man, living in a circle of fantastic unworldly pretensions mixed sometimes with the most brutal things, always ready to fight with his tongue or to pay with the most magnificent and honey-sweet phrases for the alms he receives. The more clever and energetic of the dervishes practise incantations and magic operations for any purpose; sometimes they cure diseases successfully enough by means of their hypnotic influence. Their very mobile mentality and continual self-suggestion can lead them to a most unscrupulous lie taken even by themselves as truth. They are expert masters in all sorts of imaginative matters, very often being gifted with a true poetical talent. In this respect they do useful service in the country by exciting in the masses the taste for high standards of classic Persian poetry. Their role as a culture medium is still more precious among the nomadic tribes, to whom they carry the influence of the Persian civilization. The shaykh was himself a poet. It is commonly agreed that he composed a diwān of poetry. A diwān ascribed to him is to be found in some libraries and even was published¹ in India. Of course, it must be studied with great caution, as it may possibly have been falsified, at least partly, in later times, when the shaykh was made a celebrated ancestor of ruling persons. If it really belongs to the shaykh, it would help us to find a key to his real spiritual life.

Among many interesting anecdotes related in the present MS. vividly painting the life of those days, the most interesting are those telling us about the shaykh's relation to the Ismaili sect, when he is working in order "to save Sultān Sinjar". It is somewhat difficult to understand what they really mean, but it is very important to recognize again a feature common with the

¹ Lith. by Nawalkishor, at Cawnpore, 1898.

dervishes of to-day, i.e. their being intermediaries between the orthodox and the sectarians. Of course the author, who lived at a time when the Ismailis had lost all their importance, could not have had an exact idea of the ancient authorities he used. But it is necessary to remark that the districts of Qâ'in, Birjand, and Gûnâbâd are perhaps the only places where the Ismailis are still living in their original communities in Persia. The name of Quhistân quoted in the MS. (fols. 13*d*, 13*v*.*b*) must here be applied to the above-mentioned districts. It is often quoted in the Ismaili books still preserved among the population of the Upper Oxus and the Pamir plateau. But it seems absolutely impossible to state precisely whether the name of Quhistân is here a proper name in the sense referred to, or whether it means simply a mountainous country—in this case which?—that of Badakhshân, of Shugnân, or that of Southern Khurâsân, of Alâmût, Syria, etc. There is a possibility that in the books of the Ismailis the name of Quhistân is quoted in the former sense because this country is often spoken of as being a part of Khurâsân.

There are many very interesting allusions which are worth discussing at length, but that would lead me beyond the limits of the short introduction to the fragment published herewith.

I must add here but a few words on a very curious detail, not commonly found in the biographies of saints. However strange it may be, it is very probable that we have a trustworthy portrait of the shaykh preserved by his biographers. It is described in the above-mentioned prophecy, ascribed to the Shaykh Abû Sa'îd (fol. 2*v*.*a*). It should not, I believe, excite suspicion. The prophecy was certainly made *ad hoc*, and there were no reasons to produce a description which could not be applied to the case, even in order to decorate the reality—its object was the most precise similitude of the portrait. It

describes the shaykh as a tall man, with a pale rosy skin (سرخ و سفید), yellow (میکون) hair, and grey or green-grey eyes (شہلا; Jâmi translates this word with ازرق).

The word شہلا is used now in Khurâsân in the meaning of "cunning, deceitful", sometimes "screwed up" (of eyes). We can recognize in the present portrait the description of an albino, a type not very uncommon in Persia.

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¹ Jacut's *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-70.

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| 2 b | بوزجاني | 2 b, 3 b, 3 v. b, 5 d | احمد ترخستاني |
| 13 a b | (تركان خاتوني) | 6 c, 13 d | احمد جامي |
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| 1 a | جابر بن مالك الشليل | 8 v. c | اخى على اسفر غابدى |
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| 1 abc | جرير بن عبد الله البجلي | 1 v. d | ازد |
| 2 v. d | امام جعفر صادق | 13 d | اسعد عراقى |

بجه حجّت از خراسان منع میکنید سلطان ائمه را گفت
مسئله کوئید یا سخن در باقی کنید ائمه گفتند بایکدیگر
مشورت کنیم چون مشورت کردند صلاح چنین دیدند
که ایشانرا (d) بولایت راه باید داد چون یکجندی برآمد
دعوت خانه در شهر مرو بنیاد نهادند و بهر جای دیگر و
کس از کیفیت آن خبر نداشت روزی شیخ در نيسابور
فرمود که در کار ملاحظه سرّیست بر ما کشف کردند
و ما را فرمودند که بشهر مرو رویم و بسططان و ائمه سرّ آن
فساد آشکاره کنیم بس شیخ روان شد چون بمرو رسید
سلطان و ائمه و اکابر با استقبال

بالین سلطان کارد نهاد روز دیگر سلطان آن کارد در زیر
 بالین بدید بترسید و از جامه دار پرسید که این کارد چیست
 گفت من جامه انداختم و رفتم دیگر خبر ندارم سلطان
 گفت این کارد بنهید و این سرّ (b) نهان دارید چون
 ازین حادثه يك جندی بر آمد رسولی از قهستان رسید
 و سلطانرا تحفه آورد گفت ترا با ما صلح باید کرد و ما را
 بولایت خود راه باید داد و اگر نه جنین کنی ترا خلل
 باشد و تو خود را از ما نگاه نتوانی داشت که پارسال
 کارد زهر آلود در زیر بالین تو نهادیم اگر خواستی بآن
 کارد سلطانرا هلاک کردی کارد را بیاوردند و بسکی
 فرو بردند فی الحال بیاماسید و بمرد سلطان این بدید بترسید
 و با ایشان صلح کرد و ایشانرا بشهرهای خراسان (c) راه
 داد چون شد و آمد ایشان بسیار شد ائمه و امرا و عوام
 گفتند ملحدانرا منع باید کرد چون خبر بملاحده رسید
 داعی فرستادند که او را خطر کیا سالار گفتندی و او ملحد
 فاضل بود و در طب و نجوم کامل بغایت مکار سلطانرا
 گفت که ائمه خراسانرا حاضر کنید تا مسئله گویم که ما را

هر دو آستین پر کرد و بر کنار جوی که در خاتقاه بود بر سر سلطان افشاند و گفت سنجر نثار ما اینست و تا آن وقت که آن جوی بود در اینجا ازان زر می یافتند و آن روز بام خاتقاه می اندودند سلطان سنجر شیخ را گفت التماسی دارم تا آنچه بکنم مرا ازان باز نداری شیخ اجابت کرد ناوه کل (d) بر کردن گرفت و به بام بالا برد شیخ گفت چرا چنین کردی گفت و سیلتی برای آخرت نداشتم کفتم اگر در قیامت پرسند که چه وسیله داری گویم ناوکش شیخ احمد جامی ام دیگر شخصی از قهستان بشهر مرو آمد خود را شیخ اسعد عراقی نام کرد و با جامه دار سلطان سنجر که او را ابو الفتوح قافی گفتندی دوستی گرفت و چون مدتی برآمد و برو اعتماد تمام کرد روزی گفت مهتر بتو حاجتی دارم [13 v.] (a) اما سو کنند باید خورد که این راز بر کسی آشکاره نکنی او قبول کرد و سو کنند خورد و ابو الفتوح را هزار دینار داد و کارد زهر آلود بوی داد که در زیر بالین سلطان بنه و سلطان جه داند که تو نهاده و او را جه زیان باشد جامه دار بزر فریفته شد و زر بستد و بوقت جامه انداختن در زیر

قراجه را سنجری آرزو کند و زن او را ترکان خاتونی زن قراجه بفرمان او زهر در شربت تعبیه کند احمد را بران اطلاع دهند احمد بفرمان حق شربت بریزد و قدح نکونسار بنهد و شمع‌دانها بگرداند دایه پای مال را جبه کناه باشد که او را دو تازیانه بزنی گفت چیست ترا دیگر کجا بینم گفت اینجا که خدای تعالی خواهد خدمت کرد و باز کشت بعد ازان (b) قراجه را آواز داد که جرا عصیان آوردی گفت مرا سنجری آرزو کرد و زن مرا ترکان خاتونی دار و بزنی دادم تا بسلطان دهد ندانم تا سلطان را که خبر کرد که نخورد از جان خود ترسیدم و بکرمختم دیگر امام ابراهیم بن علی سعید روایت کند که شیخ از زوراباد باستاد زوراباد آمد و آنجا چهار صومعه بنیاد کرد چندگاه آنجا بود و از آنجا بفرمان حق بمعداباد جام آمد و ساکن شد و خلق از اطراف روی روی نهادند و حالات و کرامات مشاهده می کردند چون خبر بسلطان سنجر رسید از مرو زیارت شیخ بمعداباد جام آمد چون بر در خاتقاه شیخ فرود آمد درود کران خوب می تراشیدند شیخ ازان تراشاه خوب

(c) بالین سلطان نهاده و همه شب منتظر خبر مرک سلطان بودند جون صبح شد و ان حال واقع نشد پنداشت که سلطان خبر شده است ترسید که الخائن الخائف برخاست و زنرا نیز سوار کرد و یجانب عراق بسوی اقطاع خود روان کشت و می بود تا سلطان کس فرستاد و اورا طلب داشت نیامد و ساختگی مصاف میکرد جون مدتی بر آمد و او نیامد سلطان لشکر یجانب عراق کشید قراجہ با سلطان مصاف کرد و سلطان هزیمت شد شیخ در کوه بزده جام (sic!) (d) بود اورا گفتند مصاف سنجر شکسته شد اورا در یاب تا شیخ رسید سنجر شکسته شده بود شیخ عنان او بکرفت و کفت باز کرد و قراجہ را بدست تودم باز کشت حملہ کردند قراجہ را بینداختند و بکرفتند سنجر بدان موضع که شیخ را دیده بود باز آمد شیخ همانجا بود بیاده شد و بیش او آمد و کفت تو کیستی شیخ کفت مرا احمد ابو الحسن کویند کفت این جہ حال بود [13] (a) کفت چند سال شد که ترا بمن سپرده اند دعا، تو میکویم و نگاه بانی تو میکنم کفت بچه نشان کفت

از نیم شب مرا بدر شهر مرو بردند و گفتند درای بسرای
 [12 v.] (a) سلطان و قدح شربت که زهر تعبیه دارد بر سر بالین
 او نهاده بجاه صحن سراریز و قدح نکونسار بنه و شمعدان
 زر به بائین بر و تقره به بالین بر و ساعتی توقف کن تاجه
 یینی و شنوی و بخانه خود بازآی همچنان کردم که گفته
 بودند کنیزك را که بای می مالید نظر بر شمعدان ها افتاد
 که روان شد و مرا نمی دید هراس خورد و دست بر روی
 نهاد و صلوات داد ساعتی برآمد سلطان بیدار شد خواست
 که شربت بخورد قدح در روی دید کنیزك را گفت شربت
 (b) چه کردی کنیزك گفت من نخوردم سلطان گفت
 شربت ریخته و قدح افتاده تو نخوردی بس که خورد و بجا
 شد و کنیزك را دو تازیانه بزد که نه ترا گفته بودم که بیدار
 باش گفت بیدار بودم شمعدان ها دیدم که روان شد دیگر
 نمی دانم سلطان نگاه کرد شمعدانها گردیده دید کنیزك را
 گفت اگر این سر پیدا نشود ترا هلاك كنم و شربت دار
 زن قراجه ساقی بود و قراجه زهر در شربت تعبیه کرده
 بود و زن او که کنیزك سلطان بود زهر و شربت بر سر

توبه کند شیخ چیزی بروی خواند گفت یکساعت
 او را بگذار که بر خیزد ساعتی (c) بر آمد شیخ بنزدیک
 بسر آمد و گفت از خود قوتی بینی که بر خیزی گفت
 ساعتی درنگ کن چیزی دیگر بروی خواند گفت اکنون
 بر خیز بسر برخاست و روان شد آن مرد نعره بزد
 و بیهوش (شد) چون با خود آمد خواست که پسر را بر شتر
 نشاند شیخ گفت دست باز دار تا یک فرسنگ برود بدر
 بر اشتر نشست و پسر مهار شتر بگرفت و سلامت رفتند

(باب) در واقعاتی که در جام و نیشابور و غیر ذلک در سفر

و حضر واقع شده روزی دو آینده بیامدند و گفتند یا
 احمد (d) پادشاه وقت سنجر بن ملکشاه را بتو سپرده
 ایم ترا از خیر حال او بر باید بود و دعای خیر او باید
 گفت گفتم آنچه حق تعالی توفیق دهد با او بجای آورم
 گفتند و فک الله و برفتند ازین سخن مدتی بر آمد روزی
 قبل الزوال آن دو آینده بیامدند و گفتند یا احمد پاس
 سنجر باز دار امشب زهر در قدح شربت او افکند یش

خانه ایست که ولادت امام زاهدان [12] (a) ابو عبد الله محمد کرام آنجا بوده این مرد که کرامات روی زمین بدیدی گفت یا شیخ از کرامات بالا جیزی بمن نمای شیخ گفت تو طاقت آن نیاری او دران التماس کرد و مبالغه نمود شیخ با وی سخن میگفت یکساعت گذشت گفت به بالا بر نکر بر نکر است بانك بکرد و یفتاد جون بهوش آمد شیخ گفت چه دیدی گفت چشم من بر قندیلهای عرش افتاد طاقت دیدن آن نداشتم و این مرد بعد از هفده روز بزیست خون بر وی کشاده شد و هلاک گشت در خبر آمده است که عرش بار خدا را عز و جل (b) هفتصد هزار برجست و از هر برجی هفتاد هزار قندیل آویخته این جهان و آن جهان همه دریك قندیست و در دیگر قندیلها و برجها معلوم نیست که چیست دریاهاى فضل و کنوز غیب اورا هیچ کس در نیابد و اسرار ربوبیت اورا هزار یکی نتواند دانست دیگر روزی ترکمانی پسری بیش شیخ آورد گفت این يك پسر دارم مفلوجست شیخ گفت اگر پسرت به شود تو به کنی عهد کرد که

بر دست نهاده می گریست و میگفت یا شیخ بجزمت محمد که
جان فرزند من در کار من کن که بیش ازین فرزند ندارم
شیخ گفت ای سید عزیز حق تعالی جان فرزند تو (c) در
کار تو کرد بس گفت رضا ندهم تا او را از خاتقاه بیرون
نیاری و در خاتقاه غیر سیدزادی و محمد منصور هیچکس
نمانده بود و سیدزادی هنوز می می زد شیخ در خاتقاه
آمد او را بخواند نیامد و سر بر قدمهای شیخ نهاد بس گفت
یا شیخ توبه کردم از من در گذار شیخ دست بر پشت او
میزد و میگفت یا با عیسی شما بدانسته اید که کار اولیای
خدای پیازوی شما نباشد حق تعالی جان تو در کار بدر تو
کرد دیگر امام رضی الدین جمال الاسلام تایبادی
(d) گفت مردی از اصحاب حدیث که بسیار رنج کشیده
بود و مجاهده کرده و چشم دل وی بکرامات روی زمین
کشاده کرده بودند روزی شیخ او را گفت بولایت نیمروز
بنکر مجده سجستان تا آنجا که می بینی وی ساعتی سر در
پیش افکند سر بر آورد و گفت خانه دیدم که نور از آن
خانه بر می آمد تا عنان آسمان پرسیدم که چه جای بود گفتند

از برای او بر نخیزد چون در آمد هیچکس بجای خود ننماید
 مکر محمد منصور [11 v.] (a) که بر نمی توانست خاست
 شیخ بنشست و گفت مرا بجه کار خوانده اید قاضی عذر
 تمهید میکرد و هر کس چیزی می گفتند سید زیادی گفت
 چرا مداهنت میکنید ترا ما خوانده ایم بدانکه گفته که
 خدایا بخدای (. . . ?)¹ و هر کس که چنین گوید کافر
 باشد شیخ گفت من چنین میکویم و هر کس نه چنین گوید
 و داند کافر باشد توجه میکوبی گفت هی هی شیخ گفت
 هی هی جواب احمد نباشد جواب بکوی تا سه بار همین
 هی هی میگفت شیخ بانك بر وزد و گفت خاموش ای بی
 ادب علم تو از میان بای (b) مستحاضه بیرون نشو تو با احمد
 علم توحید میکوبی شیخ برخاست و کسان که کارد بهلاک
 شیخ کشیده بودند کارد می انداختند و در قدم او می
 افتادند و فریاد می زدند و توبه میکردند چون شیخ از
 خانقاه برون آمد و زیادی همچنان هی هی می زد پدر او پیر
 و معمر شده بود بیش شیخ گرفت و هر دو کیسوی سفید

¹ Probably something is lost here.

بکوی فرا گفتن می آیی و این همه جمله در حق خود
 مشاهده میکنی گفت خاموش تو با او و او با تو بس از
 (c) اهل شهر یکی برخاست و گفت تو چه کوئی گفت
 هر کس احمد بن ابی الحسن را بکشد ثواب او برابرست
 با کسی که در معرکه ده ملحد را بکشد برین موجب فتوی
 نوشت و بسید زیادی داد او نوشت که سبق الجواب و
 بدست آن جوان دادند گفت من فردا او را بکشم شما
 گفت و کوی در باقی کنید محمد منصور گفت فردا مجلس
 سازیم هرگاه او را تکفیر کنیم تو او را هلاک کن روزی
 دیگر در خاتقاه سید زیادی جمعیت کردند و کس بشیخ
 فرستادند که ترا حاضر باید شد (d) مریدان می کریستند
 و میگفتند یا شیخ مصلحت نیست اینجا رفتن شیخ گفت
 که ما را سلطان نیست که تا آن سلطان در شهر باشد از غوغای
 هیچکس باک نیست بیت

زحمت غوغای خلق هیچ نبینی *

چون علم بادشه بشهر در آید *

بس شیخ روان شد و ایشان قرار داده بودند که هیچ کس

کنک شد و شیخ بیرون شد [11] (a) و این بیت
میکفت بیت

آنها که دیده باشد داند که ما چه مریم *
منکر بود بحالم آنها که نیست دیده *
من احمد نه اویم از خود سخن چه گویم *
در پیکرم نظر کن کر قدرت آفریده *

محمد منصور بسر اشارت میکرد که او را باز گردانید خلق
بیرون رفتند و شیخ را استدعاء بسیار کردند که زبان او در بند
شد باز گشت و گفت بکوی و علم کوی و کاری که ندانی با
آن کارمگیر که کار اولیای خدای بیازوی تو نیست و لکن
هرگز بر نخیزی و شیخ بیرون آمد و برفت (b) چون شب
در آمد محمد منصور کس فرستاد و ائمه و معارف شهر را
طلبید و گفت درین شهر ما تا این غایت اباحت و زرق
و بدعت نبود شمارا چه افتاد که همه خاموش داشته اید تا
زراقی در آمده و خلق را از راه می برد قاضی گفت مولانا
چه کوی در حق کسی که اگر ترا میکوید بر خیز نمی
توانی نشست و اگر میکوید خاموش نمی توانی گفت و یا

مشاهده کردی مقر شدی او منکر است که در حق خود
مشاهده کند منکر تر گردد قاضی گفت اگر چند سخن
شما صدقست (c) اما عقل من قبول نمیکند که کسی در حق
خود مشاهده کند و مقر نیاید شیخ گفت بتو نمایم تا قبول
کنی باز کشت و بخانقاه در آمد چون شیخ را چشم بر محمد
منصور افتاد دعای بکفت و نفس بجانب او افکند و کفت
قم باذن الله هم در ساعت بر بای خاست شور از خلق بر آمد
محمد منصور لکد بر کرسی میزد و بانگ میکرد و میگفت
ای یاران بدانید و آگاه باشید که حق را با ظاهر و باطن محمد
منصور فضلهای نامتناهی بوده و خواهد بود یکجندی
بما عتاب (d) داشت مارا بنشانند اکنون نظر رحمت
صادر کشت مارا بر انکیخت تا کسی ظن نبرد که بکفت
هر زرقی و طراری و اباحتی رنکی بمثل این کارها کند
شیخ برخاست و کفت چون ترا اعتقاد نیست که حق
تعالی بعد از اذن بدر خواست بندگان خاص خود
کاری بکند دست بر هم زد و کفت بنشین و خاموش
باش در حال بر سر کرسی بلرزید و بنشست و زبانش

سینه عورت مالید و فاتحه برو خواند و دعا گفت شیخ قاضی را گفت اجازت میدهی تا چادر باز کند و سلام گوید و باز نشیند که حق تعالی او را شفا داد از بس شادی که بدل قاضی رسید [10 v.] (a) گفت چه جای آنست کنیزك شماست شیخ گفت ای عورت بنشین و چادر باز کن چادر باز کرد و بنشست و سلام گفت بس شیخ قاضی را گفت عصای بدست او ده تا بخانه دیگر رود عورت عصا بدست گرفت و بخانه دیگر رفت و صحت یافت دیگر چون شیخ از خانه قاضی بیرون آمد کذر ایشان بر در خانقاه محمد منصور سرخسی افتاد و او بر کرسی نشسته مجلس میگفت قاضی بیش آمد و گفت خلقتی از مرد و زن از نفس شما صحت (b) یافتند و امام محمد منصور مرد بزرگ و عالمست و بهر دو پای مفلوح او را بر کرسی می نهند و چون مجلس گفت او را فرو می آرند اگر بنفس مبارك شما حق تعالی او را صحت بخشد عظیم کاریست شیخ فرمود یا قاضی او منکرست قاضی گفت من نیز منکر بودم چون بدیدم مقرر شدم شیخ فرمود که تو منکری بودی که در حق غیر

اگر مردست با خود بیرون می برد و اگر زن است بخانه
 دیگری فرستد اگر فرمای او را بیارم قاضی وکیل را جفا
 گفت که مرا هم ازین جهال می شماری وکیل خاموش شد
 و بیمار رنجورتر گشت تا بجای رسید که هفت شبانه روز
 (c) آب و طعام بکلوی او نرفت و قاضی بسیار دل تنگ شد
 که زنرا دوست میداشت تا روزی همین وکیل گفت یا
 مولانا این مرد را بفلان جای می برند و کذر او بر در سرای
 تست اگر او را بر بالین بیمار خود آری اگر به نشود باری
 بعید و باز می (. . .)^۱ قاضی درآعه در پوشید و دستار بر
 سر نهاد و در بس در مقام کرد چون شیخ بدر سرای قاضی
 رسید قاضی در سرای باز کرد و سلام گفت شیخ جواب
 داد گفت در پس در توقف کردی ما توقع استقبال
 نکردیم برو چادر در سر آن عورت (d) کش که او را بسیار
 زحمت دادی خون حق تعالی شفای او در نفس احمد نهاده
 است توجه خواستی کرد قاضی شیخ را در آورد و بر سر
 بالین بیمار بنشستند شیخ دست راست قاضی بگرفت و بر

^۱ باز می میرد

سعید گفتندی گفت یا شیخ این چه سید ست که بر خود
 بسته دست در دل کشیده و این سخن میگوی اگر طیبی
 کتاب و داروی تو کو کفتم فائده طیب به بالین بیمار بردن
 چه باشد [10] (a) گفت آنکه به شود کفتم مرا به بالین
 کدام بیمار بردی که به نشد گفت عجب دعوی میکنی
 مرا برد بسر بالین بیماری که افتاده یکساله بود و او مردی
 بود از معارف شهر بر بالین او بنشستم و فاتحه برو خوندم^۱
 و دعا کفتم بر خیز باذن الله تعالی هم در ساعت خدای تعالی
 او را شفا داد بس شیخ فرمود که کفش در پای کن تا بیرون
 رویم او در این یکسال بر پای نخاسته است کفش از
 کجا باشد شیخ گفت کفش دیگری در پا کن تا بیرون
 رویم کفش دیگری پوشید (b) و بیرون آمد آوازه
 در شهر افتاد و همگی روی بوی نهادند و بسر بالین بر بیمار
 که می بردند خدای تعالی شفای می بخشید تا قاضی شهر رازن
 بیمار بود و کیل دار القضا گفت یا مولانا شیخی هست که
 او را بر بالین هر بیمار که می برند در ساعت شفا می یابد

الهی احمد چه کرده است که از حضرت خود بمیان خلق میفرستی ندای شنید که چندین هزار خلق در راه هوا و طبیعت مانده اند همه را منتظر داشته ایم تا از نفس تو نجات و طریق خدای و شریعت و حقیقت روند چون عیان خلق آید آنچه این فقیر را معلومست ششصد هزار مرد ییکانه بر دست من توبه یافته اند

(باب) در کرامات که در شهر سرخس (c) ظاهر شده
 شیخ فرمود که بعد از شش سال که در کوه بزد جام بودم
 شبی وقت سحر آمد مناجات میکردم و امت محمد را از
 حضرت حق در میخواستم هاتقی آواز داد که ای احمد
 بشتاب و بسرخس رو که بیماری بر اهل سرخس گماشته ایم
 و شفای ایشان در نفس تو نهاده ایم برو که ما دران تعبیه است
 که کس راه فرا آن بردم دران ساعت برخاستم و روی
 بر جانب سرخس نهادم و کس ندانست که من کجا رفتم
 روزی در میان (d) بازار سرخس میگردیدم و آواز میدادم
 که طبیبانیم حکیمانیم و کس بمن التفات نمیکرد تا روزی
 بزرگی از معارف شهر بمن رسد که او را رشید الدین ابو

جشمه آب بود که از بالای کوه فرو می آمد کفتم خداوند اکر این آواز رحما نیست و حقیست (d) فرمان ده تا آب این چشمه بیالا رود که این کار جز تو نتوانی کرد شیطان را درین هیچ تصرف نتواند بود هنوز درین مناجات بودم که آب چشمه روی بیالا نهاد کفتم خداوند معلوم شد فرمان ده تا بجای خود باز رود اکنون عالم بزرگست بفرمای تا کجا روم روشنای پیدا آمد بر سان مشعله آوازی آمد که بر پی او میرو تا آنجا که ناپیدا شود [9 v.] (a) کوه بکوه بر پی او می رفتم تا بکوه بزد جام بدان مقام که نا پیدا شد مسجد بنا کردم و آنرا بدین سبب مسجد نور گویند و شش سال دران کوه می بودم و هر کس از هر جانب می آمدند و میرفتند و از ائمه و مشایخ اطراف نوشتهای می آوردند و جواب می بردند عنایت حق در حق این فقیر مشاهده می کردند و شیخ الاسلام ظهیر الدین عیسی قدس سره در کتاب رموز الحقایق میگوید که بعد از مدتی که شیخ در کوه ریاضتها کشید و او را ندا (b) رسید که بمیان خلق می باید رفت از آن سخن مدتها میگریست و میگفت

زمان است شیخ گفت دران ایام در میان کورستان بر کنار
 شهر زیارت میگردم ان سخنم پیاد آمد (b) از خداوند
 خواستم که قطب را به بینم از یش نظر کردم از جانب
 مغرب اورا دیدم بر دامن کوه قاف نشسته و جامه نورانی
 پوشیده من قصد کردم که یش اوروم و بدعا وصیت کنم
 مرا گفتند ای بی همت همه عالم باید که بتو حاجت بردارند
 تا تو شفیع ایشان باشی و تو از ما جدا خواستی بغیر ما التجا
 میکنی من خجل گشتم و تشویر خوردم دیگر امام محمد
 غزنوی گفت روزی از شیخ پرسیدم که بیرون آمدن
 شما از کوه (c) چگونه بود فرمود که بعد از دوازده سال
 که در کوه نامق بودم ناگاه روزی آوازی شنیدم که یا
 احمد بمیان خلق رو و خلق را راه هوا و طبیعت براه خدا
 و حقیقت دعوت کن و آن آواز بر من سخت عظیم و دشوار
 آمد زیرا که موانست حقی با مخالطت خلقی بدل
 میگردید بیت

کردیم سلام بر خلائق *

این راه کلید مشکل ما است *

پدرش درجه حاست جون شیخ برسید پدرش تمام شده بود زنجش بر بسته بودند و خلق کرد آمده شیخ بر خاست و وضو تازه کرد و نماز پیشین بکزارد و بر بالین او بنشست و حال برو متغیر کشته چنانکه کس را نشناختی و مردم از و هراس خوردندی (d) در مناجات استاد و گفت خداوندا از تو این طمع نداشتم که من حاضر نباشم و پدر مرا بری و حال او ندانم که جون شد در مناجات بود تا نماز دیگر دست دراز کرد و زنج او باز کرد خواجه ابو الحسن بنشست و بسخن گفتن آمد و گفت بدیدم احوال آن جهان و کار پسر خود همه را ازان باید کرد که پسر من میکند و راه آنست که او می رود گفت ای پسر چه باید کرد گفت [9] (a) اول توبه باید کرد و کلمه شهادت تازه بگفت شیخ ابو الحسن توبه تازه کرد و کلمه شهادت بگفت و بعد ازان شش روز در حیات بود چنانکه شیخ میخواست دیگر وقتی شیخ از کوه نامق بمزارات نیسابور آمده بود چند نوبت پیش او گفتند که قطب الاقطاب که میخ زمین است زنده نیست و رفتن او علامت آخر

در کردن افکنده در آمدند آغاز بدمستی کردند و انشمندان
و هر کس حاضر بر دهمه بکریختند شیخ با چهار (b) تن بماند
ملحدان این بیت می گفتند بیت

ما مردانیم جهان بمردی داریم *

از نامردان جور جرا برداریم *

شب تا نیمی سپر بکردن داریم *

ما تیر ز سنک خاره می بگذاریم *

شیخ را از آن بیت وقت خوش شد گفت تیر شما کار نکند
اما تیر اولیای خدای کوش دارید و او هم این بیت بگفتن
گرفت پاری^۱ او می گفت و ایشان می گفتند کاری بجای رسید
که آن سه تن ملحد جامها پاره کردند و در پای شیخ افتادند
و مویها می کنندند و جامه می دریدند و هر سی (sic) تن
(c) ملحدان مسلمان شدند و تائب گشتند و بران بماندند
و باز رفتند و آن زر بمردم بماند و کس باز نستاند دیگر اخی
علی اسفرغابدی گفت شیخ وقتی بکوه پای نامه^۲ بود
و پدر وی خواجه ابو الحسن ناتوان بود او را خبر کردند که

? نامق^۳ پاره^۴

در شبانه روزی پیش ازان نیست از خادم پرسیدم که
 چند کاهست که او جنینست گفت دوازده سالست که
 در خدمت اویم اورا جنین یافتم بیشتر معلوم نیست دیگر
 (d) شیخ گفت در اوّل وقت که توبه کردم قرب دو سال
 هر عذاب که در دوزخ بود در همه وقت میدیدم دعا کردم
 تا خدای تعالی آنرا از چشم من پوشیده کرد دیگر دران
 وقت که اسماعیل کیلکی از روستای ترشیز خمس می
 ستاند شیخ از کوه بده نامق آمده بود و مردم آن ده بنزد
 شیخ آمدند که سی تن ملحدان آمده و از ده ماهفت
 هزار زر رکنی میخواهند و بو الحسن فارسی را بسیار
 استحقاف کردند و این [8 v.] (u) بو الحسن فارسی یکی
 از معارف نامق بود و مرید شیخ کس فرستاد که اگر
 مال میخواهید زجر و استحقاف جرمی کنید برخیزید
 و سلامت بروید و اگر نه چنانچه باید تا ان بیرون کنیم
 چون پیغام بملحدان رسید بقصد شیخ آمدند دانشمند علی
 جعفر شیخ و یاران را دعوتی ساخته بود هنوز خوان ننهاد
 بود که ملحدان آمدند و خمر خورده سه تن ازیشان تیغها

نزدیک بود که از سر مقام خود بیفتم ناگاه عنایت ربانی و کرم سبحانی در رسید بسر این فقیر غیور در دادند که همچنانکه او را درین عالم امتحان کردی در عالم بالا امتحان کن از بس دقت (b) نظر که او را دیده بودم نظر بر فلک رحل (?) انداختم دانستم که نمی بیند بتدریج بنشیب آدم تا بحرغان رسیدم که خدای تعالی میفرماید اَلْم یُرِی الی الطیر مسخرات فی جو السماء و ازین هم فروتر هیچ نکفت دانستم که نمی بیند بسر من فرو دادند که احمد فرق یافتی میان اسلام خود و کفر او ما بر هیچکس ستم نکنیم او در راه ما مجاهده میکند و ترا معلوم نیست که رنج کشیده اگر در دینی مکافات کار خود نیابد در آخرت چون مشرکست بدوزخش برند ظلم باشد آن مکافات (c) کار اوست که در دینی داده ایم اگر اسلام روزی کنیم هر دوسر او برد و اگر نکنیم او را بر حضرت ماجیزی باقی نمانده باشد چون ساعتی توقف کردم خادمی آمد و طبق بر دست یش او داشت بادام مغز چند سفید بود بر انجا هفت بادام مغز بخورد و یش من داشت من بخوردم و دانستم که غذای او

خانه بیرون کرد شیخ صایم بود و روزه بکشاده بود بمسجد آمد و شب در مسجد مناجات میکرد که خداوندا مادر و پدر و قرابتی را که کردند بیری داشتم که (با) او اُنسی بود او نیز مرا رَد کرد و از خانه بیرون کرد ندانم تا من چه کسی ام چون پاره از شب گذشت شیخ ابو طاهر بدر مسجد آمد طبق بردست و کریان در بکوفت شیخ در باز کرد شیخ ابو طاهر در بای شیخ افتاد و گفت مرا بجل کن که من (d) ندانستم و در حق تو تقصیر کردم شیخ گفت چه بود که پشیمان شدی گفت خضر آمد و با من عتاب کرد و گفت ترا با احمد کار نیست که راه اینست که او می رود و درو تصرف نشاید کرد دیگر شیخ گفت روزی بر سر کوهی نشسته بودم باطراف عالم نظر کردم نظر من بر کوهی از کوههای روم [8] (a) افتاد و صومعه دیدم زاهدی آنجا نشسته همچنانکه من او را می بینم او مرا می بیند بنزدیک او رفتم هر چه درین چند سال بر من رفته بود نشان باز داد گفتم ما دینک گفت انا نصرانی گفتم فرق میان اسلام من و کفر او چیست غیرت من بجای رسید که

و مرا دران غار برد بس سر بر زانوی من نهاد و مرا
 مراعات کرد چون وقت نماز نزدیک آمد دل من بنماز
 معلق شد من بر خاستم اشارت سوی در کرد دانستم که
 میگوید بیرون رو بیرون آمدم بعد از آن تا دران کوه بودم
 با او دران غار می بودم تا اگر دو روز یا سه روز اینجا نرسیدی
مرا طلب داشتی و هر کجا بودی نزدیک من آمدی
 دیگر روزی شیخ (b) بنزد شیخ ابو طاهر کرد رفت که پیر
 صحبت او بود بزیارت داماد او دانشمند ابو بکر شیخ ابو
 طاهر کرد روی سوی او کرد و گفت چرا دست از
 کسب برداشته که خضر گفت که اگر کسی پوست
 آهو پوشد و سر خار و درمنه خورد و در میان خار و خلوله
 خسبید همه از دنیا است شیخ گفت خضر این نکوید و اگر گفته
 است تو او را بکوی که تو درخت انار کشتی بر سر آن
 چشمه تا در سایه آن عبادت کنی روی از تو باز نکرد تا ترا
 به بندگی بیفکند دیدی آنچه دیدی شیخ ابو طاهر در حشم
 (c) شد و گفت کار تو بجای رسید که در خضر سخن
 کوئی و سخن بدان انجامید که شیخ ابو طاهر شیخ را از

بسته بود نفس گفت سخن من نمی شنوی سخن خدای
 بشنو که وَلَا تَلْقُوا بِأَيْدِيكُمْ إِلَى التَّهْلُكَةِ باین در ماندیم
 و ساعتی بر لب آن نشسته فکر میکردم و خون از اعضاء من
 میرفت ناکاه در زیر نخ مکسی دیدم بر روی آب می کشت
 گفتم ای بی معنی ازین مکس ضعیف تر نیستی آنکه
 اورا نگاه میدارد اگر خواهد ترا هم نگاه دارد خرقة بنهادم
 و سنك بر گرفتم و بخ بشکستم و در آب نشستم سر آب جمله
 خون گرفت ساعتی توقف کردم تا آب خون ببرد (d) پس
 خود را بشستم و بر آمدم جراحتهای من درست شده بود
 و هیچ اثر آن نمانده بود خرقة در پوشیدم و باز کشتم نخجیران
 و بزبان از کوه روی بمن نهادند و من بر جای نشستم و تسبیح
 میکفتم تا نزد من آمدند و مرا در میان گرفتند و نفس فرا
 من نهادند تا عرق از من روان شد پس ناکاه هر ار خوردند
 و روان شدند چون نگاه کردم ازدهای عظیم دیدم روی
 بمن نهاده و من برقرار نشستم کرد من برآمد [7 v.] (a) و سر
 بر کنار من می زد اشارت بجانب کوه میکرد من بر اشارت
 او روان شدم تا مرا بدر غاری برد که انجا نرسیده بودم

میرفت ستوربان این حال بدید بیش شحنه رفت و گفت دیوانه‌را در طویله باز داشته تا اسبان جمله دیوانه شدند و صورت حال باز گفت شحنه آن سخن باور نداشت آمد و بخود (sic!) این حال مشاهده کرد و مرا بیرون آورد و از من عذرها خواست و برفت من بجانب کوه باز آمدم و مدتی چند سال از کوه نیامدم و حق تعالی از خانه جود خود صاحب فرضان مرا (b) چون بامداد برخاستندی در زیر بالین هر یکی یک من کندم و یک دینار پیدا آمده بودی بقدرت خدای تعالی دیگر گفت سالی زمستان سرد بوده و پناهی نداشتم روزی نفس گفت تا کیم رنجه میداری مرا خانه کرم و پالوده نرم میباید برفتم و پشته خار که آنرا سکیل خوانند آوردم و بر زمین پهن کردم و خرقة برکندم و بران خار غلطیدم و میکفتم بکیر جامه کرم و پالوده نرم تا جمله اعضاء من مجروح شد و خارها در اعضاء من شکست و از جراحتها خون روان شد بس بر خاستم (c) و خرقة بر داشتم و روان شدم تا جشمه که انجا غسل کردم چشمه بخ

آمد که در خانه متاع اقمشه داری و برون آن چیزها چهل
 خست که در وی خمر بوده کو بر خود خرج کنند و چون
 دانی که تمام شد و چیز دیگر نماند آنکه بغمخوار کی مشغول
 شو چون ساعتی بر آمد بخاطر من در دادند که یا احمد تو
 نیکو رونده نه^۱ باشی که توکل بر خم خمر کنی راه غلط
 کرده توکل بر کرم حق کن تا او صاحب فرضان ترا از
 خزنه فضل و کرم خود روزی رساند که رزاق بر حقیقت
 اوست پس پیخود از کوه بر آمدم و در خانه رفتم و عصا در
 (d) گردانیدم و خمها شکستن گرفتم شحنه را خبر دادند که
 احمد از کوه در آمد و جنون بروی غالب کشته هر چیز
 که می بیند می شکند و می ریزد شحنه کس فرسیاد و مرا از
 خانه بیرون آورد و در طویله اسبان باز داشت و من بر سر
 آخر نشسته دست بر هم میزدم و می گفتم (بیت) اشتر بجراس
 میگرد صد کرد * تو نیز ز بهر دوست کردی در کرد
 [7] (a) همه اسبان دهان از علف بر داشتند و سر بردیوار
 میزدند و بر کرد طویله میگردیدند و آب از چشم ایشان

بود که پای برنج دارد چون روز آمد بخانه شد [6 v.] (a) پدر و مادرش گفت ترا چه بوده است گفت آری مرا کاری بیش آمد که میگویم کاش من نبودم یا بخلاف رضای خدای عز و جل دم نزدی (sic) اقربای بد و ابلیس با حشم خود کرد او در آمدند و هر یکی فصلی در دادند که چه وقت توبه و ریاضت تست گفت برخیزید و از بس کار خود بروید که شما همه بد خواه من اید چون ایشان برفتند او برخاست و ایشانرا بکذاشت و ازین کوه و ازین شهر بان شهر و ازین زیارت بان زیارت میرفت و در هر (b) نشیب و بالا می افتاد وقت بودی که نیست روز و یکماه طعام نخوردی بعضی باختیار و بعضی با اضطرار و جامه و کفش و دستار فراخور یکدگر کهنه پشمینه داشتی و زمستان و تابستان رکوی پارها بران دوخته تا عورت وی پوشیده بودی دیگر شیخ فرمرد که یکجندی بر آمد ز توبه من و من در کوه بودم روزی بخاطر من در دادند که احمد راه حق جنین روند که تو میروی قومی صاحب فرضانرا رها کرده و حق ایشان در کردن تست راه جگونه (c) انجام گیرد بعد ازان خاطر دیگر

شدند و همه روی بکار خیر نهادند و هریک صاحب کمال و خداوند حال کشتند و من واله وار روی بکوه نهادم و بعبادت و ریاضات مشغول شدم سبب توبه من این بود هرده سال مجاهدت کردم دوازده سال در کوه نامق (c) و شش سال در کوه بز دجام و درین هرده سال هر مجاهده که همه اولیاء خدای تعالی کرده بودند و مرا روشن شد من آن همه بجای آوردم و بران مزید کردم و این بیت اشارت بان کرده است احمد جامی که خواندی زنده پیل حضرتش *

ز آتش هرده سال در رزم کران انداختی

(باب) در کرامات شیخ قدس الله روحه که در ابتداء توبه و ایام مجاهدات واقع شده اول امام محمد غزنوی میگوید که در ابتداء عهد روزی برف و سرمای سخت بود شیخ وقت نماز دیگر غسل برآورد (d) و صومعه بود در بیش نامق دران صومعه رفت و بنماز مشغول شد نیم کزنج بسته و او از جرارت ندامت بدانست که پای برنج دارد و تا بوقت صبح عبادت کرده چون بیرون آمد آنجا که پای نهاده بود نیم کزنج کداخته بود و تا ساقها آب برآمده آنکه دانسته

جون خالی شد و دراز گوش را سخت می رنجانیدیم تا زودتر بازآیم که دل با حریفان داشتم ناگاه آواز بکوش رسید که احمد این حیوان را جرامی رنجانی ما اورا فرمان نمی دم (sic) تا برود و از شحنة عذر میخواهی و قبول نمیکنند [6] (a) چرا از ما عذر نمیخواهی تا ما از تو قبول کنیم روی بر زمین نهادم و کفتم الهی توبه کردم که بعد ازین خمر نخورم فرمان ده تا دراز گوش برود تا من در روی ان قوم خجل نشوم دراز گوش روان شد چون بخمخانه رسیدم جهل خم خالی بود و اثر یکجرعه خمر بر هیچ جای نبود خاطر من هنوز متعلق حریفان بود که دست خالی چگونه بیش ایشان روم بیک جانب خانه نگاه کردم سبوی دیدم دست بان بردم پر خمر بود بار کردم و باز کر دیدم چون باز رسیدم خمر بیش ایشان بردم قدحی بیش من آوردند کفتم (b) توبه کرده ام گفتند احمد بر ما می خندی یا بر خود الحاج کردند آوازی شنودم که یا احمد بستان و بجش و همه را بچشان بستدم چون بچشیدم غسل شده بود و حاضران را همه بجشانیدم جمله را ازان غسل شیرین شوری پدید آمد و در حال توبه کردند و از هم پراکنده

بود اما سبب توبه شیخ امام محمد غزنوی میگوید که از شیخ التماس کردم از ابتداء توبه خود و سبب و کیفیت آن اعلام باید فرمود شیخ فرمود که بیست دو ساله بودم که حق تعالی بکرم و لطف خود در توبه بر من بکشاد و مرا توبه کرامت کرد و سبب توبه من آن بود که چهل یار بودیم که پیوسته باهم صحبت داشتمی (sio) و شرب و بخرم مشغول بودی چون نوبت دور اهل فسق (c) و فساد بمن رسید شحنة ده غائب بود حریفان دور طلب داشتند من کفتم شحنة غایبست چون باز رسد دور بدهم گفتند ما توقف نکنیم باشد که او دیرتر آید کفتم سهلست چون باز رسد اگر مضائقه کند دیگری بدهم چون شحنة باز رسید دیگر نوبت دور طلب داشتند چون بوثاق آمدند و بطعام مشغول شدند و کس بخمخانه رفت تا خمر آرد تمام خمها خالی یافت درین خمخانه چهل خم پر خمر بود این حال از حریفان نهان داشتم و تعجبها کردم و از جای دیگر سبوی خمر (d) آوردم و در بیش ایشان نهادم و من بتعجیل تمام دراز کوش در بیش کردم و بسوی رز روان شدم تا به بینم که آن چهل خم پر خمر یک شب

نرسید ایشان برفتند و من ملازم حضرت شیخ شدم و بعضی از کرامات ایشان می نوشتم يك مقامات جمع کرده امام محمد غزنویست و دیگر مقامات شیخ احمد ترخستانی علیهما الرحمة و او از ولایت ترخستانه بود که حالا ان بلو کرا شیب جام گویند مردی بود مفتی و عابد و زیارت حضرت شیخ ابو سعید رسیده بود جنین منقولست که او قطب بود و از ابتداء [5 v.] (a) ظهور حضرت شیخ ملازم بود و صد و هشت سال عمر یافته بود و بعد از نقل شیخ چند سال در حیات بود تمامی احوال حضرت شیخ آنجه اورا معلوم بود نوشته و بعضی واقعات که بعد از فوت حضرت مشاهده فرموده نیز در مقامات نوشته مقامات حضرت شیخ این دو است برین نهج

(باب) در تاریخ ولادت و وفات و توبه شیخ و رحلت شیخ ابو سعید ابی الخیر قدس الله روحه العزیز در همین سال بوده است در شب جمعه چهارم شعبان و فوت (b) شیخ در هم (sic) محرم سنه ست و ثلثین و خمسّمائه بود که مدت حیوة او نود و شش سال و توبه او اثنی ستین و اربعّمائه

که جهل مفتی ملازم درس او بودند عزم کعبه کرده بود چون بجام رسید لباس تا جرانه پوشید و مخفی در وقتی که حضرت شیخ مجلس می گفت در مسجد درآمد و در بس ستون بنشست او را از معارف حضرت شیخ حالتی عظیم ظاهر شد بعد از آنکه شیخ از مجلس فارغ شد خادم خربزه آورد شیخ فرمود که هر کس را يك پهلوی بده خادم خربزه را ببرد و هر کس را يك پهلوی داد و مردم قریب پانصد (c) تن بودند چون همه را رسید امام محمد ازین حال بسیار متعجب شد و اعتقاد او بسیار شد يك پهلوی خربزه زیادت آمد بیش شیخ آورد و بنهاد چون امام محمد در ضمیر طالب آن شد شیخ (گفت) محمد غزنوی خود جرا پنهان میداری بیا و این پهلوی خربزه بستان امام محمد میگوید که چون مرا نمی شناخت و درین مجلس نمی دید ازین حالت تعجب و حیرت من زیاده شد پیش آمدم و شیخ آن پهلوی خربزه بمن داد مرا در دل اثر عظیم پدید آمد و مرید شدم و چون بمنزل رفتم یاران را اجازت دادم و گفتم شما بروید که کعبه مرا (d) اینجا است چند انچه اصحاب مبالغه کردند بجای

بشنیده باشد و دل ایشان این شرح ندارد که این سخنانرا بر
گیرند چه کنند سخن هست درین کتب که هر کیز^۱ بر خاطر
دل هیچ مدعی کذر نکرده است و بر زبان ایشان نرفته
است اما تو هر چه [5] (a) میدانی میخون^۲ و نصیب خویش
بر می گیر و هر چه ندانی از سرّان فرا می کذر تا در رنج
و کفت کوی نیفتی و اگر کسی باوّل که این کتاب بر خوانند^۳
سخنی بود که اورا معلوم نشود بهتر فرا گیرد تا آنکه معلوم
شود و نیز گفت که در کتب ما جندنان سخنان بکریر
معنی هست که در عالم بکردی نیابی و هر جا که بکوی
دست و زبان همه فرو بندی اما نیکو بر باید خوانند^۴ آنکه
آن سخنان اورا در کار کشید و کل دیده معرفت او شود
اورا از سمک بر فلک کشد

اما مقامات شیخ دو است اول آنست که امام

غزنوی جمع کرده (b) است و سبب آن بود که امام

محمد غزنوی از اکابر و امامان غزنه بود و جنین منقولست

خواند^۴ خواند^۳ میخوان^۲ هرگز^۱

هیچ استادی ورق نخوانده ام ازان بلکه همه بالهام حق بود و هر کس کتابی کند انرا از کتابهای دیگر برگیرد ما این کتابهای (sic) از دل بی غش و بی غل و بی حسد و تعصب بکاغذ آورده ایم نه از کاغذ بدل برده ایم و هر کتاب که جنین باشد انرا رنگ و بوی دیگر باشد که کتابهای دیگر را نباشد و در کتاب انس التائیین است که روندگان را بسوی حق هزار مقام (c) باشد وان هزار مقام درین جهل و پنج باب این کتاب مذکورست و در کتاب مفتاح النجاة است که این کتاب در بیان اعتقاد نوشته ام و این طریقه را و اعتقاد را در خواب بر حضرت رسالت صلی الله علیه وآله وسلم عرض کردم اگر از لفظ در بار او نشنودم که گفت سه بار هذا مذهبی خدا را مسامانی نکرده باشم و در کتاب بحار الحقیقة گفت نکرتا از سر دانشمندی و از سر ناشناختگی درین سخنان نگری که دین خویش و آن دیگران بر باد دهی بسیار خواجه و امامان هستند که درین (d) سخنان در اندیشند و ازین هیچ ندانند آنکه گویند این هیچ نیست که این سخنان در هیچ کتاب ندیده ایم و نشنوده ایم چون

و خمسمائة نوشت (d) کتاب اشعار يك مجلد این هفت کتاب در نه مجلد حالا در میان درویشان است و پنج مجلد دیگر در قترت چنکیز خان مفقود شده و جنین میکوبند که هر چهارده کتاب آنچه حاضر است و آنچه غائبست تمام در هندوستان در خزانه سلطان فیروز شاه بوده است اما کتب مفقودان پنج مجلد است کتاب فتوح الروح يك مجلد کتاب [4 v.] (a) اعتقاد نامه يك مجلد کتاب تذکیرات يك مجلد و شیخ قدس الله روحه العزیز در کتاب سراج السائرین میکوبید که از انواع علوم هیچ چیز نمی دانستم و بیست و دو ساله شده بودم الحمد راست بر نمی توانستم خواندخدای تعالی از خزانه فضل وجود و کرم خویش این جافی را جندان علوم روزی کرد که در عصر خویش هیچ امام چیزی بر من نتوانستند گرفت و هیچ علم پرسیدندی که مرا دران اشکال افتادی و اگر کسی در مسئله (b) با من خلاف کردی همه حق ان بودی که من گفته بودمی¹ و سیصد تا کاغذ تصنیف کرده ام در علوم ظاهری و باطنی و هر کیز بر

با خود بکعبه (sic) بردند و در راه فوت شد مدفن او در بیابان است دیگر دختر عمر فرافروزی دیگر از سرخس

(باب) در تصانیف شیخ و مقامات او قدس الله سرّه امام محمد غزنوی رحمه الله علیه گفت در مقامات که شیخ امّی بود و چیزی نخوانده بود خداوند عالم دری از عالم لدنی بروی کشاده گردانید و چهارده کتاب تصنیف کرد مشتمل بر علم شریعت و طریقت و حقیقت چنانکه همه مشائخ و علما پسندیدند و از آن نسخهای بر گرفتند و از آن کتب در عالم مشهور شد هیچ (c) عیبی نتوانستند گرفت کتاب انس التائبین چهل و پنج باب يك مجلد کتاب سراج السائرین هفتاد و پنج باب سه مجلد و این کتاب در سنه ثلاث عشر و خمسمائة نوشت کتاب مفتاح النجاة هفت باب يك مجلد در آخر شعبان سنه اثني و عشرين و خمسمائة نوشت کتاب روضة المذنبین سی باب و يك باب در سنه ست و عشرين و خمسمائة نوشت بنام سلطان سنجر ماضی کتاب بحار الحقیقه هرده باب يك مجلد در سنه سبع و عشرين و خمسمائة (نوشت) کتاب كنوز الحکمة بیست باب يك مجلد در ثلث و ثلثین

امام حلّ شد و امام را و همه درس را (sic) معلوم شد که انجنان جواب جز نتیجه ولایت و ثمره علم لدنی نیست امام از جای خود بر خراست و دست شیخ بوسید و اعتذار نمود و بجای فرود بنشست درین حال استر بنده امام درآمد و گفت استر باز گیر را تنک نیک می باید شیخ خادم خود را گفت که بوئاق رو و آن تنک که بدست خود بافته ام بیار چون خادم تنک بیاورد امام آن تنک بستاند و بوسید [4] (a) و بر بالای عمامه خود بست و گفت تنکی که از دست آنحضرت باشد جز تاج سرخ رازی را نشاید چهاردهم شهاب الدین اسماعیل مدفن او در قبله ترییت (sic) است در میان راه گذر رواق و کنبدی که کنبد سفید کویند و او نیز مجرّد بوده است و این فرزندان از هشت منکوحه بوده اند اول از برمس مادر فخر الدین ابو الحسن دیگر از بوزجان والدۀ عماد الدین عبد الرحیم دیگر از صاغو والدۀ شمس الدین مطهر و ظهیر الدین عیسی دیگر نیز دختر رئیس صاغو والدۀ (b) حمید الدین عبد الله دیگر از نيسابور و این منکوحه را

ظهیر الدین عیسی و او مجرد بوده است معاصر سلطان مرحوم سلطان غیاث الدین بود و کتاب سرالبدایع بنام او نوشت در سنه سبع و سبعین و خمسمائه و امام فخر الدین رازی رحمه الله علیه بدو ارادت تمام داشت شیخ احمد ترخستانی چنین روایت میکند که ابتداء ملاقات شیخ ظهیر الدین عیسی و امام فخر الدین با یکدیگر چنان بود که روزی ظهیر الدین عیسی بدرس امام (c) فخر الدین حاضر شد امام درس تفسیر میفرمود زیاده تعظیمی نکرد شیخ سخن چند گفت و مباحثه چند ایراد کرد امام و ائمه که حاضر بودند در درس امام حیران بنامندند و همه با او از مناظره بعجز و قصور تن در دادند امام گفت که شیخ زاده بغیر تفسیر در چه فن شروع کرده شیخ گفت از هر چه پرسند جواب شنودند امام گفت شیخ زاده عجب دعوی کرد با خود اندیشید گفت از مشایخ حکمتها و ریاضتها باید برسید که ایشان بدان فنون کمتر مشغول کردند و مدتی بود که امام را از ان علوم مشکلات بود و کسی نمی یافت که تحقیق آن کند آن مشکل را (d) از شیخ پرسید شیخ چنان جواب گفت که مشکل

فرموده و وصیت شیخ او را در بالای قبر شیخ دفن کردند
 فی الحال هر دو پای مبارک در قبر با خود کشید ادب شیخ
 را چنانچه قرب هزار کس زیاده این معنی را مشاهده کردند
 و او را یک بسر بود سراج الدین احمد دختر عم خود را که
 هبة الرحمن نام برد عقد کرد [3 v.] (a) و این فرزندان شیخ
 که در کاریز و کوسویه هستند از آن پسر و از آن دخترند
 نهم عماد الدین عبد الرحیم مدفن او در زیر قدم پدر اوست
 و او را یک بسر بود شرف الدین عبد الکریم دم شمس
 الدین مطهر مدفن او در فطمیرانست بناحیت هراة
 و فرزندان او در جام در تربت مقدسه و بزد و معداباد
 خربجرد (sic) و اسفرغابد و بردویه و زوراباد جام و خواف
 و باخرز و هراة و نیسابور درین تاریخ که شهر سنه اربعین
 و ثمانه تقریباً هزار تن خرد و بزرگ در حال حیوة اند و در
 شهر سمرقند و هندوستان (b) نیز هستند یازدهم بدر الدین
 صاعد مدفن او در بزد جامست در مسجد نور و او را فرزند
 نبود و بعضی گویند که مدفن او در صاغو جامست سیزدهم

¹ There is no 12th in the text.

و احمد فرزندان او در مغرب زمین بسیارند سیم صفی
 الدین محمود و مدفن او در رومست و جنین شهرت دارد که
 فرزندان او در روم بسیارند اما این سخن در مقامات شیخ
 احمد ترخستانی و مقامات امام محمد غزنوی نیست و او را
 سه پسر بود ابو المعالی (c) و صاعد و عمر چهارم قطب الدین
 محمد و مدفن او در برس است از توابع نيسابور بولایت
 رخ و فرزندان او آنجا بسیارند بنجم فخر الدین ابو الحسن
 و مدفن او در غزرا باد است بولایت جام و او را يك پسر
 بود عمر نام ششم نجم الدین ابو بكر مدفن او در بیابان
 کرمانست و او را يك پسر بود ابراهیم هفتم برهان الدین
 نصر مدفن او در کاریز صاعدست بناحیت زیرپل و او را
 دختری^۱ بود هبة الرحمن نام هشتم ضیاء الدین یوسف مدفن
 او در تربت شیخست در بالای قبر پدر او جنین منقولست
 (d) که درویش صاحب ولایت و صاحب کشف از مریدان
 شیخ شیخ را در واقع دید که گفت ضیاء الدین یوسف
 تاج سرماست او را در بالای سر ما دفن کنید چون بموجب

بن ابی طالب و او از حضرت مصطفی صلی الله علیه و سلم
و اله و صحبه

(باب) در ذکر اولاد و ازواج شیخ * حضرت شیخ
را چهل و دو فرزند بود سی و نه پسر بود و سه دختر و ازین
جمله چهارده پسر بود که [3] (a) بعد از وفات شیخ در میان
خلق بودند و همه را مقامات و کرامات و حالات و تصانیف
و تالیفات بود و همه را ولایت بود و خاص و عام آن همه
ازیشان مشاهده کرده بودند اما تفصل آن اگر درین کتاب
یاد کرده آید دراز گردد و کتب ایشان که دالّ است بر
ولایت ایشان سوی آنچه در فترت چنکزخان مفقود گشته
حالادر میان درویشان هست چون سرالبدایع و رموز
الحقایق و صراط السالکین و حدیقه شیخ الاسلام قطب
الدین و غیر ذلك و از این چهارده پسر شیخ اول رشید
(b) الدین عبد الرشید بود او را دو فرزند بود علی و ابو القاسم
و ازیشان فرزند نماند و مدفن ایشان در قریه ازغندست از
ولایت ترشزدویم جمال الدین ابو الفتح مدفن او در مغرب
زمین است و او را دو پسر بود عبد الرحیم و ازو عقب نماند

طاهر او را دید نشانهای پدر همه مشاهده کرد بر موجب وصیت بدر شرایط تعظیم بجای آورد خواست که خرقه تسلیم کند با خود اندیشید که خرقه از دست مبارک مصطفی صلعم بمرتضی رسید و ازو بواسطه چندین بزرگواران به پدر (c) من رسید آسان از دست نتوانداد چون شیخ ابو طاهر این اندیشه کرد شیخ گفت یا ابا طاهر در امانت خیانت نشاید کرد شیخ ابو طاهر اعتذار نمود و خرقه را حاضر کرد و در شیخ پوشید بس شیخ خرقه شیخ ابو سعید بحواله و وصیت او از دست شیخ ابو طاهر پوشید و شیخ ابو سعید از دست شیخ عبد الرحمن سلمی و او از شیخ ابو القاسم نصرآبادی و او از شیخ شبلی و او از شیخ جنید و او از شیخ سرتی سقطی و او از شیخ معروف کرخی و او از امام علی بن موسی الرضا و او از بدر خود امام موسی کاظم (d) و او از بدر خود جعفر صادق و او از پدر خود امام محمد باقر و او از پدر خود امام المسلمین و امیر المؤمنین امام زین العابدین بن علی اصغر و او از پدر خود امیر المؤمنین حسین و او از پدر خود امیر المؤمنین علی

می غسل کردد بدستش بتکده مسجد شود *

بیر عاشق بین که جون صاحب کرامات آمدست *

و فرمود [2 v.] (a) شیخ ابو طاهر را که ای فرزند وصیت من آنست که طریقه شریعت را نیکو رعایت کنی و خرقة مرا که در دست امانتست بس از وفات من بچند سال جوانی بیاید صاحب کمال احمد نام مردی باشد بیالا بلند رنگ روی او سرخ و سفید و محاسن او میگون چشمهای شهلا بس از آنکه از زیارت من فارغ گردد و تو در صحن خاتقاه نشسته باشی زنهار زنهار که او را تعظیم و احترام بسیار نمای و این خرقة را تسلیم او کنی چون آن مدتی که شیخ ابو سعید فرمود گذشت شیخ ابو طاهر پدر خود در واقعه دید (b) که با^۱ اصحاب بجای میرود گفت مخدوما کجا خواهید رفت گفت تو نیز بیا که قطب الاولیا میرسد باستقبال میرویم این شب که واقعه دید روزش باصحاب گفت دیگر روز ضحوة کبری شیخ احمد از زیارت شیخ ابو سعید قدس الله سرهما بخاتقاه درآمد چون شیخ ابو

^۱ MS. without با

خواهید *

بوزجانی و مولانا زین الدین ابوبکر تایبادی رحمهم الله
 جنین نوشته اند که شیخ در ایام (c) مجاهدت در کوه خرقة
 از دست خضر پوشیده و او در بر شیخ ابوطاهر کرد که
 بیر صحبت او بود و مرید شیخ ابو العباس قصاب بود
 و چون بمیان خلق آمد خرقة شیخ ابو سعید ابو الخیر پوشید
 بحواله و وصیت او از دست فرزند او ابو طاهر قدس الله
 سره چنانکه در مقامات شیخ ابو سعید مذکور است که در
 وقتی که شیخ ابو سعید ازین عالم نقل می فرمود فرزندان
 و مریدان حاضر گشتند که شیخ خرقة بکه حواله فرماید
 و معنی او^۱ نصیب که باشد شیخ فرمود که آنچه شما می طلبید
 حواله دگری (d) شد و علم شیخ مارا بر در خانه خماری
 زدند و کاری که مارا و همه مشایخ ماضی را بود بوی تسلیم
 کردند و او را برگزیدند و او هنوز هل من مزید میگوید
 شیخ عطار لایق این مقام گفته است (بیت)

دوش میگویند بیری در خرابات آمدست *

آب چشمش با صراحی در مناجات آمدست *

معنی، او

لشکر معاویه بودند هم از آن قبیله از لشکر خود در برابر مقرر
فرمود که با قبیله خود حرب کنند آزد با آزد و خشم با خشم
و علی هذا هر قبیله [2] (a) با قوم خود برابری کردند مگر
قبیله جریر و آنرا قبیله بجیله گویند که از آن قبیله هیچکس
در جانب معاویه نبود ایشانرا فرمود که با قبیله دیگر حرب
کردند که از آن قبیله نیز در لشکر عراق هیچکس نبود و در
تاریخ امام محمد هیصم مسطور است که امیر المؤمنین علی
رضی الله عنه جریر را تعظیم و احترام بسیار می نمود و او را
دوست می داشت و جریر را نیز با امیر المؤمنین محبت
و اخلاص تمام بود چنانکه یک روز امیر را بخانه خود ضیافت
کرد (b) امیر المؤمنین حسن و حسین را با خود بخانه او برد
چون برون آمدند آن روز شکرانه آنکه امیر و امیرین
مهمان او شدند هفت هزار شتر تصدق کرد و مناقب جریر
در کتب احادیث و تواریخ بسیار است این کتاب چون
مختصر است تتمه از مناقب او کفایت است

(باب) در خرقة و ذکر پیران حضرت شیخ * شیخ احمد
ترخستانی و امام محمد غزنوی و مولانا تاج الدین محمود

پانصد سوار از اخمس بردم که همه اصحاب خیل بودند و من
 بر اسب نمی توانستم ایستاد (c) بس حضرت رسول علیه
 الصلوة والسلام دست خود بر سینه من زد تا غایتی که اثر
 انکشتان مبارك او را در سینه خود دیدم و گفتم اللهم اثبتہ
 واجعله بادیاً مهدیاً یعنی بار خدایا او را ثابت دار و او را راه
 نماینده و راه نموده گردان بس جریر گفت بعد از این دعاء
 پیغمبر هر کیز و اسب نیفتادم و بعد از آن جریر برفت بسوی
 ذی الخلصه و انرا بشکست و بسوخت و کس بر رسول خدا
 فرستاد و بس رسول جریر پیغمبر را صلی الله علیه وسلم گفت
 سو کنند بان کسی که بر انکیخته است ترا بحق که نیامدم
 بیش تو تا ذی الخلصه بکذاشتم همچو (d) اشتر کرکین
 پیغمبر علیه السلام بنج نوبت گفت که برکت دهد خدای
 عزّ و جلّ در خیل اخمس و در مردان اخمس و نیز در جامع
 الاصول است که در حرب علی بن ابی طالب کرم الله وجهه
 لشکر آماده ساخت و معاویه اهل شام را بحرب امیر
 المؤمنین بیرون آورد علی رضی الله عنه از هر قبیله که در

را که کلان تران قبایل او بودند طلب کرد همه آمدند و ایمان آوردند ایشانرا فرستاد تا همه قبایل خود را بایمان دعوت کردند و اکثر مسلمان شدند و او ملازم آستان حضرت رسالت شد و دیگر از مدینه نرفت و در سنهٔ اربع و خمسين فوت شد و از وی چهار پسر ماند لیث و عبد الله و منذر و ابراهیم از ابراهیم عقب نماند و در کربلا با امیر المؤمنین حسین شهید شد و از آن سه پسر دیگر فرزندان بودند و بیستند^۱ و در جامع الاصول از بخاری و مسلم و ترمذی روایت (b) میکند که جریر گفت ما حجینی رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم وآله منذ اسلمت ولا رأی آلآ تبسم فی وجهی یعنی پیغمبر علیه الصلوة والسلام هرگز مرا محجوب نکردانید از آن روز باز که اسلام آوردم و هرگز و مرا ندید که در روی من نخندید و هم در جامع الاصول روایت میکند که جریر گفت که رسول صلی الله علیه وسلم مرا گفت خلاص نمیکنی مرا از ذی الخلصه و این ذی الخلصه خانه بود در خشم که انرا کعبه یمانیّه و شامیه گفتندی بس

¹ Sic!

شرف ایمان کرامت کند هر دورا ببرکت دعای پیغمبر
 علیه السلام والحبّة خدای عزّ وجلّ (c) اسلام روزی کرد
 و چون جریر در تاریخ سنه عشره از هجره که این سال را
 حجّة الوداع گویند ایمان آورد سی شش قبیله عرب که در
 حکم او بودند اکثر ایمان آوردند و مسلمان شدند و کیفیت
 ایمان آوردند و آن بود که اعراب بنزدیک او آمدند که چرا
 منع محمد قریشی نمیکنی که دعوی نبوت میکند گفت محمدی
 از قریش پیغمبر آخر الزمان خواهد بود تحقیق کنم اگر
 این مردان پیغمبر نباشد بمنع مشغول شویم روزی جمّازة
 سوار شد و منکر و اربمیدینه آمد و (d) بمسجد حضرت رسالت
 درآمد و سلام گفت حضرت رسالت جواب گفت
 و تعظیم او فرمود و ردای مبارک خود انداخت و دست او
 گرفت و او را بر بالای ردای خود نشاند او گفت یا محمد
 علامت انک رسول الله دانستم که تو رسولی خدائی ایمان بر
 من عرضه کن حضرت رسالت ایمان بروی عرضه کرد و او
 قبول کرد فی الحال مسلمان شد و جمّازة خود بکسی داد
 و مکتوب نوشت مهر کرد [1 v.] (a) و فرستاد سی شش کس

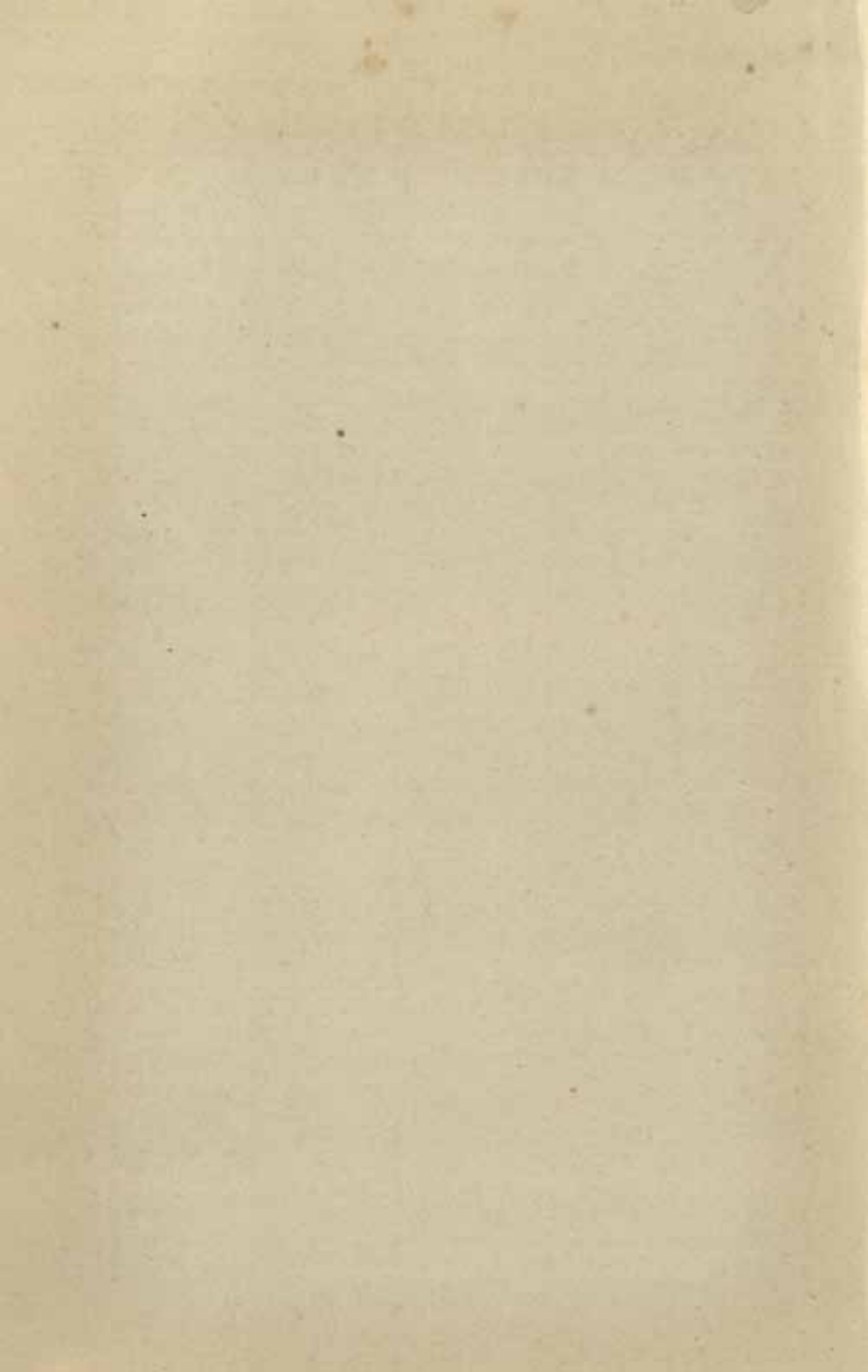
[1] (a) . . . ابن عبد الله بن لیث بن جریر بن عبد الله بن جابر وهو الشلیل بن مالک بن النصر بن ثعلبه بن حُشَم بن عویف.¹ بن حزیمة² بن حرب بن عامر بن مالک بن سعد بن مذیر³ بن قیس و هو مالک بن عبقر بن انمار⁴ بن آرَش بن عمرو بن الفوث بن نبت بن زید بن کهلان بن سباء البجلی الاخمس بن یَسْجُب بن یَعْرُب بن قحطان⁵ بن هُمَیْسَع بن جمیل بن قیذار بن اسماعیل بن ابراهیم صلوات الله علیهما⁶ و جریر عبد الله حاکم و بزرگ سید (b) یمین و طائف بود و در تاریخ امام محمد هیصم⁷ مذکور است که سی و شش قبیله عرب در تحت حکم او بودند و او مرد کریم و سخی و مهمان دوست و شجاع و غیور و عالی همت و نیکو صورت و پسندیده سیرت و مبارک قدم و کشاده روی و منبسط بود و حضرت پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و آله وسلم دعا کرده بود که جریر عبد الله بجلی و عدی بن حاتم را خدای تعالی

ابن MS. ² ؟ حزعه ؟ خریمه MS. ³ عویق MS. ¹

قحطان MS. ⁵ انمار MS. ⁴ مذر MS. ³

⁷ See about this genealogy—Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Quellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien*, 1852.

⁸ I could not find this title in any book of reference.



X

TWO NOTES ON JAVANESE ARCHÆOLOGY

By J. PH. VOGEL, Ph.D.

1. THE SHIP OF BORO-BUDUR

THE frontispiece plate of Mr. H. G. Rawlinson's recent work, *Intercourse between India and the Western World* (Cambridge, 1916),¹ gives a very fine reproduction of two bas-reliefs, placed one above the other, from the famous Javanese *stūpa* of Boro-budur. The most conspicuous object shown in the lower panel is a sailing vessel, which the unknown artist has rendered with remarkable skill and vigour, whilst the remaining portion of it exhibits some six men (apparently belonging to the vessel in question) being hospitably received by another party of people whose quaint-shaped dwelling is visible in the background. The author, evidently with reference to this scene, has felt at liberty to label the illustration "A Hindu Ship arriving at Java".

I am not certain in what manner Mr. Rawlinson has arrived at the above interpretation; but it is noteworthy that it closely agrees with the description given by Mr. E. B. Havell in his well-known work *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London, 1908), where we find those same two bas-reliefs reproduced on plate xxxv. "The subject of the panel below," Mr. Havell says (p. 123), "with the splendid relief of a ship in full sail, seems to be connected with the history of the colonization of Java by Indians, which has been already narrated. The ship, magnificent in design and movement, is a masterpiece in itself. It tells more plainly than words

¹ The book was reviewed by Mr. J. Kennedy in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1916, pp. 847 ff.

the perils which the Prince of Gujerat and his companions encountered on the long and difficult voyage from the west coast of India. But these are over now. The sailors are hastening to furl the sails and bring the ship to anchor. The contrast between the perils of the deep and the peaceful security of the haven they have now reached is drawn with the same extraordinary strength and truth of feeling which characterize all these reliefs. The Prince, with his wife and child, have already landed, and the simple and charming group on the left shows their meeting with the inhabitants. They are kneeling before the Prince and receiving thankfully the presents which he brings. On the roof of the native house two doves sit billing and cooing."

We may perhaps assume that Mr. Rawlinson has simply accepted Mr. Havell's able description of the scene without testing the correctness of the interpretation offered therein. The same seems to be the case with another author, Mr. Radhakumud Mookerji, who in his book *Indian Shipping* (London, 1912) has published an excellent photographic reproduction of the same sailing-vessel with the subscription "Indian adventurers sailing out to colonize Java". Mr. Mookerji's book contains some six more pictures of ships from the Boro-budur sculptures, but these are all very poor reproductions taken from Dr. Leemans' big, but unsatisfactory, work *Boroboudour dans l'île de Java* (Leiden, 1874).¹ Beneath each of those six pictures Mr. Mookerji invariably repeats the bold assertion that the portrayed sculpture represents "Indian adventurers sailing out to colonize Java".

Now regarding the exact manner in which Hindu civilization was carried to Java we know unfortunately

¹ The third of these six (it will be found on the plate facing p. 48 in Mr. Mookerji's book) represents in reality the same ship which we find on the frontispiece plate. A comparison of the two plates enables us to judge how very inadequate Dr. Leemans' reproductions really are.

very little indeed, but of this we may feel perfectly certain: what the artists of Boro-budur intended to picture has no relation whatever to the colonization of Java by the Hindus, but refers in reality to quite different subjects. In other words, the above-quoted identification is wholly unfounded.

Thanks to the exertions of various scholars, the interpretation of the great majority of the wonderful Boro-budur sculptures has so far succeeded (those of the upper two galleries still remain a puzzle) that we may confidently assert that the scenes sculptured on the great monument of Java are purely religious in character, and, moreover, that the artists who in patient labour set to work in order to adorn the gigantic stūpa followed certain Buddhist texts which have, partly at least, been preserved to us down to the present day. A Dutch scholar, Mr. C. M. Pleyte, has shown in detail and in a perfectly convincing manner that of the double row, each of 120 beautiful bas-reliefs, which decorates the first, or lowermost, gallery, the upper series renders the Buddha Śākyamuni's life (up to the delivering of the first sermon at Benares) exactly as it is described in the well-known Sanskrit work *Lalitavistara*.¹ Thus Mr. Pleyte, while very closely following the text, has been able to explain each of these 120 sculptures. In the upper panel of Mr. Rawlinson's frontispiece plate we recognize the 86th scene of this Buddha series: it shows us the Bodhisattva's bath in the Nairāṇjanā stream, as told in the 18th chapter of the *Lalitavistara*.²

¹ C. M. Pleyte, *Die Buddha-legende in den Skulpturen des Tempels von Boro-budur* (Amsterdam, 1901). The Dutch author, in writing his book, has wisely chosen a language more generally understood than his native tongue. It is, indeed, much to be deplored that so many excellent studies devoted by Dutch scholars to the antiquities of Java are, owing to their being written in the Dutch language, inaccessible to the great majority of Indologists outside Holland.

² In this upper panel Mr. Havell (op. cit., p. 122) wishes us to see "the story of the conversion of the Javanese to Buddhism in the

Now as regards the lower row of sculptures, likewise arranged along the main wall of the first gallery and running parallel with the Buddha series, I may refer the reader to an excellent study by M. Alfred Foucher, the distinguished French scholar, whose authority on the subject of Buddhist art no one will doubt.¹ M. Foucher has established that in this series the sculptor has illustrated certain edifying tales, *nidānas* and *jātakas*, namely, the *Sudhanakumāravadāna*, the *Māndhātṛavadāna*, the *Śibijātaka*, the *Rudrāyaṇāvadāna*, the *Kinnarajātaka*, and the *Maitrakanyāvadāna*. The bas-reliefs illustrating these tales have been identified with full certainty from various literary sources, but no text is known in which they succeed each other in the same order as on the monument. In the present case we are, therefore, led to assume that the artist has here followed some collection of *nidānas* and *jātakas* which is no longer extant. Considering the great popularity of such edifying stories, it seems plausible that other collections have existed besides the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Avadānaśataka*, which have survived.

However this may be, M. Foucher's researches have placed beyond doubt that the lower panel of Messrs. Havell and Rawlinson's plate (it is No. 86 of the *Nidāna* series, as the upper one is No. 86 of the Buddha legend) refers to the concluding portion of the *Rudrāyaṇāvadāna* (No. xxxvii of the *Divyāvadāna*). There we read of the two ministers Hiru and Bhiru, who, after having escaped by sea from Roruka, founded two cities named after them Hiruka and Bhiruka. It is the voyage and landing of Hiru which we find illustrated in our panel No. 86, whilst the landing of his colleague Bhiru is pictured in

beautiful legend that Buddha himself came over the sea, floating on a lotus-flower, to give his divine message to the people".

¹ A. Foucher, "Notes d'archéologie bouddhique. Le Stāpa de Borobudur": BÉFEO., tome ix, pp. 1 sqq., 1909.

the bas-relief No. 88, which is very similar in subject but decidedly inferior in artistic merit. (This No. 88 will be found reproduced in Mr. Mookerji's *Indian Shipping* on the plate facing p. 46. The other panel on this plate illustrates the *Supāragajātaka*, being No. 14 of the *Jātakamālā*. As stated above, Mr. Mookerji inscribes both "Indian adventurers sailing out to colonize Java" !)

Now it might be argued that, while granting that M. Foucher's interpretation is correct and the sculpture in question refers to legendary lore and not to a historical event, the unknown artist, when he undertook to illustrate the arrival of Minister Hiru's ship, had before his mind's eye some familiar scene which he had witnessed himself in one of his Javanese ports, e.g. the landing of some Hindu merchants (or adventurers, if you like) from the Indian continent. This possibility must be conceded, but it is nothing but a possibility, and there would be just as much (or as little) ground for labelling the sculpture under discussion: The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing landing at Śrī-bhoja !

That the sculptor did portray a ship such as he knew in his days, and such as he had seen with his own eyes, is a fact which no one will doubt, and which, apart from its artistic merit, renders the sculpture highly interesting from an ethnographic point of view as well. But for the rest, we can only reiterate that the subjects which we find illustrated on Buddhist monuments both in India and Java are invariably religious, and that the only safe method of identifying them is that followed with such signal success by M. Foucher and others: the comparison of the sculptured scenes with the sacred texts.

2. THE HEADS OF CHANDI BHĪMA

On plate xli of Mr. E. B. Havell's well-known work *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London, 1908), which has so vastly contributed to ensure a better appreciation

of Indian art among both Europeans and Indians, we find an excellent reproduction of two heads from the roof of the Javanese temple Chandi Bhīma on the plateau of Diēng.¹ The plate is labelled: Two heads of Bhīma. In Mr. Havell's letterpress we read the following comment: "Two ethnical types of extraordinary beauty and character are given in plates xli and xlii. The first two represent Bhīma, one of the great heroes of the Mahābhārata, famous for his strength and courage. They are taken from a temple dedicated to him on the plateau of Diēng, Central Java. The other is Buddha himself, also from Java.

"At first sight the suggestion they give of ancient Egyptian or Greek art is almost startling. There is the greatness of line, splendid generalization, and profound abstraction of the best Egyptian sculpture, and all the refinement of Greek art. But the similarity comes only from the kinship which exists between all truly great works of art, for these types are wholly Indian.

"The contrast of the two characters is given with a depth of penetration which belongs only to the grandest portraiture. In Bhīma's head the artist, with a few bold, clearly drawn forms, shows us the born fighter and leader of men. In the large, square forehead, the full, firm jaw, the eyes set wide apart, and the determined mouth—half-savage, even cruel when his blood is roused—we recognize a young Alexander, a fighter who knows his own strength and revels in it. All his desires and aims are human, yet there is nothing low or brutal in his nature. He is a great national hero, a war-lord fit to lead and command a noble, free-born race."

The starting-point of Mr. Havell's eloquent passage, it will be noticed, is the supposition that the two heads

¹ A view of this temple is given in James Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, rev. ed. (London, 1910), vol. ii, pl. xlix. As the temples on the Diēng plateau must have been Brahmanical, the statement that the heads in the sunken niches of the spire are Buddha heads cannot be maintained.

of his plate xli represent Bhīmasena or Bhīma, the second of the five Pāṇḍava brothers. Presumably the name of Chandi Bhīma has led Mr. Havell to assume that the sanctuary to which it is applied must have been dedicated to Bhīma, and, taking this for granted, he has concluded that the heads which decorate the roof were meant to portray the hero in whose honour the temple was raised. Unfortunately both assumptions, as I will endeavour to show, are equally erroneous.

Among the population of India there exists a very marked tendency to connect any ancient remains of unknown origin either with Rāma or with the Pāṇḍavas. Thus it happens that popular belief credits those renowned heroes with the foundation of many a temple. Monoliths like the famous columns of Asoka are often popularly called "Bhīmsen's mace",¹ for it is particularly the gigantic and uncouth Bhīmasena or Vṛkodara ("Wolf-belly") who is the favourite of the lower classes. A well-known instance of this tendency is offered by the famous group of rock-cut temples (called *raths* or chariots) at Māmallapuram, south of Madras. The principal of these so-called *raths* is named after Dharmarāja (= Yudhisṭhira), the eldest of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, the next two to Bhīma and Arjuna respectively, and the fourth (which is smallest in size) to Draupadi, whilst a fifth temple, which is situated apart from the others, is connected with the twins Nakula and Sahadeva.

In reality these temples have nothing whatsoever to do with the Pāṇḍavas and their common spouse Draupadi. That they cannot have been built by those legendary personages will hardly need to be demonstrated; but there

¹ "The erection of the pillar [of Navandgarh]," Sir Alexander Cunningham says, "is ascribed to Raja Bhīm Māri, one of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, to whom most of the pillars in India are now ascribed. I could not learn anything regarding the title of Māri" (ASR., vol. i, p. 74).

is positive proof that they were not even dedicated to them. (As far as my knowledge goes, there is in the whole of India not a single instance of a temple dedicated to the Pāṇḍavas collectively or to any of them separately.) From two inscriptions found on the so-called *rath* of Dharmarāja it appears that this shrine was dedicated to Śiva by the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I, surnamed Mahāmalla, who reigned in the first half of the seventh century of the Christian era and after whom the locality received its designation of Māmalla- (i.e. Mahāmalla-) puram. There is some reason to assume that of the remaining four temples one was sacred to Indra and another to Durgā.¹

Let us now return to Java. When the Hindus came to the island, they carried with them their favourite sagas of Rāma and of the Pāṇḍavas, embodied in the two great epics Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, and these tales became in Java as popular as they were on the Indian continent. Adaptations in the language of the country were made, but by far the most powerful means of popularizing them was the *wayang*, i.e. the Javanese puppet show. For the *lakons*, or plays enacted at this most favoured entertainment, were and are still preferably borrowed from the thrilling adventures either of Rāma or of the Pāṇḍavas. Thus we may account for the remarkable circumstance that, notwithstanding the wholesale conversion of the Javanese to Islām, those Pagan personages have remained the national heroes of Java up to the present day. In fact, among the natives of Java it is firmly believed that those ancient princes lived and reigned nowhere else but in their island.

So it can be readily understood how, owing to that same tendency which we noticed in India proper, popular imagination has sought to connect the leading personages of the great epic with the group of ancient temples found

¹ Cf. ASR. for 1910-11, p. 54.

on the Diëng plateau in Central Java, of which the Chandi Bhîma is one of the best preserved and the most remarkable. It is, indeed, a curious repetition of what we have had occasion to notice with regard to the so-called "Seven Pagodas" on the Coromandel coast. Thus on the Diëng, too, each of the temples is ascribed to a particular hero of the Mahābhārata. It is peculiarly interesting that not only Yudhiṣṭhira (or Puntadeva, as he is called in Java), Arjuna, and Bhîma—in fact quite a number of the chief heroes of the epic of India—have each their sanctuary assigned to them, but among the smaller and more ruined shrines there are three allotted to, and named after, the purely Javanese figures of Semar and his two sons Petruk and Nalagareng, who are the clowns of the *wayang*. Here also the influence of the *wayang*, to which reference has been made above, is therefore unmistakable.

About the real history of the Diëng temples very little is known.¹ From inscriptions found in the neighbourhood it has been surmised that the Diëng buildings are among the earliest Hindu monuments of Central Java and possibly date back to about 800 A.D. The images which have come to light here are not Buddhist, but Brahmanical, and more particularly Śaiva, in character. Anyhow, this much is certain: that the designations of Chandi Puntadeva, Arjuna, Bhîma, etc., by which these edifices are nowadays known, are merely popular names which possess no more value for their origin and history than is the case with the five rock-cut shrines of Māmallapuram.

As to the quaint decoration of the roof, consisting of human heads peeping out of horse-shoe arched niches, it is undoubtedly one of the many elements of Javanese art which were borrowed from India. In the early

¹ Cf. Dr. R. D. M. Verbeek's *List of Antiquities of Java*, published in the Proceedings of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, vol. xlv, 1891.

Buddhist monuments of the Indian continent we can trace the origin of this decorative device. I may draw special attention to the great brick temple of Bhitargaon, Cawnpore district, the roof of which is adorned in the same curious fashion. We find such heads also in the Pallava temples of Māmallapuram, and in this instance we may perhaps assume a close connexion with Javanese architecture.

Supposing, therefore, for a moment that the Chandi Bhīma had in reality been dedicated to Bhīma the Pāṇḍava (for which assumption, as we saw, there exists no proof), even then it would be a rash and unwarrantable conclusion that the heads used to decorate the roof should necessarily portray the deified hero. Whatever then the artistic merit of these sculptures may be—a matter in which we are ready to acknowledge Mr. Havell's judgment—we seriously apprehend that the heroic character which he discerns in these heads has in a measure been suggested by an assumption which cannot be accepted as correct.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE WIND, THE PHOENIX, AND A STRING OF SHELLS

The latest contribution of that brilliant antiquarian, M. Lo Chên-yü, to our knowledge of the primitive pictography of the Chinese race is, paradoxical though it seems, the publication in a small and admirably printed volume of one thousand unknown characters occurring in the several collections of inscribed bone fragments to which he has had access. But this formidable body of signs as yet undeciphered must not be allowed to eclipse the luminous results of what the late Dr. Legge might have termed the "brightly intelligent" labours of this Oriental scholar in previous books and pamphlets. To those results I hope to return at a later date. The present note deals with three particular words and their characters, the earliest history of which was obscure or wanting, but can now be fully elucidated. The latter process, however, raises certain points of archaic Chinese phonology, and also of natural history, which I am not competent to decide. It would be gratifying if, for example, these notes should fall under the eyes of M. Pelliot or M. Karlgren, and elicit their opinions under the former head.

The three words in question are *fêng*, wind, *fêng*, a bird commonly rendered by "phoenix", and *p'êng*, associate, friend, and in a special sense, a number of precious shells forming in ancient times a unit of value, and once graphically represented by a double string or load carried on the shoulder. The modern characters are respectively 風 *fêng*, 鳳 *fêng*, and 朋 *p'êng*. I will take these in order.

1. *Fêng* 風. It is noticeable that authenticated instances of this character were not hitherto forthcoming

of earlier date than the Han dynasty (B.C. 206–A.D. 220), and by authenticated I mean such as can be verified in published texts on vessels of copper or bronze. So also says Lo Chên-yü, *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Kao Shih*, p. 38, "The character 風 does not appear on ancient bronzes."

The *Shuo Wen*'s analysis of the character is, "Composed of 虫 [*hui*, but in combination used for 蟲] *ch'ung*, insects, grubs, and 凡 *fan*, as the phonetic." But what have insects to do with the wind? And how can a syllable *fan* be phonetic for one pronounced *féng*? On the first point Hsü Shên merely observes, 風動蟲生, *féng tung ch'ung shéng*, "When the winds blow, then the grubs grow,"—an explanation of the You-must-say-something kind, as it seems.

As to the phonetic side of Hsü Shên's statement, which at first appears unconvincing, my comment must be guarded and brief. The investigations of Tuan Yü-ts'ai on the rhyme system of the *Book of Odes* show that *féng*, wind, and *fan*, all, rhymed in the *Odes*. Both fall under Tuan's seventh category, and judging from the other words in that class, probably ended in *m*, preceded by a vowel sound, perhaps the *é* of the Wadean system. The initial I leave alone, hoping to elicit expert opinion.

The *Shuo Wen* terminates its entry by an alleged ancient form, shown in the Plate, Fig. 1.

We should note finally a character 𩇑, occurring once in the *Chou Li* (Book 18, par. 4), in the phrase 𩇑師 *féng shih*, "l'astérisme qui préside au vent," as Biot translates. This is considered a variant of 風 *féng*, and is to be found nowhere else.

Such, I believe, was substantially all that could be learnt of the history of the character for "wind", until the exhumation of the Shang dynasty bone relics heralded a most unexpected discovery. This is, that in the most ancient times *féng*, wind, was written not by a special character of its own, but by borrowing that of the

homophonous word *féng*, phoenix. There can be no doubt of this, the texts are conclusive. Inquiries by the Shang Sovereigns as to the weather are common, and especially they desired to know whether in sacrificing, travelling, or hunting, they would "encounter rain" or "high winds". The customary phrase for the latter was 逢大鳳 [*sic*], *Kou ta féng*, which on the face of it seems to, but does *not* mean, "to encounter great phoenixes." This will introduce us to

2. *Féng* 鳳. I do not know who first translated 鳳, *féng* by "phoenix". But I suspect that whoever it was, was influenced more by the similarity of the name to the first syllable of the word "phoenix" than by any evidence drawn from Chinese sources. Professor Giles, in his essay "Who was Si Wang Mu?" (*Adversaria Sinica*, No. 1, pp. 9-12), argues in favour of the peacock as the true original of the bird *féng*, and we shall shortly see what support the theory can draw from the ancient shape of the character. But first we must hear the *Shuo Wen*'s pronouncement on its composition and ancient forms. "It is made up," says Hsü Shên, referring to the Lesser Seal character, "of 鳥 *niao*, bird, and 凡 *fan*, as the phonetic. The ancient form¹ is pictographic. When the *féng* flies, all the birds follow in myriads. So [the character] is used for the syllable *p'êng* 朋 in *p'êng t'ang*, confederates, fellow-members. [Fig. 3 on Plate = modern 朋 *p'êng*] is also an ancient form of 鳳, *féng*."

It is important to appreciate what it is the author of the *Shuo Wen*, rightly or wrongly, asserts in the foregoing passage. In the first place he says that the characters 朋 *p'êng* and 鳳 *féng*, in their earlier phases given by him, were both "ancient forms" of 鳳, *féng*, the mythical bird. And we may note here with regard to 朋 *p'êng*, that the mediaeval scription of this, Fig. 4 on Plate, is also about midway between the modern and ancient versions.

¹ For which see Plate, Fig. 2.

It is the mode in which 朋 is always written in the text of the 六書故 *Liu Shu Ku*, of the late Sung dynasty. If the *Shuo Wen* is right (and I am not concerned to dispute it), how is it the three characters do not have the same sound? This graphic trinitarianism of three characters but one word, requires more explanation than Hsü Shên has given it. If, for instance, 鳳 *féng* once upon a time had a labial surd or sonant initial, or if 朋 *p'éng* and 鵬 *p'éng* once commenced with a labiodental spirant (*f*), which seems less likely, all would be well. Here again the phonetic experts' opinion would be valuable.

Next, the *Shuo Wen* rightly claims that its first ancient form, Fig. 2 on Plate, is pictographic. It is, and we shall see immediately the Shang dynasty confirmation of it. But Hsü Shên's next words, "When the *féng* flies all the birds follow in myriads, so the character is used for *p'éng-t'ang*, confederates," prove that he entirely misunderstood the graphic significance of the ancient form. If the reader will look at Fig. 2 on the Plate, he will note three lines of doubled arrowheads directed to a curved bounding outline. These three lines of arrowheads Hsü Shên evidently interpreted as flights of birds winging their way to the *féng*! In fact, however, these are the long tail-coverts of the bird disposed in an unusual way.

Lastly, the author of the *Shuo Wen* seems not to have considered the word *p'éng*, confederates, identical with the word *féng*, the bird, for otherwise he would hardly have used the expression 故以爲朋黨字 *Ku i wei p'éng t'ang tzu*, "so [the old form] is used for the word *p'éng* in *p'éng-t'ang*, confederates." He thought that the bird character was borrowed to write the quite, or nearly, homophonous word for "confederates".

We are now in a position to understand how the matter stood before the exhumation and examination of the

Honan relies, and to appreciate the light thrown by the latter on the points in doubt. Here are three examples from the Bone inscriptions. The first is from Lo Chên-yü's collection, illustrated in his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'ü*, ch. 2, p. 30, see Plate, Fig. 5. This is, *in form*, the archaic character for 鳳 *fêng*, the mythical bird, but is here borrowed to write *fêng*, wind, as the context shows. The second is from my own collection, H. 352, Plate, Fig. 6, and stands undoubtedly for the more rarely occurring word for the bird, as the text proves, which is in modern guise 其冊喜多子鳳至 *ch'ü ts'ê hsi to tzü fêng chih*, "the record of happiness(?) many sons, the *fêng* arrives."¹ The third is also from my collection, and I insert it because it affords a corroboration of the first of the *Shuo Wen*'s ancient forms (see Plate, Fig. 1), and is also strong evidence of the Chinese author's misunderstanding of its graphic significance. On H. 555 we find the form shown in the Plate, Fig. 7, where the long feathers appear to point forward, not backward, the reason for which I suggest below.

In these three examples we should first notice in Fig. 5 the small detached element at the right side. This is, by itself, nothing but the modern 凡 *fan*, all, apparently used as a phonetic, and represents the two upper confining strokes, with their enclosed horizontal line, of the modern (and *mutatis mutandis* Lesser Seal) character 鳳 *fêng*.

Next, we observe that the bird form at the left is not the early shape of 鳥 *niao*, bird, at all, but a different and more elaborate symbol. It is a pictogram, and I suggest that it strongly confirms Professor Giles' opinion referred to above, that *fêng* was the peacock. For observe the crest or aigrette on its head (from which *Pavo cristatus* takes its scientific name), rendered sometimes, not always, by the old shape of 辛 *hsin*, in virtue of what we may

¹ Hence I cannot accept Lo's remark, loc. cit., p. 38, that "in the oracular sentences all the instances of 鳳 have the meaning of wind".

call the principle of *cy-près* shorthand. Lo Chên-yü is at a loss here, and confesses (*Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, p. 37), that "there must have been in ancient times an explanation for this, which we have now no means of ascertaining". I think we have, as above indicated. We must also note that the Lesser Seal and modern forms in writing 鳥, *niao*, bird, took refuge in a convenient graphic opportunism. Again, we may particularly take note of the two small circles on the tail feathers, which I suggest are the characteristic eyes of peacock feathers.

In the second variant, Fig. 6, we find no ancillary 凡 *fan* at the side, nor is the crest indicated.

The third variant (and there are other examples like it) is marked by the forward-pointing feather-shafts. This feature, I believe, must be explained by the striking action of the peacock in sweeping forward its tail-coverts when about to display the arc of its magnificent plumes.

3. *P'êng* 朋. Want of space constrains me now to dogmatic brevity with this character. The main point is that a whole series of ancient forms, from a vigorous but clumsy pictogram of a man shouldering a double string of shells, to an insipid, stylized, and exhausted character, have existed and have died out. See the Plate, Figs. 8 to 16. Their modern development should have been some such shape as 𡵓, virtually identical with one of the oldest forms, but instead, as we have already seen, an ancient variant of 鳳 *fêng*, phoenix, otherwise peacock, has been substituted from the Lesser Seal onwards.

What were, and whence came these shells, and why did the old-time Chinese prize them?

EXPLANATION OF FIGURES IN PLATE.

1. *Shuo Wen's* ancient form of 風 *fêng*, wind.
2. *Shuo Wen's* first ancient form of 鳳 *fêng*, "phoenix."
3. *Shuo Wen's* second ancient form of 鳳 *fêng*, "phoenix."
4. Mediaeval scription of 朋 *p'êng*, confederates; also string of shells.



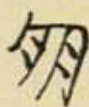
Fig. 1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



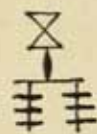
9



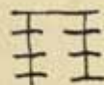
10



11



12



13



14



15



16

5. Honan Bone form of 鳳 *fēng*, so-called phoenix, here used for the homophonous word *fēng*, wind. Cited from the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. 2, p. 30.

6. Another Bone variant of 鳳 *fēng*, here used for the bird. Cited from H. 352.

7. Another Bone variant of 鳳 *fēng*, whether used for 鳳 or 鳳, uncertain. Cited from H. 555.

8. Pictogram of unidentified word (treated as = 子 *tzü*, son, by the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*), representing "a son shouldering two strings of shells", *Yuan Yuan*, ch. 1, p. 8. Embodies early form of 朋 *p'êng*, strings of shells.

9. Pictogram of unidentified word (treated as = 子 *tzü*, son, by the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*), representing "a son shouldering two strings of shells", *Yuan Yuan*, ch. 1, p. 25. Linearization has set in.

10. Pictogram of unidentified word (treated as = 子 *tzü*, son, by the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*), representing "a son grasping strings of shells", *Yuan Yuan*, ch. 4, p. 3. Linearization has become acute.

11. From a facsimile inscription published by Wu Shih-fên in his *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên* 增古錄金文, *chün* 3, *pên* 1, p. 83. Note the upper element, which I believe to represent the shoulder, but this is not suggested by Chinese authorities.

12. From the same work, *chün* 3, *pên* 1, p. 65. Represents the three characters 五十朋 *wu shih p'êng* = "50 strings of shells", combined in a graph.

13. Same work, *chün* 2, *pên* 3, p. 74. *P'êng*, strings of shells.

14. Same work, *chün* 3, *pên* 1, p. 40 = 十朋 *shih p'êng*, 10 strings of shells.

15. Honan Bone form of 朋 *p'êng*. Cited from the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. 1, p. 30.

16. Honan Bone form of 朋 *p'êng*. Cited from the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. 5, p. 10.

L. C. HOPKINS.

THE METRES OF HAFIZ AND ATISH

A statistical comparison has been recently made by me of the metres used by Hâfiz in his Persian ghazals and those employed by the Lucknow Urdu poet Mir Haidar 'Alî Âtish (or Âtash, as the word indicating his *takhallus* is variously pronounced), and the results are not, I venture to think, devoid of interest, as they bring out into strong relief the popularity both in Persian and Urdu poetry of certain metres and the total or comparative neglect of

others. In the printed Calcutta edition of *Hāfiz* there are 573 ghazals, and by a curious coincidence the number in the Lucknow lithographed text of *Ātish* is almost exactly the same, being 571. The following is an analysis of the metres :—

	HAFIZ.	ATISH.
Ramal	204 . . .	271
Mujtass	145 . . .	49
Muzāri ^t	104 . . .	126
Hazaj	87 . . .	108
Khafif	11 . . .	9
Rajaz	11 . . .	—
Mutaqārib	5 . . .	5
Munsariḥ	4 . . .	2
Sari ^t	1 . . .	—
Tawil	1 . . .	—
Kāmil	— . . .	1
Total	573	571

The noteworthy features are the marked prominence of the Ramal metre, which has become accentuated in the modern poet, and the decrease in the *Diwān* of the latter of the use of the *Mujtass*, which appears very frequently in the Persian poet's *Diwān*. It will be seen that several metres, e.g. the *Muqtazab*, the *Mutadārik*, the three later Persian metres known as *Jadid*, *Qarib*, and *Mushākil*, and the three Arabic metres *Basīṭ*, *Wāfir*, and *Madīd* do not appear in the list at all. The Arabic metre *Tawil* only appears in a ghazal of *Hāfiz* (No. 368) which is written entirely in Arabic, but *Ātish* has composed a ghazal (No. 248 at p. 107 in the Lucknow edition) in the *Kāmil* metre, the use of which is almost entirely confined to Arabic, the fourth and sixth *Mu'allaqas*, for instance, out of the famous seven "Suspended Poems" being composed in that metre. This ghazal begins as follows, the metre consisting of متفاعلن repeated eight times (— — — — —).

مری دلکو شوق فغان نہیں مری لب تک آتی دعا نہیں
وہ دھن ہون جسمین زبان نہیں وہ جرس ہون جسمین مدا نہیں

It may be noted that instances of the use of the modern metres *Jadid*, *Qarib*, and *Mushākil* are very rare. I have been unable to trace any use of the *Jadid* and *Mushākil* metres, but in a collection of extracts from the works of a modern Persian poet named *Shaibānī*, which was published at Constantinople (*Islambūl*) in 1308 *Hijri* (1890–1 A.D.), I have found two cases in which the *Qarib* metre has been employed.

The *Sālim* or complete form of this metre is

تن مفاعیلن مفاعیلن فاعلا تن (— — — | — — — |)

but the form used by *Shaibānī* is the type known to Eastern prosodians as *Qarib-i-Akhrab-i-Makfūf*,

i.e. تن مفعول مفاعیل فاعلا تن (— — — | — — — |)

The poems found at pp. 162 and 225 of the edition mentioned are both written in this metre, the opening lines of them being as follows:—

نہ گل شکفد چون رخس بیاغ

نہ لالہ دمدم چون لبش براغ

No rose blossoms like his face in the garden, nor does the tulip burst open like his lips in the meadow.

تا زلف بت من نگشت لرزان

در شهر نشد مشک و عنبر ارزان

Until the ringlets of my beloved one began to tremble, musk and ambergris did not become cheap in the city.

R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S.

SERAPIS, ISIS, AND MITHRAS AS ESSAYS TOWARDS
A UNIVERSAL RELIGION

Mr. Legge's book, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, suggests certain questions of much interest. How far were the Alexandrian divinities and Mithras true attempts at a universal religion? In what respects did they fail? And were they ever serious rivals to Christianity? The origin and spread of these cults, so far as they are known, can be studied in the writings of Cumont and La Faye. It still remains for us to consider their relation to the times and the general trend of religious belief. How far did they satisfy the general religious conscience of the age and its demand for a larger synthesis?

The Alexandrian divinities and Mithras (for I may omit the Orphics) were an advance on the religions which preceded them. They were monotheistic too in a way, and highly popular among certain classes. So far they resembled Christianity. Moreover, like Christianity, they had to contend against Roman ideals and the state religion, although, being naturalistic religions, they easily made their peace with the Greco-Roman world. But they did not pave the way for Christianity; it was the Empire itself which did so. And it did this in two ways. *First*, it made the ideas of individuality and humanity predominant factors in the social fabric. And *second*, it inclined the world to accept a new religion from the East.

1. The conception of individuality, and with it of humanity, is foreign to primitive societies. The need of self-defence is pressing, and it is essential to preserve the solidarity of the tribe or state. Now religion is the strongest bond of union. Pagan society, therefore, at least all society of the Aryan type, is founded on the religion of the state and of the family. The individual has no place in it. He may believe what he pleases—that is his concern—but he must join in the public worship of

the family and state, for neglect to do so would endanger the community, and of such neglect Paganism was never tolerant. With the idea of individuality the idea of humanity is equally in abeyance. In a pagan state the nearest of kin are not the human groups, with which indeed the community is frequently at war (*homo homini lupus*), but the gods of the upper world, and animals in the lower. These are the nearest of kin, the real protectors and helpers of the state, and between gods, men, and animals there is a constant passing and repassing of souls.¹

These ideas were already outworn when Alexander appeared. Alexander and his successors shattered the old social fabric; they sought to commingle Greeks and barbarians in one common mould, and they united them in one common despotism. Alexander transferred the boundaries of Europe for a thousand years from the Ægean to the Euphrates, and throughout this region the idea of individuality began to emerge; the individual man became of primary importance. The firstfruits of the new regime appear in the ethical teaching of Zeno and Epicurus; it is addressed to the individual; and if men are to be classified to-day as Platonists or Aristotelians in their speculations, they are either Stoics or Epicureans in practice. But the Hellenistic age as a whole was one of ceaseless wars and senseless turmoil; the new-fangled divinity of the kings excited the laughter of their flatterers; Macedonian admirals sailed up and down the Ægean, erecting altars to Impiety; and among the Hellenes the action of the time-spirit was destructive in the main, so far as religion was concerned. It paved the way for a new spiritual world; it did little to build it up.

But when the Roman emperors introduced order and fixed laws and a universal peace, and when constant

¹ Origen c. Cels. iv, 96, quotes Celsus to the effect that "Many of the animals claim to have ideas of God", and "the irrational animals are nearer the society of God [than men]".

intercommunication began between every part of the Mediterranean world, the religious spirit, which had never left the Orientals or the Western world (except for a brief revolutionary period), reasserted itself and developed on the lines of individuality and universality, with which the political fabric was pregnant. With these ideas there came, almost of necessity, a moral reformation; and thus the importance of the individual and the idea of humanity emerged into daylight as fundamental factors of the general consciousness. A similar process is going on in India before our eyes; similar causes produce similar effects.

Now the belief in the value of the soul, of the individual, and of humanity is the necessary antecedent of every universal religion. A universal religion appeals to all men; it postulates, therefore, the value of the individual and the unity of mankind. And this appeal is necessarily a moral one, since morality is the only law binding upon all. A universal religion brings with it a new outlook on the world, new standards of conduct, new ethical ideas. In paganism a man's private beliefs count for nothing; in a universal religion they are everything. And for his kith and kin he no longer has animals and gods, but his fellow-men. The history of religion in the Roman Empire during the first three centuries of our era is the history of the transition from the one set of ideas to the other, an immense revolution in which one hundred and twenty million souls took part.

2. Another notable feature of the times was the conflict between the Greco-Roman and the Oriental (mainly the Semitic) world; and in this contest the superior vitality of the Oriental cults became manifest. The Greek philosophers had succeeded in dissolving all faith in the popular gods among the educated classes of the West. But a pagan state could not afford to be without a religion. Virgil, most religious of ancient poets, ushered in the

new era; Augustus put the seal of the state to religious observances; and from the second century A.D. the philosophers set themselves to recast the ancient deities. The licentiousness and disorder of the Homeric gods had shocked the philosophic mind. The philosophers therefore strove to confine them in a well-regulated and respectable Pantheon, where they might become changed characters and give a proper account of themselves. The old gods had been capricious and often disorderly, but always powerful, and able to perform all that was required of them. As reformed characters they tended to become departmental deities, ruling under the superintendence of a general providence over the several energies of nature. This satisfied the philosophers but not the multitude. The old gods thus came to be in a state of unstable equilibrium. They lost much of their personal vigour and vitality; they ceased to be real. What they still retained was their glamour. Although grown nebulous and rarified, they represented the ideals of a glorious antiquity; and it was the business of philosophy to justify their existence.

The Semitic god was the exact opposite. He too had originally been a tribal deity with a local habitation, but in process of time he had become a personal god who accompanied his worshippers wherever they went. The Greek and Roman gods accommodated themselves with difficulty to the needs of the individual; they were too great and majestic to be interested in the fate of every sorry client. But the Semitic god was a personal god in the fullest sense. He was able and willing to help, a very real god; "omnipotens" and "aeternus" were his common epithets, but his commonest was *θεὸς ἐπήκοος*, the hearer and answerer of prayer.

Thus the Semites carried their particular Baal or Adon with them, and they were great travellers. The Syrians swarmed throughout the West. They were soldiers, merchants, and slaves, professional men, musicians, mimes,

and hetairæ. The great jurist Ulpian was a Syrian, and so was the architect of Trajan's pillar and forum. The Jews were even more numerous. They formed a considerable part of the population of Asia Minor, Syria, Crete, Egypt, and the Cyrenaica; in Rome they had seventeen synagogues; and they had colonies in Spain. The White Syrians and Cappadocians of Asia Minor, although not Semites, were largely Semitized; and they too went westwards in numbers. The native Egyptians alone seldom left their country, and of the purely Egyptian religion there was no great propaganda. But the rest were ardent believers and zealous proselytizers; and the god they brought was an individual god, who cared for his votaries, and nothing for their origin.

These Oriental religions were mysterious and strange; their gods were real, their worshippers sincere. The Greeks had long looked on the East as the home of religious thought and profound spiritual ideas. From it came the Chaldean astrologers, the Jewish fortune-tellers, the Magi with their incantations. It was the land of the Sibyl, of Zoroaster and Hystaspes, and the other authors of prophetic books. This satisfied the populace. For the educated the East had a still greater significance, for from it came those profound ideas of God and the soul, of sin, expiation, and redemption, which made up what has been called the Oriental philosophy of religion. Pausanias accredited the Chaldeans and the Indian Magi (*sic*) with the discovery of the immortality of the soul.¹ "The barbarians," says Celsus, "excel in the discovery of religious doctrines (*δόγματα*), but the Greeks surpass them in judging and establishing those truths, and in adapting them to the practice of virtue."²

¹ Pausanias, iv, 32, 4: ἐγὼ δὲ Χαλδαίους καὶ Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς μάλιστα πρώτους εἶδεν εἰκότας ὡς ἀθάνατος εἶναι ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ.

² Origen c. Cels. i, 2: ἱκανοὺς εὐρεῖν δόγματα τοὺς βαρβάρους, κρίναι δὲ καὶ βεβαιώσεσθαι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὰ ὑπὸ βαρβάρων εὐρηθέντα ἡμεῖνοις εἶναι Ἕλληνας.

We have therefore two general currents of thought which paved the way for a universal religion that should come from the East. The Isiac and Mithraic cults and Christianity were, each in their way and degree, religions of this class. They had the same obstacles to overcome—the conservative Roman spirit, the antique “*pietas*”, the reformed Hellenic pantheon, and the theology of the schools. And their problem was the same—how to reconcile their complete or qualified universalism with the ideals of antiquity. Mithras was saved from persecution by his obscurity; he made no show until the submergence of the ancient ideals with the last of the Antonines broke down the barrier. But neither the Isiac cult nor Christianity gained a footing in Rome without a struggle. The temples of Isis were more than once destroyed under the later Republic, and Tiberius crucified the priests. Nero was the first to admit Isis within the *pomœrium*, and Hadrian gave Serapis and Isis a place in his Tiburtine villa—the only foreign gods he admitted there. Commodus, a son worthy of Faustina, gave the rein to all the foreign religions; his favourite Marcia protected the Christians, and Commodus himself was initiated into the mysteries of Isis and of Mithras. He celebrated his initiation into each with his accustomed brutality; in the one case by a cruel laceration of the priests, in the other by a homicide. All three religions triumphed in the end. Caracalla erected a magnificent temple to the Egyptian goddess; Diocletian and his group placed themselves under the patronage of Mithras; and Constantine made Christianity the state religion.

In the course of this historical evolution all three religions pursued much the same path; beginning with the middle and the lower class, they spread to the highest. And they had many points of superficial resemblance. If the Christians baptised, so did the

priests of Serapis and of Mithras¹; in the case of Mithras it was a baptism of blood—the taurobolium of Asia Minor.² They all had their period of probation for the novices, and in the case of Mithras the probation was severe.³ Initiation into the Isiac mysteries ended with a nocturnal banquet, the coena Serapiaca.⁴ The initiates of Mithras had a holy meal in which mystic words were spoken over bread and a cup of water.⁵ The priests of Isis used a written liturgy; they prayed for the Prince, the Senate, the Knights, and the Roman people, for those at sea, and for the welfare of all things throughout the empire.⁶ The worshippers of Mithras called themselves brethren (*fratres*) and their elders fathers (*patres*). The priests delivered discourses.⁷ If Mithras sprang out of a cave, our Saviour was born—so popular tradition ran—in a cave in Bethlehem.⁸

¹ Tertullian, de Baptismo, 5: "Nam et sacris quibusdam per lavacrum initiantur Isidis alicuius aut Mithrae." Apuleius, Metamorph. xi, 23, describes the baptismal service of Isis: "Stipatum me religiosa cohorte deducit (sacerdos) ad proximas balneas, et prius sucto lavacro traditum praefatus deum veniam purissime circummorans abluit."

² For the taurobolium and its origin v. Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, pp. 180-1. The idea is conveyed in an inscription: "taurobolis criobolioque in aeternum renatus." But the taurobolium was sometimes repeated after twenty years. The taurobolium had originally been the magical transference of physical energy from the bull to the man; it now conveyed spiritual life.

³ The Isiac novice lived sparingly for ten days, drinking no wine and avoiding all animal food (Apol. Met. xi, 23). The novice of Mithras had to pass through eighty trials, and some of them were said to be terrifying.

⁴ Tertull. Apol. 39.

⁵ Justin M. Apol. i, 66: ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος τίθεται ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μουσαίου τελεταῖς μετ' ἐπιλόγων τινῶν. Tertullian, de praescript. haeret., c. 40: (Mithra) "celebrat et panis oblationem."

⁶ Apuleius, Met. xi, 17. The service concluded with the unintelligible words ἀοια ἀφesis. A conjectural, but not a probable, emendation which I have somewhere seen is λασις ἀφesis = ite, missa est.

⁷ Justin M. Dial. c. Tryph. 70: Δικαιοπραξίας γὰρ λόγους καὶ παρ' ἱερωσίων λέγεσθαι ἐτεχνάσαντο (Mithrae mysteriorum antistites).

⁸ Op. cit. 78, and in various other passages. Cf. Protevangelium Jacobi.

In the race for supremacy the Alexandrian divinities and Mithras had two great advantages. They were—especially Mithras—the most syncretistic of religions in a syncretistic age, ready to borrow from every quarter and, next, they were naturalistic religions, which found a ready support in the natural theology of the schools. They were monotheistic too in a way; they were popular; and they had a moral code; they enjoined certain rules of life. Why, then, did they fail? To answer this we must see what their monotheism, their popularity, and their morality amounted to.

Mr. Legge lays some stress on their monotheism. What does it come to? Take the Alexandrian divinities first. Isis announces herself in Apuleius' romance: "*En adsum tuis commote, Luci, precibus, rerum naturae parens, elementorum omnium domina, saeculorum progenies initialis, summa numinum, regina Manium, prima caelitum, deorum dearumque facies uniformis, quae caeli luminosa culmina, maris salubria flamina, inferum deplorata silentia nutibus meis dispenso: cuius numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multiugo totus veneratur orbis.*"¹ She was the great mother of Pessinus, Minerva at Athens, the Venus of Paphos, and so forth. Do we not seem to hear the very language of Krishna in the Bhagavad Gītā? An oft-quoted inscription puts it more briefly: "*Te tibi una quae es omnia.*" And what of Serapis, the consort of Isis? He was everywhere equated with the chief god of the place; he was Pluto and Dionysus and *Ζεὺς Ἥλιος μέγας*; he was the *Deus invictus*, the Preserver; he embraced all the gods, "*Serapis Pantheos.*" Heaven was his head, his body the sea, earth his feet, and his eye was the sun. Like Vishnu and Siva, Isis had a thousand names, and all the gods were embraced in Serapis. The monotheism of the Alexandrian divinities is scarcely so pronounced as that of the Hindu.

¹ Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, xi, 5.

The Serapis-Isis cult was an Alexandrian creation; Alexandria was the exchange mart of the world's traffic; and Alexandrian merchants spread the fame of Serapis along all the routes of commerce from Numidia and the Rhone to Persia and the Panjāb. Ultimately the cultus found its chief seats in Southern Italy and Greece, in the islands of the *Ægean*, and on the coasts washed by it. In Rome it had magnificent temples and many followers, at first chiefly among the freedwomen and the *demi-monde*, but afterwards among the aristocracy, male as well as female, for Egyptians were in request as medicine men, and Serapis was noted as a healer. The world of Serapis and Isis was limited to the world which was under the mercantile or philosophic influence of Alexandria; it was purely Greek; and it flourished most under the Antonines. As the influence of Alexandria declined, so did this Alexandrian cultus. After Caracalla it waned, and a barbaric but more vigorous rival took its place in popular esteem.

During the first two centuries of our era the patrician emperors of the Julian house, the plebeian Flavians, and the provincial Antonines established a universal peace and abounding prosperity throughout the Empire. The century which followed was a period of military pronunciamientos, of turmoil and confusion. The barbarian invaders, famine, pestilence, and anarchy visited almost every part of the Roman world. In this age of general confusion the old Roman ideals, more especially the religious ideals, passed into the background or disappeared; and of all the new gods the Syrian sun-gods were the most popular. All the gods tended to become sun-gods—Serapis and Sabazius and Attis, Adonis of Byblus, Jupiter Dolichenus of Commagene, Elagabalus of Emesa, the Baal of Heliopolis. Among these jostling deities Mithras ultimately became first favourite—Mithras whom Lucian had ridiculed for being such a barbarian that he knew no Greek.

But Mithras was a very ancient and most respectable deity. He was the Aryan god of the sun and the solar light, worshipped in Mitanni on the upper Euphrates when Israel served in bondage in Egypt. But although planted in Syria he was no jealous Semitic god; on the contrary, he was extremely flexible, assimilating to himself whatever suited him. In the course of time he acquired a thick incrustation of Babylonian myths. Under Cyrus and the Achæmenids the worship of Mithras and Anahit spread to the neighbouring regions of Pontus and Cappadocia; and Mithras gathered a rich harvest from native religions. From them he borrowed the taurobolium and he associated himself with the Great Mother of the Gods. All these different elements, together with a large admixture of the popular astrology, were embodied in his mysteries. He was scarcely known in Rome until the middle of the second century A.D. His Phrygian cap and his Oriental anaxyrides proclaimed his origin; his cave was the Babylonian vault of heaven; the Persian Magi were his sponsors; and he was ever a foreigner and a semi-barbarian god. Recruits and slaves from his native home introduced his worship in the West; and his followers were chiefly to be found among the semi-barbarian soldiery of the garrison towns on the European frontiers of the empire. He was great on both banks of the lower Danube and the Rhine; greatest of all in the two Germanies. He had his Mithræa in Northern Gaul and in Britain; and he readily assimilated himself to Celtic and Teutonic deities, although he instinctively refused to borrow from the Greco-Roman gods. The Prætorian guards brought him to Rome, and North Syrian slaves carried him to Northern Italy and some secluded valleys of the Southern Alps.

What attractions did this Mithras worship offer? The mysteries were open only to men, and Renan calls Mithraism an ancient freemasonry. The lodges are small

and dark, and the bas-reliefs with which they abound are mediocre. The animal masks, the strange symbolism, the signs of the Zodiac, the astrological character which pervades the whole religion, the different stages of the hierarchy through which the adepts passed, and the long and terrifying probation undergone by applicants for initiation, all these things must have appealed to the imagination and mystery-loving appetite of the commoner sort. To have passed the ordeal of initiation was itself a proof of courage; and Mithras required no renunciation of any other religion. He was a tolerant god, ready to consort with any other divinity.

We have seen that Mithras was only one of the various sun-gods who were striving for supremacy. He came into his own at the very end of the century when Diocletian, Galerius, and Licinius proclaimed him the patron of their Empire. Two things won him the Imperial favour. It was an astrological age, and the emperors had for a long time associated their fortunes with the sun. The ruling emperor was born under a lucky star, and predestined to greatness. Aurelian, a peasant whose mother had been a priestess of the sun, calls himself "*deus et dominus natus*". The emperor, so men held, was consubstantial with the sun; he shared with the sun the title of *Invictus*; and as the one ruled in heaven, so the other ruled on earth. But the emperor was usually the creature of the soldiery, and Mithras was a sun-god, and the soldier's god *par excellence*. Not only the common soldiery, but the captains and great officers of the army adored him. And thus he won the votes of Diocletian and his colleagues.

The philosophers also took him up. Porphyry, the Syrian and Neo-Platonist, several times refers to him and his mysteries. The mysteries, he says, teach us the transmigration of souls into animal forms, and our communion with the lower world; to teach this they call

the adepts lions and the attendants crows.¹ Elsewhere he associates Mithras with the Heavenly Bull of the Zodiac. Mithras, like Taurus, he says, is a demiurge, and a lord of generation.² But Porphyry was no Mithraist. We must come down to the fourth century A.D., to Julian and Macrobius, before we find all the gods fused in the universal sun; every other divinity is now regarded as only a special form of Mithras. The all-embracing Krishna too shines like a thousand suns, and all the gods are merged in him.

The Alexandrian divinities and Mithras are therefore closely analogous to Siva and Vishnu in the present day; they embody much the same ideas and follow the same line of evolution. They were nature gods dealing with the mysteries of life and death, generation and dissolution; their problems were the past and the future of sentient creation. They were monotheistic in a way, although pantheism predominated in the one case and polytheism in the other. Above all they were personal religions; their appeal was to the individual; and they proclaimed the immortality of the soul. Thus far they fulfilled the requirements of a universal religion. But the other conditions they did not fulfil. They had no conception of humanity, nor did they distinguish the human from the animal creation. On the contrary, they perpetuated the old confusion by their doctrine of metempsychosis. They stood exactly where Sivaism and Vishnuism stand. And in consequence of this failure to realize the conception of humanity came the failure to realize a new moral code. The Isiac religion had little moral teaching of any kind; it was popularly regarded as something effeminate. The devotees practised continence, for a time at least, and they observed certain tabus, mostly of Egyptian origin,

¹ Porphyry, *De Abstin.* iv, 16.

² Porphyry, *De Antro Nymph.*, c. 24: *ὡς καὶ ὁ ταῦτος δημιουργὸς ὡς ὁ Μίθρας, καὶ γενέσεως δεσπότης, κατὰ τὸν ἰσημερινὸν δι' ἐτέτακται κύκλον.*

regarding dress and food. The cloistered inmates of the Serapeum at Memphis devoted themselves to a contemplative life. In a ruined temple of Serapis, and in an island sacred to Isis, Pachomius evolved his scheme of a monkish community. Possibly some old tradition may have moved him. In that case it was the greatest contribution the Isiac cult ever made to the world's history.

The cult of Mithras was ruder but more vigorous and virile. It seems to have absorbed something of Syrian asceticism, and it certainly preached courage, continence, and self-restraint. Whether it preached anything more we do not know.

Thus Serapis, Isis, and Mithras were inchoate but defective attempts at universalism. Their teaching was nebulous and uncertain; it was conveyed in legends which were floating and vague, often inconsistent with each other; of historical background there was none. Large portions, and those the most populous and flourishing, of the Roman Empire were untouched. Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt outside Alexandria, and the whole of Northern Africa were the most populous and most civilized provinces of the Roman world; and in them Mithras and Serapis were unfamiliar gods, although Commagene was the birthplace of the one and Alexandria of the other. Harnack has pointed out that "the entire domain of Hellenism was closed" to Mithras; and the native Egyptians refused to admit Serapis within their city walls.

How far were these cults serious rivals of Christianity? We have no means of estimating the number of their devotees; moreover, they were ever mixed up with auxiliar gods; few worshippers followed them alone. They had nothing like the wide spread of the Catholic Church, or its organization and its unity. The Christians were most numerous precisely in those provinces which were the most civilized, and where these gods were little

known. The Fathers seldom refer to Isis or Serapis,¹ and Harnack² says that they display no serious apprehensions of Mithraism. Origen rebukes Celsus for comparing the Christian mysteries with the mysteries of Mithras; he calls Mithraism ἀσημοτάτη αἵρεσις, and the comparison with it was insulting; the Eleusinian, the Æginetan, or the Egyptian mysteries were much better.³ Justin Martyr and Tertullian incidentally mention various points of resemblance between Christian and Mithraic worship, and ascribe these resemblances to the devil.⁴ In the same way the simple-minded Abbé Huc accounted for Tibetan Lamaism. But the Pope put the good Father's book on the Index. Serapis and Isis and Mithras have no place in the polemic which the Fathers directed against the heathen; they never found it necessary to protest against them. Indeed, the contest was every way unequal. Christianity was conscious from the beginning of its universal mission⁵; it had a historical Saviour, and a definite teaching; it introduced a new moral ideal. It solved the eternal question "Who is my neighbour?" "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." These two commandments the Christians carried into daily life; it was by their devotion and their charity that they won the world.

J. KENNEDY.

¹ e.g. Clemens Alex. mentions Isis three times and Serapis eight; he quotes the Sibyl's prophecies concerning them; discusses the origin of Serapis; identifies Isis with Ceres; and so forth. As a resident in Alexandria, we should have expected Serapis to bulk largely in his mind; but it is not so.

² Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr., ii, p. 450, n. 1.

³ Origen c. Cels. vi, 22. This chapter and the two following, together with the references of Porphyry and the Mithræum at Ostia, show how very astrological was the cult.

⁴ e.g. Justin M. Dial. c. Tryph. c. 78, and Tertullian, de praescr. and elsewhere.

⁵ Matt. xxviii, 19.

(To be continued.)

THE TWO INVASION HYPOTHESIS

In his review of Mr. Ramāprasād's work on *The Indo-Aryan Races* in the last number of the *Journal*, Professor Keith has honoured me more than once by mentioning my name. I would ask permission to refer to one of these passages, that on p. 171. He says:—

"It cannot be too often or too clearly asserted that the two invasion-hypothesis of Dr. Hoernle and Sir G. Grierson has not the slightest support whatever in the Vedic literature. It has certainly no secure support in the Prākṛits, the complication of whose relations Sten Konow's recent work has emphasized."

Professor Keith will pardon me for drawing his attention to the fact that the "assertion" which he says "cannot be too often or too clearly made" is an assertion of a universal negative, which even his learning would find a difficult matter to prove, and that an unproved assertion, however often, or however clearly, it is made, is not of much value.

Professor Keith is an expert in Vedic subjects and I gratefully acknowledge the help that I have gained from his published writings and from his private communications. I am no such expert, and therefore I do not venture to refer him to anything that I have written, although I have more than once quoted Vedic passages in support of the hypothesis that he so roundly condemns. May I, however, refer him, and the reader, to another Vedic expert, Professor Hillebrandt, and to his account of the Panis in *Vedische Mythologie*, especially to pp. 110 ff. That the reference is not unworthy of consideration is shown by the fact that Professor Hillebrandt, in a letter written fifteen years ago, which I have before me as I write, was himself the person who drew my attention to the passage as showing that, to quote his own words, "two different inroads of Aryan invaders can be discovered even in Vedic hymns."

As for the Prakrits, I would again remind him that it is impossible to prove a universal negative, and would add that I am unable to discover how Professor Konow's valuable recent work on them affects what Professor Keith calls "the two invasion hypothesis". As to whether the sure support, the existence of which Professor Keith denies, does or does not exist, this is not the place for such a discussion, which would necessarily be a lengthy one. All that I can do is to put on record ~~that~~ there are other persons familiar with Prakrit who are not of his opinion.

In the next place, may I point out that I have never put forward any "two invasion hypothesis". I have referred to such an hypothesis, but have stated in so many words¹ "it is immaterial whether we are to look upon the state of affairs as two invasions, or as the earlier and later invasions of a series extending over a long period of time". This is a very different hypothesis, and is one from which I have never wavered.

As for the "wedge" theory, the dropping of which is, according to Professor Keith, one great merit of Mr. Ramāprasād's theory, that is Dr. Hoernle's concern, and he is quite able to defend it if he so desire. From the point of view of philology it is not of great importance. It is in agreement with the present condition of Indo-Aryan languages, and I have often pointed this out, but it is not necessary as an explanation. That condition could—I am speaking not from the ethnological but from the purely philological point of view—equally well agree with a theory that the first speakers of the Midland language were the earlier arrivals, and those of the Outer languages the later.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

¹ *Languages of India*, § 120.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PALI TEXT SOCIETY. POINTS OF CONTROVERSY OR SUBJECTS OF DISCOURSE, being a translation of the Kathā Vatthu from the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. By SHWE ZAN AUNG, B.A., and Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A. 1915.

The title *Points of Controversy*, though less literal a translation than the sub-title of this work, is well chosen to indicate the nature of the text translated. The Kathā-Vatthu, classed as canonical, represents Buddhist orthodoxy at a later stage than the Pali Suttapiṭaka and under a different aspect. Even from the rest of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, to which it belongs, the Kathā-Vatthu stands apart, not only by the presence of certain elements particular to itself, but by the label that orthodox opinion attached to it. It alone of the canonical Pali books has a traditional author and date. By generally received tradition the author is the learned and energetic Moggaliputta Tissa, and his work is a production associated with the Council of Patna held under Aśoka's patronage about B.C. 246. About that time, as is well known, the influence of the Buddhist school known as the Theravādins was strong enough in India to bring about a historical Confession of the Faith and proclaim as orthodox the canon of scripture to which Ceylon and Further India have adhered down to the present day.

The particular feature of the Kathā-Vatthu just mentioned is the preservation in extremely brief form of the theses of certain schools, within the general Buddhist community, which had come to a more or less marked departure from orthodoxy. The text is thus

a sort of manual of controversy for Buddhist teachers. It looks, on a first glance into the Pali, both dull and difficult. The dullness and difficulty have nevertheless yielded to work that may be compared to patient restoration of an old and curious picture—cleaned and restored the picture reveals a group of disputatious monks that interest the true student profoundly, little as he may expect it, in their cherished common tradition, their serious or fantastic differences, and the language and terms, most important to their doctrine, on which they cross-examined each other. As to the way in which the text assumed its present form there are some helpful observations in Mrs. Rhys Davids' Prefatory Notes. She considers that there is inner evidence in the *Kathā-Vatthu* of slow growth by accretions. No work put together for a special occasion or to meet an entirely new need could conceivably have assumed the "patchwork quilt appearance" of the *Kathā-Vatthu*. Probably there was some sort of plan in it, but the series of debates "never exhaustive" on the views of various schools are not continued systematically. Then the disputes return, naturally enough, to single doctrines of importance, e.g. concerning the Buddha or arahants, several times. Mrs. Rhys Davids thinks it possible that "(1) each *Kathā* (or at times at two or more *Kathās*) was framed by or by order of the heads of the Sangha at the time when each seceding school newly systematized and taught this and that heresy or gave it occasional and special prominence, and that (2) such a new *Kathā* or sub-group of them was added by memorial or scriptural registration to the existing stock of *Kathās*".

There are of course puzzles in these disputations for us who plunge into them centuries after they were recorded, and recorded, as we must remember, for those who were certainly familiar with many matters on which we have no information unless we can wring it from the

commentaries. This we cannot always do. The commentator of the Kathā-Vatthu was not liberal with information as to matters of fact. In this case it was only the discussion of ideas and terms, as Mrs. Rhys Davids observes, that interested the many-sided Buddhaghosa; the translator must make the most of his threadbare details as to the external history of these early schools. We are left to speculate on most of the names adopted by eighteen distinct communities claiming to adhere to particular persons or doctrines or receiving their name from some particular locality. Their connexion, or the connexion of some of them, with the Council of Patna is re-stated in the commentator's introductory chapter, which serves as a prologue to the translated text. According to this the venerable Tissa arrayed 500 orthodox and 500 heterodox statements in a certain order and dealt with them all "to avert all bases of heresy that had arisen and that might in the future arise". With so much condensed into one canonical work we might expect a perfect example of the "Short Way with Dissenters"; but in regard to many questions the argument is turned various ways and the heterodox thinker pursued without haste from his position, cornered with logic and overborne by long quotations from the Suttapiṭaka. From this very brief description it will be seen how impossible it would be to give an intelligible translation of a work of this kind without a thorough knowledge of the Suttapiṭaka, the remaining books of the Abhidhamma, and the Commentary on the Kathā-Vatthu. Mrs. Rhys Davids' record of work has but to be recalled, and when we rank this lately completed task with the others it is paying a high but only a just tribute to the volume before us. With respect to the translation Mrs. Rhys Davids speaks plainly: "We were not compiling a crib for learners of Pali," but her name and that of her collaborator are sufficient guarantee of the serious

value of this version for the student of the original language. The expression quoted occurs with reference to a rather bold re-arrangement of the catechism or dialogues, so that the questions, answers, and repetitions could be condensed into one volume of translation. (Mr. Arnold C. Taylor's excellent edition makes two full-sized P.T.S. volumes.)

The re-arrangement, of course, calls for that close attention on the part of the student which the use of a crib is rather apt to undermine. It only means a little more exercise with the dictionary and a few salutary difficulties. On the other hand, the translators have spared no pains to throw a clear light on their text. They have added explanatory paragraphs from the Commentary and abundance of footnotes giving exact references to the canonical works quoted. The text is also supplemented by tables of contents so arranged as to show the grouping of subjects of controversy and the grouping of opinions under the names of such of the dissenting schools as here appear in the lists against the Theravādins. There are also Indexes and Supplementary Notes on certain important terms of the Abhidhamma. In the study of this terminology and in discussion of the logical method employed in the Kathā-Vatthu Mr. Shwe Zan Aung contributes generously of his learning and special knowledge as a Buddhist of Burma trained in the West. Critical treatment of a translation so full of difficulties could only be attempted by a critic able to claim competence in the matter at least approaching that of these experienced fellow-workers. Their critics in this branch of Pali studies will probably be just ready to begin when the present work and its predecessor, the *Compendium of Philosophy*, have become, like *Buddhist Psychology*, the classics on the subject.

M. H. B.

THE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI, VOL. IV

One recognizes the new hand of Mr. H. Dodwell in the Introduction and in the useful notes throughout with pleasure, but the alteration of the title-page and the omission of the summary of contents in the different chapters are to be regretted. The notes enable the reader to remember the relationships of the various members of Madame Dupleix's family. With this knowledge the reader understands why Madras was excluded from the operations of the official Dubash in favour of Madame. She was thought by reason of them to have greater and better opportunities of being useful to the Governor of the French Settlements than Ananda Ranga Pillai himself.

The diarist did not, of course, share the opinion that such a thing was possible. He had a very good opinion of himself, and the reader cannot help feeling that he was justified in the opinion he held. Dupleix relied upon him to see that everything inside and outside Pondicherry—except at Madras—went right. The Dubash managed the Company's investment, as well as the private trading affairs of the Governor; he was Chief Secretary and Interpreter and controlled all the correspondence with the country merchants and the country powers; he was the Chief Intelligence Officer of the Government, with as many subordinates as were necessary for the work in hand; he was the Earl Marshal who arranged all the ceremonies at the reception of the country chiefs; he was the trusted conductor of Dupleix's public and private intrigues; he was the Home Secretary who watched and reported the public feeling, and the public opinion not only in French territory but beyond it.

The volume includes the period between March 15, 1747, and March 31, 1748. During the whole of this time the Company's trade and the struggle with the English were more or less at a standstill. Both were

stopped by the arrival on the coast of Commodore Griffin's squadron. The presence of the fleet not only closed the sea routes to and from Pondicherry, but also obliged the French to keep their garrisons at that town and at Madras within the walls, lest the fleet should make an attack on either place during their absence.

The only event of real importance was the attempt to attack Fort St. David during the temporary absence of the British squadron in January, 1748. The attack was well planned. Dupleix attended to a number of different details himself. But it was delayed in consequence of the professional jealousy of the French naval and military officers, who were unwilling to be placed under the orders of the Company's senior officer, in spite of his proved ability. When Dupleix resolved the difficulty by taking command himself the British fleet returned to the Fort St. David roads and the opportunity was lost.

Apart from the events the diary of this period has an importance of its own. The characters of the principal agents in the drama gradually unfold themselves. That of Ranga Pillai stands out to advantage by the side of those of Governor and Madame Dupleix. One cannot help feeling that Ranga Pillai is the honest man, and that the others are scheming, intriguing, and unscrupulous persons. Dupleix was undoubtedly a remarkable man, courageous and masterful; but he was petulant under opposition and violent in temper, he was suspicious of others, he judged them harshly and unjustly, and was always ready to believe the worst of them. Ranga Pillai had a genuine admiration for his good points, and occasionally expressed it openly; he had also an equally genuine contempt for his weak points, but he only expressed this privately in his diary.

As for Madame, she was Ranga Pillai's formidable rival professionally and personally. Her object was the acquisition of power as a source of wealth. Ranga

Pillai's influence and power were well established when Fort St. George was taken. She could not establish her own influence and power without first destroying his. This she attempted to do in various underhand ways. It is to the honour of Dupleix that he took little or no notice of the complaints and libellous stories by which she sought to discredit the Dubash. Ranga Pillai on his part took his revenge in his diary. In this he dissected her motives and character, and libelled her in real Indian fashion to his heart's content.

The only criticism it seems necessary to make is with regard to the surname Barnewall. The editor has evidently come to the conclusion that that was the real name, in spite of the epitaph on Anthony's tombstone, "*Hic jacet Antonius Coyle de Barnaval, splendore natalium in Hibernia clarus,*" etc. He has good reason for this opinion, for Anthony's contemporaries, the Fleetwoods, were related by marriage to a family of Barnewall or Barnewell. This fact may easily account for Anthony's presence in Madras. But a note is required to justify the opinion.

The hearty thanks of all historical students are due to the editor, the translator, and the Government of Madras for another volume.

FRANK PENNY.

THE MAQĀMĀT OF BADI' AL-ZAMĀN AL-HAMADĀNĪ.

Translated from the Arabic, with an introduction and notes, historical and grammatical, by W. J. PRENDERGAST, B.Litt. (Oxon). pp. xii and 190. London: Luzac & Co.

The publication of this book spells belated justice done to the originator of an important branch of Arabic literature. Unlike Hariri, his more brilliant imitator,

Hamadāni has not received that amount of attention at the hands of European scholarship which he deserves. Apart from the half-dozen *maqāmas* published by Silvestre de Sacy in his *Chrestomathie arabe* (vol. iii), and the few specimens translated into German by Anthor, nothing has been done to make European readers acquainted with the work of the "Wonder of the Age", who, as to taste, is distinctly superior to Hariri. Sincere thanks are therefore due to Mr. Prendergast for his labours, and the thoroughness with which he has dealt with Hamadāni's life and the literary, as well as æsthetic, aspect of his work. The reader will miss, however, any mention of the abstracts from Hamadāni's biography with which De Sacy accompanied his reproductions, although the annotations of the latter are occasionally alluded to in the notes. The modern reader who is unacquainted with the language of the original will find in these stories specimens of a literature with a charm of its own. The hero is a clever beggar who by his tricks, anecdotes, and witty repartee both in prose and verse shows up human follies and failings and at the same time ekes out a precarious livelihood. He is even a man of education, as his criticism of the style of the renowned Al Jāhiz reveals. The ethical element is provided by the sad background which is meant to convince his audience that he was forced by the vicissitudes of life to choose the calling of a vagabond.

Valuable is the translator's introduction treating on rhymed prose in Arabic, as well as his investigation of the term *maqāma*. In the notes he displays a sound knowledge of the older Arabic literature. His Hebrew and Aramaic quotations, however, are not faultless, and here he might with advantage have sought expert advice. Otherwise he has shown himself the right man to undertake the work, and we may perhaps hope that he will proceed to prepare a critical edition of the original,

which will not be superfluous in spite of the Oriental editions in existence. The get-up of the book is excellent.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL
DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1915-16. By R.
NARASIMHACHAR. Fol. Bangalore: Government
Press. 1916.

The present report is fully equal in interest and value to its predecessors, which is saying a good deal. Carefully written and abundantly illustrated, these volumes are a mine of accurate information on the antiquities and history of Southern India, for which students should be deeply grateful. The present report deals mainly with the antiquities of Turuvēkere and Śrīngēri. Those of Śrīngēri, including the famous abbey founded by the great Śāṅkara Āchārya, are particularly interesting on account both of the illustrious names connected with that sacred place and of their own artistic merit. The beautiful Vidyāśāṅkara temple there is a highly ornate building in the Dravidian style, possessing the remarkable feature (probably unique in India) of being apsidal at both ends; it was erected soon after the year 1356 as a memorial of the famous Vidyātīrtha, the teacher of Bhāratīrtha, and of the still more renowned divine and scholar Sāyaṇa. Several early charters and inscriptions are noticed, among them two grants purporting to be from the Gaṅga kings Konkaṇivarma (Avinīta) and Durvinīta, as also some rather interesting letters to the Abbot of Śrīngēri from Kṛṣṇa-rāja Oḍeyar II, Haidar 'Alī, and Tipṇu; and we have reason to hope that further study of the records of Śrīngēri will enable Mr. Narasimhachar to throw more light on the history of that distinguished school.

L. D. B.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT
OF HIS HIGHNESS THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS,
1914-15 A.D. By G. YAZDANI. Fol. Hyderabad :
Calcutta printed. 1916.

The great wealth of Hyderabad State in monuments of antiquity has long been known. Its treasures range in date from the Maurya period (only two years ago a new edict of Aśoka was discovered at Maski) to the latest Moslem period, and include many works of the first rank in their kind, not to mention the priceless paintings and carvings of Ajanta. The Government of H.H. the Nizam has now faced its duty towards these precious monuments of the past with gratifying energy by creating in June, 1914, a special Archæological Department for the State under the charge of Mr. G. Yazdani. The record of Mr. Yazdani's first year is presented in this report, and tells of much good work already accomplished and a goodly promise for the future. It is moreover well illustrated with plates reproducing photographs of *chaityas* in Ajanta, Pitalkhora, Aurangabad, and Ellora, temples and their details at Anwa and Ittagi, and specimens of Moslem architecture at Bodhan, Hyderabad, Bidar, and Daulatabad. We wish the new Department and its Superintendent much success, and anticipate from their labours a rich harvest.

L. D. B.

ELEMENTS OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY. By T. A. GOPINATHA
RAO, M.A. Vol. II, Parts 1 and 2. 4to. Madras :
Law Printing House. 1916.

These two stout volumes complete the valuable work of the author, of which the preceding parts have already been noticed in this Journal. For the most part they are concerned with the iconography of Śaivism. After an introduction on the various schools of this church, and

a chapter on the development of the cult of Rudra-Śiva, the author proceeds to its iconography, setting forth the rules of the voluminous Southern literature for the construction of the images of the great god in his various aspects and of his associate deities, and illustrating them from actual works of art. Thus we have chapters treating successively of *liṅgas*, the *Liṅgodbhava-mūrti* or form of the god emerging from a *liṅga*, the *Chandraśekhara-mūrti* or form of Śiva wearing the moon on his headdress, the Pāsupata forms, the forms representing him as seated in a pose of ease, the types associating him with his consort Umā and his son Skanda, the various terrific aspects or *saṁhāra-mūrtis*, the *anugraha-mūrtis* or types illustrating legends of his acts of grace, the different modes of his dances, the *Dakṣiṇā-mūrtis* representing him in various forms as the genius of wisdom and music, and divers miscellaneous aspects. These sections are followed by an exposition of some rather abstruse theology on certain phases of the god, with their representation in art,¹ and a short chapter on local legends. After Śiva come Skanda or Subrahmanya, the minor deities Nandikēśvara and Chandēśvara, the Bhaktas or devotees (comprising the sixty-three Śaiva votaries and the twelve Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs, with some additional figures), Ārya (Ayyanār or Harihara-putra), the Kṣhētrapāla or godling of the homestead, Brahmā, the Dikpālas or tutelary gods of the quarters of space, the Aśvinidēvatās, and a series of miscellaneous demigods. There are two appendices, the first dealing with the proportions of the dancing figures of Śiva, and the second comprising the text of the passages from iconographic works quoted in the course of the book.

The work is one of much learning and research, and

¹ In connexion with this we may point out that the author advances very cogent arguments to show that the famous "Trimūrti" of Elephanta is not a Trimūrti at all, but a *Mahāśa-mūrti* (see p. 382 ff.).

will be indispensable to future students of art and myth. At the same time we may venture to point out a few minor defects, which, though they do not impair the value of the book as a whole, might with advantage be removed in a future edition. The list of errata is long, but it is not exhaustive. The transcription of Sanskrit words is often disfigured by irregularities in the use of diacritic signs (e.g. "Kriyākramadyōtini"). The author suffers from a weakness painfully common among Hindu writers, the tendency to give incomplete references: most of the passages to which he refers in his introductory chapter on the cult of Śiva (pp. 39-71) are mentioned without specification of chapter and verse¹; and though the passages cited in the subsequent sections are textually given in Appendix II, with the references to the chapters in which they occur, even then the numbers of the verses are omitted, although they might have been added without difficulty, at any rate in many cases. The statement on p. 40 that Rudra "is, throughout the Vedic period, identified with Agni" surely needs considerable qualification; and the whole section on Śiva (pp. 39-71) is far from adequate as an exposition of the origins and development of that polymorphic cult. These, however, are minor incidents in the work.

L. D. BARNETT.

¹ This weakness has led our author into a mistake on p. 45, where he speaks of the Sāṅkhāyana and Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇas as two distinct works: as a matter of fact, they are one and the same.

OBITUARY NOTICE

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET, C.I.E.

ON the 21st of February last John Faithfull Fleet passed away from us, dear to many, and honoured by all. Our loss is great, greater than words can tell.

He came from a typical English stock of the best type. His father was John George Fleet, of Roystons, Chiswick, his mother Esther Faithfull. Born in 1847 and educated at the Merchant 'Taylors' School, he was appointed in 1865 to the Indian Civil Service, and in preparation for his work in India applied himself among various studies to Sanskrit, which he learned from Theodor Goldstücker, then professor at University College, London. To Goldstücker's profound learning and stimulating teaching he owed much. When his studies in London were finished he proceeded in 1867 to the Presidency of Bombay, and entered the Revenue and Executive Branch of the service. He soon distinguished himself as a capable and energetic administrator, and was successively Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Educational Inspector in the Southern Division (1872), Assistant Political Agent in Kolhapur and the Southern Maratha Country (1875), and Collector and Magistrate (1882). In the meanwhile he was busy with literary and scientific studies. From the first he had been attracted to the investigation of the historical records engraved on stone and copper-plates which are so abundant in the Bombay Presidency. Before his time little progress had been made in constructing scientific systems of Indian history and epigraphy: the work that had been done was largely one-sided and amateurish, and from lack of fixed criteria of date almost the whole of the chronology was floating in

the air. That science arose out of this chaos was due to Fleet more than to any other man. The subject was congenial to his mind, which cared intensely for realities and little for the artificial elegances of literature, except in so far as the knowledge of the latter enabled him to interpret the records of the former. He loved details, not for their own sake, but as bricks to be methodically built up into ordered systems of science. And the combination of qualities that he brought to bear upon these studies was such as no previous investigator had ever possessed. He perfected his Sanskrit; he acquired a thorough mastery over the beautiful Kanarese language in its ancient and modern dialects; and he gradually gained a knowledge of Indian chronology and astronomy in which few, if any, Europeans could equal him. The royal roads to learning which students of this generation enjoy were not granted to him; good grammars, handbooks, and dictionaries were few; and Fleet acquired his learning by hard labour under great difficulties. To give only one instance, he worked for several years without a lexicon of Sanskrit, his only book of reference being Haughton's Bengali-English Dictionary. But in spite of the obstacles put in his way by lack of facilities and of leisure—or perhaps indeed because of them, for difficulties only increase the strength of mind of such characters—he soon made his mark by his papers on the epigraphic records and history of Southern India, first in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and then in the *Indian Antiquary*, which was founded in 1872, and was edited by him from the fourteenth to the twentieth year of its career. His writings were notable for the combination of the qualities most essential for the epigraphist-historian—deep knowledge of the Sanskrit and Kanarese languages and literatures, minute accuracy in details, together with remarkable skill in synthesis, sound critical judgment, and strictly scientific method.

In 1878 he published for the India Office the collection entitled "Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions". In 1883 the post of Epigraphist to the Government of India was specially created, and he was appointed to it. He held it for three years. In 1886 he came back to administrative duty, becoming Collector and Magistrate at Sholapur. Two years later appeared his "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors", forming the third volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, a splendid monument of exact scholarship and critical judgment. The Gupta period is in the annals of classical India almost what the Periclean age is in the history of Greece; and in this magnificent volume Fleet did full justice to its epigraphic records from the side both of literature and of history. He published here the brilliant discovery that the epoch of the Gupta dynasty was A.D. 319-20, which ever since has been the keystone in the structure of Indian chronology. And all the time he was working with unflagging energy on his official duties. In 1889 he became "Senior Collector, in 1891 Commissioner of the Southern and in 1892 of the Central Divisions, and in 1893 Commissioner of Customs. His "Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts in the Bombay Presidency", forming vol. i, pt. ii, of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, was issued in 1895. In this work he digested with masterly system the immense mass of historical data that he had collected during his many years of research in the epigraphic and literary records of his much-loved province and its neighbourhood, and established the outlines of its history on a sure basis. Two years later he retired from the Indian Civil Service, and made his home in Ealing. He was now able to give his whole time and energy to his favourite studies, and he worked upon them constantly and vigorously almost to the last, contributing to this Journal and the *Epigraphia Indica* a continuous series

of papers and notes, all of which bore the impress of his deep and exact learning. In 1906 he became Honorary Secretary of this Society, an office which he held to the end of his life, and in 1912 he was awarded the Society's Gold Medal.

Fleet's position is that of a *maestro di color che sanno*, a leader of scientific research. His method was one of exact, sober, and critical investigation of facts, aiming at sure synthesis, and avoiding unsure speculation. He was certainly a philologist, and that to an eminent degree: he had an accurate and wide knowledge of Sanskrit, and his mastery of Kanarese was extraordinary; but he chiefly valued these things as means for the attainment of scientific and historical truth. For literature as literature, art for art's sake, he did not greatly care. But he had a warm humanity and keen interest in the real things of life, which led him to delight in the simple ballads of his sturdy peasantry, many of which he collected with loving care, and some of which he published in the *Indian Antiquary* with their music. Allied to this quality was his capacity for friendship. He was a singularly warm and generous friend, endlessly kind and thoughtful, and freely lavishing time and labour in order to aid others. There was no trace of selfishness or egoism in his nature. He invited newcomers into the domain in which he was acknowledged master, and generously helped them with counsel and guidance. He persuaded Franz Kielhorn, the great master of Sanskrit grammar, to turn his attention to epigraphy and chronology; and others are still living who can testify to their indebtedness to him for inspiration and help. *Non omnis mortuus est*: to all he has bequeathed a noble example of high achievement, and to his friends a dear and gracious memory.

L. D. BARNETT.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January-March, 1917)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

January 9, 1917.—Dr. F. W. Thomas in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

- Mr. M. T. Ramaswami Aiyar.
- Mr. A. V. Venkatrama Aiyar.
- Mr. Syed Zahur Ali.
- Srijukla Satischandra Ghosh.
- Major L. A. Howarth.
- Mr. Raghubir Singh Jaspal.
- Mr. Gokalchand Kohli.
- Babu Provas Chandra Mukhopadhyaya.
- Mr. Suryya Prasad Mahajan.
- Mr. R. Padmanabhaiyer.
- The Hon. Rai Bahadur M. Ashtbhuja Prasad.
- Pandit Parshu Rama Shastri.
- Mr. Satalur Sundara Suryanarayanan.
- Mr. E. J. Thomas.
- Mr. Ramani Ranjan Sen Gupta Vidyabinode.

Nine nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Herbert Baynes read a paper entitled "The Zoroastrian Prophecy and the Messianic Hope", which dealt with all the references in the Avesta to Sao'syand, the coming Healer or Saviour, and pointed out what an interesting light the subject threw upon one of the most striking and beloved episodes in our Lord's life, namely, the coming of the three Wise Men from the East.

After giving the results of recent researches in the realm of Irānian religion, the lecturer proceeded to cite the following passages from the Avesta :—

Uzvaedhayad Zarathustro Aḡrem Mainyûm: duśda Aḡra Mainyo, janāni dāma Daevo-Dātem, janāni nasvê Daevo-Dātem !

Janāni Pairikām yām Khnāthaiti yahmāi us-zayāitē Saošyās verethraja haca apaḍ Kāsaoyād Uṣastarāḍ haca, naemāḍ uṣastaraeibyō haca naemaeibyō! (Vendidād, xix, 5.)

Zarathustra answered Angra Mainyu: "O wicked Angra Mainyu, I should like to destroy the creation of the Daevas; I would slay the Nasu, formed by the Daevas, and the Peri Khnāthaiti, whilst looking for the coming of the victorious Saošyānḍ from Lake Kansu, from the region of the dawn, from the depths of the rising of the sun."

Asaonām vaguhīs srīrāo spēntāo Frava'sayō yazamaidē. Yāo avām khšudrem aivyākhšayēiṇti yām Spitāmahē aṣaonō Zarathustrahē. Navaca navaitiṣca navaca sata navaca hazaḡra navasesca baēvān.

We worship the good, forceful, and beneficent Fravaṣis of the just who watch over the germ of Zarathustra the venerable, the just, in number 9, 90, 900, 9090 myriads. (Farvardin Yast, xiii, 20.)

Yō aghad Saošyās verethraja nāma Astvaḍ-Eretasca nāma. Avatha Saošyās yatha vīspem ahūm astvañtem sāvayād. Avatha Astvaḍ-Eretō yatha astvāo hā uṣtanavāo Astvaḍ-ithaejaghem paitistāḍ paitistāteē bīsaṅgrō citrayāo Drujō paitistāteē aṣava-karstahē ḡbaēṣaḡhō.

Who will have the name Saošyānḍ, the victorious, and Astvaḍ-Ereta. He is Saošyānḍ because he will do good to all the corporeal world. He is Astvaḍ-Ereta because he will render corporeal beings indestructible, body and soul; in order to repel the Druj of the biped breed, so as to destroy the evil done by the just. (cxxix.)

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Thomas, Dr. Büchler, Mr. Kennedy, Professor Bevan, Mr. Mead, and Professor Hagopian took part.

February 13, 1917.—Mr. M. Longworth Dames, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. C. F. Argyll-Saxby.

Babu Kedareshwar Banerjee.

Mr. Thomas Brown.

Mr. S. A. Durai.
Mr. Lalita Prasad Dutt.
The Rev. H. I. Marshall.
H.H. Rama Varma, the Elayaraja of Chirakkal.
Babu Jitendranath Ray.
Babu Dwijendra Nath Roy.

Four nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Miss M. A. Czaplicka read a paper entitled "On the Track of the Tungus". The paper was well illustrated by lantern slides, and Professor Arthur Keith and Mr. Hopkins took part in the discussion which followed.

March 13, 1917.—Mr. M. Longworth Dames, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Chairman announced with deep regret the death of Mr. J. F. Fleet, the Hon. Secretary of the Society, on February 21; and a resolution conveying to his family the deep sense of the loss to the Society and to the cause of Oriental learning, as well as deep sympathy with his relatives, was passed.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Professor Anakul Chandra Dutt.
Mr. B. N. Mahant.
Sabibzada Bhagat Lakshman Singh.
Vaidya Pandit Ramchandra Vidyaratna.

Three nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Dr. Thomas read a paper on "The Training of the Sanskrit Poet".

After premising that the title of the paper was to be taken literally and not as comprising any general appreciation, historical or otherwise, of Indian poetry, or an exposition of the subtler theories of the works on *Alaṃkāra*, or Poetics, he proceeded to show by a number

of quotations from such works that the Sanskrit critics distinguished in the development of the poet four factors, namely, fancy or inspiration (*pratibhā*), culture (*vyutpatti*), practice (*abhyāsa*), and instruction (*śikṣā*). These are expounded in detail; and, in particular, the last-named involved the study and laborious imitation of recognized models, which procedure gives rise to some amusing discussions concerning plagiarism and its limits. The interaction of the poets' invention and the doctrines of the theorists was next illustrated. The chief patrons of the poets were the kings, whose relations with their protégés are depicted in a lively manner in such works as the *Bhojaprabandha*, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, etc. But the private man of taste (*rasika* or *sahṛdaya*) was not left out of view, and there are striking verses which exhibit the victorious effect of good poetry upon the hearer or confidence in an ultimate justification. The selection of familiar themes and the manipulation of earlier poets' ideas or the poetic conventions (*kavi-saṅgati* or *°samaya*) is also occasionally vindicated, the originality being in the new treatment or new turn. In general, the Sanskrit poet was a schooled professional and appealed to a cultured taste. After a reference to the doctrines of *dhvani* and *rasa*, the latter the salvation of Indian poetry, the lecturer proceeded to defend the writers of the elaborate style from the charge of unnaturalness: if this poetry was according to its own definition not "life", it was rich in wit, idea, and apophthegm, and it had the quality of true literature. He concluded by quoting a verse, ascribed to Bāṇa, which finds the most perfect poetry in a combination of culture and sentiment.

The greater part of the paper is to be published in the Bhandarkar Memorial Volume.

Sir George Grierson took part in the discussion.

II. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

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Moret (A.). Chartes d'immunité dans l'ancien Empire égyptien.

Vinson (J.). Sur un caractère singulier dans l'alphabet tamoul.

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Segalen (V.). Premier exposé des résultats archéologiques obtenus dans la Chine occidentale par la mission Gilbert de Voisins, Jean Lartigue, et Victor Segalen, 1914.

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Worms (M.). Nefretiti.

II. CEYLON ANTIQUARY AND LITERARY REGISTER.

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Le Goc (Rev. M. G.). The Madu-Gaha.

Lewis (J. P.). Some Notes on Archæological Matters in the Northern Province.

Galpin (C. A.). Notes on Marriage and its attendant Customs, particularly among the Low Country Sinhalese.

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Samarasekara (G. P.). The Banishment of King Dutu Gemunu.

III. JOURNAL OF THE CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. XXIII, No. lxvii.

Senavaratne (J. M.). The Date of Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology.

Lewis (F.). Notes on an Exploration in Eastern Uva and Southern Panama Pattu.

IV. BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT.
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V. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY.
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Gaster (M.). Samaritan Phylacteries and Amulets.

VI. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.
Vol. XXXVI, Pt. iii.

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— Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings.

Hopkins (E. Washburn). Indra as God of Fertility.

Prince (J. Dyneley). Further Notes on the so-called Epic of Paradise.

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Vandenburgh (F. A.). A Business Letter of Anu-sarušur.

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Ledi Sadaw. On the Philosophy of Relations.

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Griffini (E.). Il poemetto di Qudam ben Qādim.

Belloni-Filippi (F.). Saggio del Munivaicariyam.

Boson (G.). I metalli e le pietre nelle iscrizioni sumero-assiro-babilonesi.

Nallino (C. A.). Di una strana opinione attribuita ad al-Gāhiz intorno al Corano.

— Sull' origine del nome die Mu'taziliti.

— Sul nome di Qadariti.

Farina (G.). La Preghiera delle offerte degli antiche Egiziani.

Puini (C.). Giosué nel Tibet.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

A collection of documents belonging to the late Dr. West relating to the Kanheri and other Caves, and a collection of photographs, belonging to the late Dr. Burgess, of cave and other temples in India. *From Mrs. Burgess.*

Some coins from the Maldive Islands.

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ERRATA

Page 385, line 1. *For* فغان *read* فغان.

„ „ 2. *For* صدا نهين *read* صدا نهين.



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JOURNAL
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XI

THE ACT OF TRUTH (SACCAKIRIYA): A HINDU SPELL
AND ITS EMPLOYMENT AS A PSYCHIC MOTIF IN
HINDU FICTION¹

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AN Act of Truth is a formal declaration of fact, accompanied by a command or resolution or prayer that the purpose of the agent shall be accomplished.² For example, a hunter asks a sage how a certain nymph can be captured, and the sage replies: "Nymphs can be captured by the utterance of a truth; nor, under such circumstances, have they power to vanish from sight." Accordingly the hunter says to the nymph he desires to capture: "You are the beautiful daughter of King

¹ This paper is intended to form a chapter in Professor Maurice Bloomfield's projected *Cyclopædia of Hindu Fiction Motifs*. See the following papers by Bloomfield: "On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction, and the Laugh and Cry Motif," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxxvi, 54-89. "On Talking Birds in Hindu Fiction," *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, 349-61. "The Character and Adventures of Maladeva," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, lli, 616-50.

² Compare 2 Kings, i, 10-12: "And Elijah answered and said to the captain of fifty, If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven and consume thee and thy fifty. And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty."

Druma; if this be true, halt! you are bound fast! If it be true that you are the daughter of King Druma, and that you were reared by the king, move not a foot, O fair Manoharā!" By the utterance of this truth on the part of the hunter the nymph addressed is immediately bound fast, and is unable to vanish from sight; but all of her companions vanish into the air.¹

Or take the story of the restoration of King Sivi's eyes by an Act of Truth. Sivi, who is already noted for his generosity, one day makes a vow that should any one beg of him, not something outside of him, but part of his very self, whether heart, flesh, blood, or eyes, he will give it to him. Sakka hears his vow, disguises himself as a blind beggar, and asks him for one of his eyes. Sivi forthwith gives him both. Afterwards, becoming depressed, he longs for death. Sakka tells him to make an Act of Truth with reference to his gift, assuring him that, if he will do so, his eyes will be restored. Sivi thereupon makes the following Act of Truth: "Whatsoever sort or kind of beggar comes to me is dear to my heart. If this be true, let one of my eyes be restored." Immediately one of his eyes is restored. To restore the other eye, he recites the following: "A Brahman came to me and asked me for one of my eyes; unto him gave I two. Great joy and delight filled me. If this be true, let my other eye be restored." Immediately his other eye is restored. The story goes on to say that Sivi's new eyes were neither natural eyes nor divine eyes, inasmuch as an eye given by Sakka cannot be made a natural eye, nor can a divine eye be produced when the physical basis or cause has been injured; that they are to be described as the Eyes of the Perfection of Truth.²

¹ *Mahāvastu*, ii, 97^{b-21}.

² *Jātaka* 499. In *Jātaka-mālā*, ii, Sivi's eyes were restored by the power of his Truth-Command and by the abundant store of his merit, *satyādhiśhānabalāt puṇyopacayaṇiṣṭhāc ca*.

A single truth is sufficient; and, as in the examples cited, a truth of the most commonplace sort. As a rule the Act of Truth refers to some such fact as that the agent, or the person in whose behalf the Act is performed, possesses certain good qualities or is free from certain evil qualities; that he has done certain things he ought to have done, or that he has left undone certain things he ought not to do. For example, reference is frequently made to the truth of some teaching of the Buddha, or of his religion as a whole; to religious devotion; to absence of hatred or malice; to the fact that a person has never deliberately injured a living being; and, by women, to the fact of their chastity. But while the person who performs the Act, or the beneficiary thereof, is generally represented as a paragon of virtue, and the reference is usually to religious truth or good works or merit, this is not invariably the case.

A courtesan, provided she has at her command a single truth, thereby possesses power equal to that of the greatest saint. The Act of Truth sometimes refers, not to good qualities or good works, but to the very opposite. For example, an ascetic performs an Act of Truth with reference to his dissatisfaction with the religious life; a father, with reference to his lack of religious devotion; and a wife, with reference to her utter hatred of her husband. Adulterous wives deceive their husbands by mock Acts of Truth; wicked ministers deceive their king. Not only are all the deities and powers of nature compelled to obey the command accompanying an Act of Truth when the persons involved are of blameless character and their motives the highest; they are equally under compulsion to obey, however much against their will, the command that accompanies an Act performed for the express purpose of accomplishing deception or perpetrating a fraud!

In connection with the Power of Truth are sometimes

mentioned Powers of Righteousness, such as the power of goodness and the power of merit; and, as well, the superhuman might of spirits, deities, and Buddhas. Such mention does not mean, however, that the Act of Truth in any way depends for its efficacy upon the co-operation of these other forces, powerful though they are. Truth, in and by itself all-powerful and irresistible, is essentially distinct from them, and operates independently of them. Truth, to the exclusion of any ordinary physical power or cause, is the sole power whereby the conjurer causes rain to fall, fire to turn back, poison to be struck down. There is nothing that cannot be accomplished by the Truth.¹ Men, gods, powers of nature; all animate and inanimate things alike obey the Truth. Even the Buddhas themselves employ Acts of Truth.

The Act of Truth commonly takes the form of a spell or charm, most often that of a healing charm. It is frequently employed in prayers addressed to good and evil spirits, deities, and the powers of nature. It is also employed in pronouncing curses and taking oaths, and is the means *par excellence* of avoiding injury or death in ordeals. As is shown by the specimens given below, it is the stock in trade by which men play, one after another, the parts of wizard, conjurer, magician, physician, surgeon, good Samaritan, rain-maker, prophet, and priest.

The Act of Truth, although frequently a humdrum charm, and usually very simple, is always a formal act. Sometimes, especially in the Buddhist and Jain records, it takes on the character of a quasi-sacramental rite, and is performed with scrupulous attention to preliminary details and accompanying ceremonies. For example, a woman, about to transform herself into a man, invokes the deities as witnesses. A tiny quail, before conjuring a forest fire to turn back, engages in solemn meditation on the Buddhas and their acquired powers. A king and

¹ See especially *Milindapañha*, 119-23 (translated below).

queen, intending to cross rivers on dry foot, meditate on the virtues of the Buddha, the Law, and the Order. A queen, intending to cross a river on dry foot, goes to the bank of the river with her retinue in ceremonial attire, and, first invoking the goddess of the river, with hands both joined, and with a pure heart, pronounces the magic words. A king drives in his chariot of state to charm the ocean. A monkey, intending to hollow canes, blows into them. A woman sprinkles water on the head of her husband in curing him of leprosy. A prince, in healing wounds in the hands, rubs the palms with powdered bark. In counteracting the effect of poison the laying on of hands is regularly employed.

A woman, about to undergo the ordeal of passing between the legs of a yaksha, before making her Act of Truth, bathes, puts on fresh garments, and offers incense and flowers to the yaksha. A skipper, before making an Act of Truth to avert shipwreck, orders his fellow-mariners to bathe him in perfumed water, clothe him in new garments, prepare him a full bowl, and place him in the bow of the ship. He performs his Act standing in the bow of the ship, and holding the full bowl in both his hands. Similarly a conjurer, who is able by means of the Vedabbha charm to cause the seven kinds of jewels to come down from the sky like rain, before reciting the charm has his head bathed, is clothed with new garments, perfumed with scents, and decked with flowers.¹

The Pāli word for "Act of Truth" is *saccakiriya*. The phonetic equivalent in Sanskrit is **satyakriyā*, and this form is given by Böhtlingk-Roth, but without references. I have nowhere met with this form in Sanskrit, and am of the opinion that it does not occur. The word *kiriya*, *kriyā* is used, both in Pāli and Sanskrit, to denote any kind of act, operation, or performance, and frequently, as

¹ See *Jātaka* 48.

in the compound *saccakiriya*, has a distinct flavour of magic about it. Instead of **satyakiriya*, the Sanskrit employs *satyādhishṭhānam*, "Truth-Command." The Pāli equivalent *saccādhishṭhānam* occurs, but not often.¹ The spell is sometimes referred to as a "Truth-Utterance": Pāli *saccavajja*, Sanskrit *satyavādyā*; Pāli *saccavacana*, Sanskrit *satyavacana*; Sanskrit *satyopavācana*,² *satyavākya*, *satyaṣṭrāvaṇā*.³ Sometimes it is called simply a "Truth": Pāli *saccaṃ*, Sanskrit *satyam*.

The formula used varies considerably. Common examples in Pāli are: *yena saccena . . . etena saccavajjena*; ⁴ *tathā . . . yathā . . . etena saccavajjena*; ⁵ *yasmā . . . etena saccena*; ⁶ *sace . . . iminā saccena*; ⁷ *etena saccena*; ⁸ *iminā saccena*; ⁹ *etena saccavajjena*; ¹⁰ *mama saccena*.¹¹ In Sanskrit: *yena satyena satyavacanena . . . tena satyena satyavacanena*; ¹² *anena satyena satyavākyaena*; ¹³ *etena satyavākyaena*; ¹⁴ *anena satyavākyaena*; ¹⁵ *yathā . . . satyavacanena*; ¹⁶ *yathā . . . anena satyena*; ¹⁷ *yathā . . . etena satyena*; ¹⁸ *yadi . . . tat tena satyena*; ¹⁹ *yathā . . . tathā*; ²⁰ *atas*.²¹

The formal utterance of a truth under such circumstances and for such purposes as have been mentioned is in fact a magic art of the most primitive sort. The fundamental concept underlying it is not peculiar to the Buddhists or to the Hindus, but is, and always has been, the common possession of all the races of mankind. It underlies not

¹ *Thera-Gāthā Commentary*, ccxxxv. *Jātaka* 20: i, 172⁶⁻⁷.

² *Avadāna-Āṭaka*, i, 48⁶. ³ *Pārāyanātha-caritra*, iii, 267.

⁴ *Jātaka*, vi, 91¹⁶⁻²⁷, 154²³⁻³⁰. ⁵ *Ibid.* v, 95².

⁶ *Ibid.* v, 29¹⁰⁻¹². ⁷ *Ibid.* vi, 1¹⁰.

⁸ *Ibid.* iv, 31¹⁴; v, 29¹⁻³. ⁹ *Ibid.* i, 294²⁴, 331²⁰.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iv, 142¹⁰, 320¹⁻¹⁴, 410¹⁻¹⁴; v, 87¹⁷.

¹¹ *Ibid.* vi, 242².

¹² *Divyāvadāna*, 472²⁴⁻²⁷, 473²⁰⁻²⁷, 478²⁴⁻²⁹, 571²⁻⁷, 572²⁰⁻²³.

¹³ *Ibid.* 154²², 155⁶.

¹⁴ *Mahāvastu*, ii, 97.

¹⁵ *Jātaka-mālā*, xiv, 31.

¹⁶ *Mahāvastu*, ii, 97.

¹⁷ *Jātaka-mālā*, xv, 8.

¹⁸ *Divyāvadāna*, 459²¹.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 417²⁴.

²⁰ *Jātaka-mālā*, i, 30-1.

²¹ *Ibid.* xvi, 7.

only many of the cruder folk-practices, such as witchcraft, but also many of the more highly refined and civilized forms of prayer and oath and curse. It is a striking and significant expression in symbolic terms of the deep-seated conviction of all men everywhere that the truth is of supreme importance and of irresistible power. It explains why the oath and the curse have always struck terror to the human heart. In all ages and climes witnesses, before bearing testimony, have invoked deities and powers of nature to punish them if their words were false, firm in the conviction that so high is the dignity of truth and so tremendous its power that not only mankind but superhuman powers as well are subject to it and compelled to obey it. Some such idea as this doubtless underlies the Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan conception of the Deity as governed by and acting in accordance with the principle of truth, of God as Truth.

The all-powerful character of Truth is brought out in a very striking and picturesque manner in the accounts of ordeals. Truth protects the innocent, and falsehood destroys the guilty. The innocent man is perfectly safe in taking a red-hot iron ball into his hands, and the innocent woman may with impunity step into the fire. A person accused of wrongdoing has but to utter the truth, and, if he be innocent, both deities and powers of nature will come to his assistance and vindicate his innocence. A famous passage in the *Chāndogya Upanishad* (6, 16) employs an unusually bold figure. In this passage the guilty man is represented as identifying himself with falsehood, the innocent man as identifying himself with truth.

"Again, my son, they lead along a man with hands bound. 'He has stolen, he has committed theft; heat the axe for him!' If he be guilty, then verily he makes himself to be falsehood (*ātmānam anṛtaṁ karoti*): completely uniting himself with falsehood (*anṛtābhisamdhō*),

incorporating himself into falsehood (*anṛtenātmānaṁ antardhāya*), he grasps the heated axe. He is burned; he perishes. But if he be innocent, then verily he makes himself to be truth (. . . *satyaṁ* . . .): completely uniting himself with truth, incorporating himself into truth, he grasps the heated axe. He is not burned; he is freed".¹

Interesting as is the Act of Truth regarded simply as a piece of magic, it is even more interesting as an instrument in the hands of the story-teller. It is one of the favourite themes of the Hindu story-teller, and many of the most interesting and entertaining stories in Hindu literature and folklore turn on it. Obviously, by reason of its resourcefulness and the strong appeal it makes to the imagination, it possesses immense possibilities for the purposes of fiction. As a psychic motif, a literary device or ruse, a god from the machine, it is employed in the

¹ The meaning of this famous passage is much disputed, and the interpretation here offered is radically different from all previous interpretations. The crux of the passage is the compound *satyābhisambuddha*, which, in my opinion, should be translated in *complete or perfect union with the truth*. The second element, *abhisambuddha*, appears to bear the same relation to the noun *sambuddhā* as *abhisambuddha* to *sambuddha*. The passage is one of several illustrative figures employed by a father to teach his son the essential identity of all things with "the existent", "the real", "the true", the *sat*. This all (*idam sarvaṁ*) is one; the phenomenal world, men, animals, plants, trees; all animate and inanimate things are an outward and visible manifestation, unfolding, diversification of "the one", "the existent", the *sat*. All things spring from the *sat*, return to the *sat*, are merged in the *sat*, are the *sat*. The meaning of the passage would, therefore, appear to be this: All visible things are identical with the existent, the *sat*, just as in the ordeal the accused is identified with, identical with the truth, *satyaṁ*, or with its opposite. The play on words (*sat*, *satyaṁ*) and the fact that the two words are radically and semantically related seem to me to be highly significant. For the sake of greater emphasis and clearness the author of the passage, following a familiar practice of Hindu authors, employs three synonymous expressions, setting them side by side: *makes himself to be truth, completely unites himself with truth, incorporates himself into (or with) truth*. For other interpretations of the passage see the translations of Böhtlingk, Deussen, and Max Müller, and, more recently, Edgerton in JAOS. xxxv, 245 f.

greatest variety of ways and for all imaginable purposes. It is an ever present help in time of need, whether in sickness or in health, in any danger or difficulty or adversity; it is employed to prove facts and refute falsehoods, trained animals sometimes being introduced as witnesses; to identify a man or a woman; to cross rivers on dry foot, cause rivers to flow backwards, and roll back the ocean; to put out fire; to effect change of sex or condition; to capture nymphs and animals, and to give success in the hunt; and even for such a common-place purpose as to cut a gem in two.

The *locus classicus* of the Act of Truth is one of the Dialogues of King Milinda and the Buddhist sage Nāgasena.¹ This Dialogue, which attempts to explain on pseudo-scientific grounds the mode of operation of the Act of Truth, also reveals in a most striking manner its possibilities as an instrument in the hands of the storyteller. Milinda opens the discussion by attributing to Nāgasena and his followers the statement that the blind king Sivi received Heavenly Eyes, and inquires whether this statement is not inconsistent with the Scriptural statement that the Heavenly Eye cannot be produced when the physical cause has been destroyed. Nāgasena replies that the power by which Sivi received Heavenly Eyes was the Power of Truth; that Truth alone, to the exclusion of any ordinary physical cause, was the cause of the production of the Heavenly Eye.

"But, your Majesty, is there such a thing in the world as Truth, by which truth-speakers perform an Act of Truth? Yes, reverend sir, there is in the world such a thing as Truth. By Truth, reverend Nāgasena, truth-speakers perform an Act of Truth, and by this means cause rain, extinguish fire, counteract poison, and do all manner of other things besides that have to be done.

¹ *Milindapañha*, 119-23.

Well then, your Majesty, the two statements are perfectly consistent and harmonious. King Sivi received heavenly eyes by the Power of Truth: by the Power of Truth, your Majesty, on no other basis, is the Heavenly Eye produced; the Truth alone was in this case the basis for the production of the Heavenly Eye."

"The case was precisely the same, your Majesty, as when accomplished persons recite a Truth, saying, 'Let a mighty cloud send down rain'; and immediately upon their recitation of the Truth, a mighty cloud sends down rain. Your Majesty, is there stored up in the sky any cause of rain, by which the mighty cloud sends down rain? Of course not, reverend sir; the Truth alone is in this case the cause whereby the mighty cloud sends down rain. In precisely the same manner, your Majesty, no ordinary cause operated in the case in question; the Truth alone was in that case the basis for the production of the Heavenly Eye."

"It was precisely the same, your Majesty, as when accomplished persons recite a Truth, saying, 'Let the mighty mass of flaring, flaming fire turn back'; and immediately upon their recitation of the Truth, the mighty mass of flaring, flaming fire turns back. . . . It was precisely the same as when accomplished persons recite a Truth, saying, 'Let the deadly poison become an antidote'; and immediately upon their recitation of the Truth the deadly poison becomes an antidote. Your Majesty, is there stored up in this deadly poison any cause whereby it immediately becomes an antidote? Of course not, reverend sir; the Truth alone is in this case the cause of the immediate counteraction of the deadly poison. In precisely the same manner, your Majesty, in the case of King Sivi, the Truth alone, to the exclusion of any ordinary cause, was the basis for the production of the Heavenly Eye."

WATER CHARMS

To roll back the Ocean

"Your Majesty, in the land of China there is a king who, once every four months, desiring to make offering to the great ocean, performs an Act of Truth, and then proceeds in his chariot of state a league's distance into the great ocean. Before the chariot of state the mighty mass of water rolls back, and, as he returns, it pours back again. Your Majesty, could that great ocean be made to roll back by the ordinary physical power even of gods and men combined? Reverend sir, even the water in a tiny pool could not be made to roll back by the ordinary physical power even of gods and men combined, much less the water in the great ocean. Your Majesty, by this example also you may understand the Power of Truth; there is nothing you might name that cannot be accomplished by the Truth."

To cause a river to flow backwards

"One day, your Majesty, the righteous king Asoka stood in the city of Pāṭaliputta, surrounded by city folk and country folk, by his ministers and his army and his councillors, with the Ganges flowing by, filled up by freshets, even with the banks, full to the brim, five hundred leagues in length, a league in breadth. Beholding the river, he said to his ministers, 'Is there any one who can make this mighty Ganges flow back upstream?' The ministers replied, 'That is a hard matter, your Majesty.'"

"Now there stood on that very river bank a courtesan named Bindumatī, and, when she heard the king's question, she said, 'As for me, I am a courtesan in the city of Pāṭaliputta. I live by my beauty; my means of subsistence is the lowest. Let the king but behold my Act of Truth.' And she performed an Act of Truth. The

instant she performed her Act of Truth that mighty Ganges flowed back upstream with a roar, in the sight of all that mighty throng."

"When the king heard the roar caused by the movement of the whirlpools and the waves of the mighty Ganges, he was astonished, and filled with wonder and amazement. Said he to his ministers, 'How comes it that this mighty Ganges is flowing back upstream?' 'Your Majesty, the courtesan Bindumati heard your words, and performed an Act of Truth. It is because of her Act of Truth that the mighty Ganges is flowing backwards.'"

"His heart palpitating with excitement, the king himself went post-haste and asked the courtesan, 'Is it true, as they say, that you, by an Act of Truth, have made this river Ganges flow back upstream?' 'Yes, your Majesty.' Said the king, 'You have power to do such a thing as this! Who, indeed, unless he were stark mad, would pay any attention to what you say? By what power have you caused this mighty Ganges to flow back upstream?' Said the courtesan, 'By the Power of Truth, your Majesty, have I caused this mighty Ganges to flow back upstream.'"

"Said the king, 'You possess the Power of Truth! You, a thief, a cheat, corrupt, cleft in twain, vicious, a wicked old sinner who have broken the bounds of morality and live on the plunder of fools.' 'It is true, your Majesty; I am what you say. But even I, wicked woman that I am, possess an Act of Truth by means of which, should I so desire, I could turn the world of men and the worlds of the gods upside down.' Said the king, 'But what is this Act of Truth? Pray enlighten me.'"

"*Your Majesty, whosoever gives me money, be he a Khattiya or a Brāhmaṇa or a Vessa or a Sudda or of any other caste soever, I treat them all exactly alike. If he be a Khattiya, I make no distinction in his favour. If he be a Sudda, I despise him not. Free alike from fawning and contempt, I serve the owner of the money.*

This, your Majesty, is the Act of Truth by which I caused the mighty Ganges to flow back upstream."

Nāgasena concludes: "Thus, your Majesty, there is no aim at all which those who abide steadfast in the Truth cannot accomplish."

To cross a river on dry foot

King Kappina the Great and his thousand courtiers, learning that a Buddha has appeared in the world, resolve to become monks, commit their worldly affairs into the hands of their wives, and set out to visit the Buddha. Coming to the river Aravacchā, the king says: "I have given up the world for the sake of the Three Jewels; by their supernatural power may this water be to me unlike water." Having thus considered the virtues of the Three Jewels, the king meditates upon the Buddha, saying: "He is the Exalted One, the Holy One, the Supremely Enlightened, Endowed with Knowledge and Righteousness." While thus engaged in meditation, the king and his courtiers dash over the surface of the river on their thousand horses, the Sindh horses springing upon the surface of the river as on a flat rock, without so much as wetting the tips of their hoofs. Coming to the river Nilavāhanā, the king says, "Well has the Law been preached by the Exalted One," and crosses by meditating on the Law. Coming finally to the river Candabhāgā, the king says: "Devoted to righteousness is the Order of Disciples of the Exalted One," and crosses by meditating on the Order.

Queen Anojā and her thousand ladies-in-waiting resolve to follow the example of their husbands, and set out in a thousand chariots. Coming to the first river, and finding no footprints of horses, the queen says: "The king must have crossed by making an Act of Truth, saying, '*I have given up the world for the sake of the Three Jewels.*' I too have given up the world for the sake of the

Three Jewels; by their supernatural power may this water be to me unlike water." And, meditating thus on the virtues of the Three Jewels, she orders her thousand chariots to go forward. The water is like a flat rock, insomuch that not even the outer rims of the two wheels are wetted. In like manner also she crosses the two remaining rivers.¹

The turbaned queen, longing to greet the sage, her husband's brother, bade farewell to the king, and at eventide took the following vow: "At early morn, accompanied by my retinue, I will greet the sage Soma and provide him with food and drink; then only will I eat."

Now between the city and the forest was a river; and in the night there was a freshet, and the river rose and swept along both strong and deep. Disturbed by this, when morning came, the queen asked her beloved: "How can I fulfil this my desire to-day?"

Said the king: "O queen, be not thus distressed, for this is easy to do. Go, easy in mind, with your retinue, to hither bank; and, standing there, first invoke the goddess of the river, and then, with hands both joined, and with a pure heart, utter these words: '*O river-goddess, if from the day my husband's brother took his vow, my husband has lived chaste, then straightway give me passage.*'"

Hearing this, the queen was astonished, and thought: "What manner of thing is this? The king, the fifth Warder of the World, speaks incoherently. That from the day of his brother's vow the king has begotten

¹ *Dhammapada Commentary*, vi, 4; ii, 120, 124. For the whole story see my forthcoming translation of this work in the Harvard Oriental Series, under the title *Buddhist Legends from the Dhammapada Commentary*. In *Thera-Gāthā Commentary*, cccxxv, Kappina crosses the Ganges and two other rivers on dry foot by making the following Truth-Command (*saccādhivāṇa*): "If the teacher of whom I have heard be in reality the Supreme Buddha, let not even a hoof of these horses be wetted." The story also occurs in *Anguttara Commentary*. Compare the story of the crossing of the Red Sea (*Exodus* xiv, 15-31).

progeny of sons on me, all this signifies that I have performed to him my vow as wife.

"But after all, why doubt? Is physical contact in this case the meaning intended? Besides, women who are loyal to their husbands should not doubt their husbands' words. For it is said: A wife who hesitates to obey her husband's command, a soldier who hesitates at his king's command, a pupil who hesitates at his teacher's command, a son who hesitates at his father's command, such an one breaks his own vow."

Pleased at this thought, the queen, accompanied by her retinue in ceremonial attire, went to the bank of the river, and, standing on the shore then grown contracted, with people thronging round her, she there invoked the goddess of the river, did worship, and with a pure heart uttered distinctly the proclamation of truth recited by her husband.

And of a sudden the river, tossing its waters to the left and to the right, became shallow and gave passage. The queen went to the farther shore, and there, bowing before the sage according to form, received his blessing, deeming herself a happy woman. The sage then asked the woman how she had been able to cross the river, and she related the whole story. Having so done, she asked the prince of sages:

"How can it be possible, how can it be imagined, that my husband lives chaste?" The sage replied: "Hear me, good woman. From the moment when I took my vow, the king's soul was free from attachment, and vehemently did he long to take a vow. For no such man as he could patiently endure to bear the yoke of sovereignty. Therefore he bears sway from a sense of duty, but his heart is not in what he does. Moreover it is said:

'A woman who loves another man follows her husband. So also a Yogi attached to the essence of things follows the round of existences.'

"Precisely so the chastity of the king is possible, even in the house-life, because his heart is free from sin, just as the purity of the lotus is not stained, even though it grow in the mud."

The queen bowed before the sage, and then, experiencing supreme satisfaction, went to a certain place in the forest and set up her abode. Having caused a meal to be prepared for her retinue, she provided food and drink for the sage. Then, her vow fulfilled, she herself ate and drank.

When the queen went to take leave of the sage she asked him once more: "How can I cross the river now?" The sage replied: "Woman of tranquil speech, you must thus address the goddess of the river: '*If this sage, even to the end of his vow, shall ever abide fasting, then grant me passage.*'"

Amazed once more, the queen went to the bank of the river, proclaimed the words of the sage, crossed the river, and went home. After relating the whole story to the king, she asked him: "How can the sage be fasting, when I myself caused him to break his fast?" The king said: "O queen, you are confused in mind; you do not understand in what true religion consists. Tranquil in heart, noble in soul is he, whether in eating or in fasting. Therefore:

"Even though a sage eat, for the sake of religion, food which is pure, which he has neither himself prepared, nor caused another to prepare, such eating is called the fruit of a perpetual fast. Thought is the root, words are the trunk, deeds are the spreading branches of Religion's Tree. Let its roots be strong and firm, and the whole tree will bear fruit."¹

As a rain-charm

In a previous existence as a fish the Future Buddha causes rain to fall in time of drought by saying to

¹ *Pārçvanātha-caritra*, iii, 255-83.

Pajjunna, the rain-god: "Although I was reborn where it is customary to eat one's kinsfolk, I have never eaten a fish even so small as a grain of rice; nor have I ever deprived any other living being of life. If this be true, cause rain to fall."¹

To obtain water to drink

In a previous existence as leader of a herd of monkeys the Future Buddha, in order to enable the monkeys of his herd to drink from a haunted pool without entering the water, has canes brought to him, ponders the Perfections, performs an Act of Truth, and blows into the canes, whereupon they become hollow throughout.²

FIRE CHARM

To cause a forest fire to turn back

A forest fire, on approaching the spot where the Buddha stands, suddenly goes out, like a torch plunged into water. The monks ascribe this miracle to the supernatural power of the Buddhas. The Buddha tells them that it is due, not to his present power, but to the power of an old Act of Truth performed by him when he was a tiny quail.

When the Future Buddha was a tiny quail, a fire swept down on the forest where he lived, and drove all the birds away, the quail's mother and father included. Lying in his nest, the quail reflected: "If I had the strength to spread my wings and soar through the air, I should fly up and go elsewhere; if I had the strength to move my legs and walk, I should go elsewhere on foot.

¹ *Jātaka* 75. In *Jātaka-mālā*, xv, the Great Being saw but one refuge of the afflicted, namely, a Truth-Command (*satyādhishāhanam ekam arttāyanam dadarśa*); the rain came by the virtue of his store of merit, by the power of his Truth-Command, and by the supernatural might of the devas, nāgas, and yakshas, who were favourably disposed to him (*punyaṇāyogunāt satyādhishāhanabalāt tadabhiṇiprasāditadevanāgayaśānubhāve ca*); the cause of the rain is expressly said to have been his great supernatural power, the transcendent might of his truth (*mahānubhāvaḥ . . . satyātiṣṭayaprabhāvaḥ*).

² *Jātaka* 20.

As it is, I am helpless. What shall I do? Then the following thought occurred to him:

"In this world there is such a thing as the Power of Goodness; there is such a thing as the Power of Truth. There are those who are called All-knowing Buddhas, those who fulfilled the Perfections in times past, and attained Supreme Enlightenment, sitting under the Bo-tree. By goodness, tranquillity, and wisdom they attained Deliverance, and through the knowledge of Deliverance, understanding. They were endowed with truth, mercy, compassion, and patience. They cultivated sentiments of loving-kindness towards all living beings, without respect of persons. There are Powers of Righteousness which they acquired.

"I too possess a single Truth; a single quality of my nature exists within me, is known to me. Therefore I must at once procure safety for myself and the rest of the birds by performing an Act of Truth, pondering the Buddhas of the past and the powers which they acquired, and employing the quality of my true nature which exists within me. Therefore it is said:

'There is a Power of Goodness in the world, truth, purity, mercy.

Therefore by Truth will I perform an incomparable Act of Truth.

'Pondering the Power of Righteousness, remembering the former Jinās,

Relying on the Power of Truth, I performed an Act of Truth.'"

Then the Future Buddha, pondering the powers of the Buddhas who had attained Supreme Nibbāna in the past, performed an Act of Truth with reference to the true nature existing within him by uttering the following stanza:

"I have wings, but cannot fly; I have legs, but cannot walk;
Mother and father have gone away. Jātaveda, go back!"

Instantly the fire went out, like a torch plunged into water.¹

HEALING CHARMS

To counteract the effect of poison

The youth Yaññadatta is bitten by a poisonous snake. His parents lay him at the feet of an ascetic, and say, "Reverend sir, monks know simples and charms; heal our son." "I know no simples; I am not a physician." "But you are a monk; therefore out of charity for this youth perform an Act of Truth." The ascetic replies, "Very well; I will perform an Act of Truth." The ascetic then lays his hand on Yaññadatta's head and recites the following stanza:—

"For but a week I lived the holy life
With tranquil heart in quest of merit.
The life I've lived for fifty years
Since then, I've lived against my will.

By this truth, health!

Poison is struck down! Let Yaññadatta live!"

Immediately the poison comes out of Yaññadatta's breast and sinks into the ground. The father then lays his hand on Yaññadatta's breast and recites the following stanza:

"Never did I like to see a stranger
Come to stay. I never cared to give.
But my dislike the monks and Brahmans
Never knew, all learned as they were.

By this truth, health!

Poison is struck down! Let Yaññadatta live!"

¹ *Jātaka* 33. Compare the story of the tiny pheasant in Chavannes' *Cinq cents Contes et Apologues*, 371; ii, 350. In *Jātaka-mālā*, xvi, the tiny quail knew his power (*viditātmaprabhāvas*); and by the power of his words suffused with truth (*satyaparibhāritavacasi*), so soon as the fire encountered his words (*tadēcam āśṛīya*), just as if it had reached a river, it immediately abated. The Sanskrit version concludes with the statement that fire can no more transgress the command of the truthful than the sea can overpass the shore.

Immediately the poison comes out of the small of Yaññadatta's back and sinks into the ground. The father bids the mother perform an Act of Truth. The mother says, "I have a Truth, but I cannot recite it in your presence." The father replies, "Make my son whole anyhow!" So the mother recites the following stanza:

"No more, my son, do I now hate this snake malignant
That out a crevice came and bit you, than I do your
father.

By this truth, health! Poison is struck down! Let Yaññadatta
live!"

Immediately the rest of the poison sinks into the ground, and Yaññadatta gets up and begins to frisk about.¹

The youth Sāma is wounded by a poisoned arrow. His mother lays her hand on his breast and makes the following Act of Truth: "If it be true that Sāma has always lived righteously, that he has been chaste and truthful, that he has supported his mother and father and honoured his elders in the household; if it be true that Sāma is dearer to me than the breath of life, then may the effect of the poison be done away. Whatsoever works of merit have been wrought by his mother and father, through the effect thereof may the effect of the poison be done away." Immediately Sāma turns over. The father repeats the mother's Act of Truth, and Sāma immediately turns over and lies on the other side. A goddess then makes the following Act of Truth: "Long have I dwelt on Mount Gandhamādāna; there is none other dearer to me than Sāma. If these words be true, then may the effect of the poison be done away. All the forests on Mount Gandhamādāna are full of fragrance. If these words be true, then may the effect of the poison be done away." Sāma immediately springs to his feet.²

¹ *Jātaka* 444.

² *Jātaka* 540. Compare *Cyāmakā Jātaka*, *Mahāvastu* ii, 218 ff.

To restore the eyes

A princess says to her blind lover, "If it be true that I love only Prince Kshemañkara and you, let one of your eyes be restored." Immediately one of his eyes is restored. Her blind lover then says, "I am Kshemañkara; Pāpañkara reduced me to my present state." The princess asks, "What proof is there that you are Kshemañkara?" The blind man replies, "If it be true that, although Pāpañkara put out my eyes, I bear him no malice, then may my other eye be restored." Immediately his other eye is restored.¹

Kunāla, son of King Aśoka, is famed throughout India for the beauty of his eyes. His stepmother falls in love with him, makes advances to him, and is repulsed. In revenge she forges an order in the name of the king, commanding that his eyes be put out. The order is carried out. Subsequently the king discovers the crime, fixes the guilt on his queen-consort, and in the presence of Kunāla threatens her with the direst punishments. Kunāla begs his father not to harm the queen, extols the virtues of kindness, compassion, and forbearance, declares that, in spite of the cruel injury he has suffered, pain has not stained him nor anger heated him, and concludes with the following Act of Truth: "If it be true that I have ever been kindly disposed to my mother, if it be true that I myself tore out my eyes, then may my eyes straightway be restored." Straightway his eyes are restored, yet more beautiful even than before.²

To heal wounds

In a previous existence as a prince the Future Buddha heals wounds in the hands by making an Act of Truth

¹ *Tibetan Tales*, p. 284. Compare Chavannes' *Cinq cents Contes et Apologues*, 381 : ii, 396.

² *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 407-17.

and rubbing the palms with powdered bark. What he says is not stated.¹

To cure leprosy

A wife cures her husband of leprosy by sprinkling water on his head and making the following Act of Truth: "Let the Truth protect me, if it will protect me, so surely as I know of no other man whom I love better than I love you. If these words be true, let your disease be cured."²

To join severed hands and feet

King Prasenajit Kauçala gives credence to a false report that his brother Kāla has violated his harem, and has his hands and feet cut off. Kāla laments his misfortune in an address to the Buddha. At the direction of the Buddha, Ānanda, having first put Kāla's hands and feet in place, performs the following Act of Truth: "Of all living beings, whether without feet, or with two feet, or with many feet; whether incorporeal or corporeal; whether conscious or unconscious, or neither conscious nor unconscious; of all these living beings the Tathāgata, the Holy One, the Supreme Buddha, is called the chief. Of all the laws, unelaborated or elaborated, the Law of Detachment is called the chief. Of all the orders or classes or companies or societies, the Order of Disciples of the Tathāgata is called the chief. By this Truth, by this Utterance of Truth, may your body be made whole." Immediately his body is made whole.³

To restore severed breasts

In a previous existence the Future Buddha was a woman named Rūpāvatī. One day Rūpāvatī comes upon a starving woman who is about to devour her new-born child, whereupon she cuts off her own breasts and gives them to the woman for food. When her husband learns of her act, he performs the following Act of Truth: "If it be true that so wonderful and marvellous a thing

¹ *Jātaka* 537.

² *Jātaka* 519.

³ *Divyāvadāna*, 153-5.

has never been seen before or heard of before, then may your breasts be restored." Straightway her breasts are restored.¹

SEX, BIRTH, AND REBIRTH CHARMS

To transform a woman into a man

Indra, fearing that by her sacrifice Rūpāvati may thrust him from his seat, goes in disguise to Rūpāvati and asks her, "Is it true that you sacrificed your breasts for the sake of a child?" "It is true." "Did you not, either in the act or after the act, regret so doing?" "No." "Who will believe you?" Rūpāvati replies, "Then I will make an Act of Truth:

'If it be true that neither in the act nor after the act had I any feeling of remorse or regret; if it be true that I acted, not for the sake of dominion, not for the sake of worldly enjoyments, not for the sake of heaven, not that I might become an Indra or a Universal Monarch, but solely and only that I might attain Supreme Enlightenment, Buddhahood; thereby to subdue the unsubdued, to emancipate the unemancipated, to console the unconsolated, to enable them that have attained not Nirvāṇa to attain unto Nirvāṇa; if all this be true, then may I cease to be a woman and become a man.'" Straightway she ceases to be a woman and becomes a man, Rūpāvata.²

To attain Buddhahood

Reborn as the Brahman Candraprabha, the Future Buddha one day comes upon a starving tigress which is about to devour its own young. He thereupon resolves to give his own body to the tigress for food. So, calling upon the deities of various ranks to witness, he announces his intention of making the highest and most sublime of all sacrifices; namely, the sacrifice of his own body. Then, making an Act of Truth in terms identical with the preceding, he draws his sword, cuts his throat, and throws his body to the tigress.³

¹ *Diegāvadāna*, 472.

² *Ibid.* 473.

³ *Ibid.* 478.

To obtain rebirth in a happier state

The beautiful female ascetic Vedavatī, when her hair is touched insultingly by the lustful Rāvaṇa, throws herself into the fire, saying: "If I have done or given or sacrificed aught, may I be reborn as the daughter, not produced from the womb, of a righteous man." And thus it comes to pass.¹

To transform a water-sprite into a man

The faithful wife of a man who has been reborn as a water-sprite, in consequence of a broken vow, kneels on the ground, and looking at the moon, utters the following prayer: "O Warders of the World, if it be true that I am virtuous and devoted to my husband, may this husband of mine straightway be delivered from the necessity of dwelling in the water, and go to heaven." Straightway a chariot descends from heaven, husband and wife enter it, and are carried up into heaven.²

To ease the parturition of a woman

One morning shortly after his conversion the former brigand Aṅgulimāla stops on his round for alms at a house where a woman is in travail. And he reflects, "Alas, living beings must needs suffer!" Returning to the monastery, he tells the Buddha of the incident. The Buddha replies, "Aṅgulimāla, go to that woman and say: 'Sister, since the day I was born I am not conscious of ever having deliberately deprived any living being of life. If this be true, may health be to you, health to your unborn child.'"

"But, reverend sir," returns Aṅgulimāla, "that would be a downright falsehood; for, reverend sir, I have deliberately deprived a great many living beings of life." "Then, Aṅgulimāla," says the Buddha, "go to that

¹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttarakāṇḍa, 17; Griffith's translation (Benares, 1895), p. 517.

² *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tawney), ii, p. 82.

woman and say: 'Sister, since the day I was born of the Noble Birth I am not conscious of ever having deliberately deprived any living being of life. If this be true, may health be to you, health to your unborn child.'"
 Āṅgulimāla obeys the Buddha's command. Immediately there is health to the woman, health to her unborn child.¹

To ease the parturition of an elephant

A king's elephant, which is parturient, is unable to bring forth its young. The king's ministers advise that it be taken to the women's quarters, so that the king's concubines may ease its pains by Acts of Truth touching their chastity. But, although the elephant is taken there, and the king's concubines perform their Acts of Truth, the pains, far from being allayed, are aggravated, and the elephant utters the most fearful cries. A woman tending oxen near the palace hears the elephant's cries, and declares that by means of her own Act of Truth the elephant's pains can be brought to an end. The king, informed of her remark, orders her to be conducted to the women's quarters. The woman thereupon performs the following Act of Truth: "If it be true that one husband is sufficient for me, and that I have not two husbands, then, by virtue of this truth, let this elephant be eased of its pains." Immediately the elephant is eased of its pains, and brings forth its young.²

¹ *Majjhima Nikāya*, 86; ii, 102 f. The story recurs in Chavannes' *Cinq cents Contes et Apologues*, 41; i, 143-54. Compare *Udāna*, ii, 8; p. 15 f.; Introduction to *Jātaka* 100; i, 407 f.; *Dhammapada Commentary*, xxvi, 31; iv, p. 192 f.; *Thera-Gāthā Commentary*, ix.

² *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 227-8. Compare Chavannes' *Cinq cents Contes et Apologues*, 374; ii, 358. A similar story is related in *Kathāsaritsaṅgāra* (Tawney), i, pp. 329-30, of the means employed to enable a prostrate elephant to rise. After the 80,000 concubines of the king and all the women in his capital have failed to raise the elephant by their Acts of Truth a humble woman in the train of a visiting merchant enables it to rise by touching it and saying, "If I have not even thought of any man other than my husband, may this elephant rise from the ground."

To obtain a son

King Suruei lives for fifty thousand years with sixteen thousand wives, and has neither son nor daughter. Sakka goes to Queen Sumedhā and offers her the boon of a son. The queen obtains a son by making the following Act of Truth: "If it be true that I have always been respectful to my husband, never injured any living creature, lived righteously, cared tenderly for my husband's parents, never been jealous of my sixteen thousand co-wives, treated my servants well, provided food and drink for monks and other holy men, kept the fast-day precepts, then may I obtain a son. If what I say be false, may my head split into seven pieces."¹

CHARMS OF DELIVERANCE

To avert shipwreck

In a previous existence as a blind skipper the Future Buddha puts to sea with a company of traders, and the ship approaches a whirlpool. The Future Buddha reflects, "There is none other that can save these traders from death, but only I. I will save them by an Act of Truth." He says to them, "Quickly bathe me in perfumed water, clothe me in new garments, prepare me a full bowl, and place me in the bow of the ship." They do so. The Future Buddha, taking the full bowl in both his hands, and standing in the bow of the ship, makes the following Act of Truth: "So long as my memory serves me, since I reached the age of reason, I am not conscious of ever having deliberately injured a single living creature. If these words be true, may the ship return in safety." The ship immediately returns to port, making a four months' journey in a single day.²

¹ *Jātaka* 489. Under similar circumstances Queen Candādevī obtains a son by making the following Act of Truth: "If it be true that I have kept the precepts unbroken, then may I obtain a son." See *Jātaka* 538.

² *Jātaka* 463. In *Jātaka-mālā*, xiv, the shipwreck was averted by the power of the Future Buddha's Truth-Command and by the splendour of his merit.

As a counter-charm

One day Ānanda approaches a well at which a Mātanga maiden named Prakṛiti is drawing water, and says to the maiden, "Sister, give me water that I may drink." The maiden replies, "I am a Mātanga maiden, venerable Ānanda." Ānanda returns, "I asked not, sister, after your family or your caste, only, I pray you, if you have water to spare, give it me, that I may drink." The maiden gives him water. Ānanda drinks and departs.

Prakṛiti, deeply in love with Ānanda, goes home and tells her mother that she is determined to obtain Ānanda for her husband. Her mother, who is a powerful witch, casts a spell over Ānanda, and Ānanda comes to the house. Just as he is about to be married to Prakṛiti, he bursts into tears and cries aloud, "Alas, I am ruined! The Exalted One considers me not." But the Buddha is at that very moment considering Ānanda, and straightway, with the spells of a Buddha, he destroys the spells of the Caṇḍāla woman. And this is the magical formula he employs:

"To all living beings continued existence, avoidance of death, freedom from trouble, happiness!"

"There is a lake, clear, faultless, still, without a peril near, Where troubles cease, and perils are no more:

Revered it is by gods and yogins all-accomplished.

If these my words be true, O monks, Ānanda, happiness!"

Freed from the spells of the Caṇḍāla woman, Ānanda straightway leaves her house, and returns to his own abode.¹

To avert human sacrifice

A wicked house-priest, conceiving a grudge against the eldest son of a king, directs the king to offer his four sons in sacrifice, in order that he may attain heaven. The eldest son is taken first. As the house-priest is about to cut his

¹ *Dīrghadāna*, 611-13.

throat, the princess his wife performs the following Act of Truth: "If it be true that the stupid house-priest is committing a crime, then may I recover my husband. O all ye spirits and yakkhas and demons, do me service, that I may recover my husband! O all ye deities and demons, I am without refuge, without protector; protect me, I pray you!" Sakka hears her cry, and with a blazing mass of iron frightens the king, disperses the crowd, and restores her husband to her.¹

To deliver a man from captivity

A prince is captured by a yakkha. The king his father prays to the deities to obtain his deliverance. But his mother, sister, and wife perform Acts of Truth. The mother says: "When Rāma was in Daṇḍaka forest, his fair-limbed mother obtained safety for him. That safety obtain I for thee. If what I say be true, may the deities remember; and mayest thou, permitted by thy captor, return in safety, O my son!" The sister says: "No fault at all in thee do I recall, O Ālinasatta, whether open sin or secret sin of thought. If this be true, may the deities remember; and mayest thou, permitted by thy captor, return in safety, O my brother!" The wife says: "Since thou art not overweening towards me, since, moreover, thou art dear to my heart, therefore by the truth of my words may the deities remember; and mayest thou, permitted by thy captor, return in safety, O my husband!" The yakkha straightway releases the prince, and he returns in safety to his parents.²

To deliver animals from captivity

In a previous existence as a peacock the Future Buddha terrifies a hunter with the fear of hell, and the hunter becomes a Pacceka Buddha on the spot. The Pacceka Buddha asks the Future Buddha how he can free the birds he has in captivity. The Future Buddha replies,

¹ *Jātaka* 542.

² *Jātaka* 513.

"Make an Act of Truth with reference to the fact that you have broken the power of desire and become a Pacceka Buddha." The Pacceka Buddha makes an Act of Truth in accordance with the Future Buddha's instructions, saying, "To all the birds I have in captivity at home, many hundreds in number, do I give life and freedom. Let them go to their own abodes." Straightway all living beings in captivity throughout all India are released.¹

To deliver a king and his subjects from heresy

In order to deliver the king her father and his subjects from heresy, the princess Rujā makes the following appeal: "In this world there are those that are called righteous monks and Brahmans, the supporters of the world; there are deities that are called the Warders of the World; there are those that are called Great Brahmās. Let them come, and by their own power free my father from false views. But, though they have not the virtue, yet let them come, and by my virtue, by my power, by my truth, free my father from false views and grant salvation to the whole world." In answer to her appeal Great Brahmā comes disguised as a monk, preaches to the king and his household, and converts them all.²

CURSES

To avenge a wrong

A dragon curses a false monk, saying: "You have injured an innocent friend. If these words be true, may your head split into seven pieces." Immediately the monk's head splits into seven pieces, and the earth opens and swallows him up.³

As Damayanti, deserted by Nala, wanders through the forest, she is attacked by a huge snake. A hunter kills the snake, sets her free, and makes advances to her. Angered when she sees his purpose, Damayanti curses

¹ *Jātaka* 491.

² *Jātaka* 544.

³ *Jātaka* 518.

him with an Act of Truth, saying: "As I am true to Nala, so may this wicked hunter die this instant." Instantly the hunter falls to the ground without a sound.¹

OATHS AND PROOFS OF FACT

Identification Charms

When Sudhana, the mortal husband of the Kinnari Manoharā, comes to the capital of King Druma, seeking his lost wife, the king places Manoharā in the midst of a thousand Kinnaris, and challenges Sudhana to identify her. Sudhana thereupon performs the following Act of Truth: "If it be true that you who stand here are Manoharā, daughter of Druma, my wife, then, O Manoharā, step quickly forward." Manoharā immediately steps forward.²

When Damayanti, who is deeply in love with Nala, comes to choose her husband, the four principal gods assume the appearance of Nala, in order to confuse her. She thereupon prays as follows: "If it be true that on hearing the voice of the swans I chose Nala for my husband, that I am loyal to him in word and thought, that the gods ordained him to be my husband, and that I undertook this choice for the purpose of winning him to be my husband, then let the gods point him out to me and resume their true forms." Immediately the gods resume their true forms, and Damayanti is thus enabled to recognize the husband of her choice.³

To prove the paternity of a child

In a previous existence the Future Buddha is the natural son of a king by a woman of humble birth. When the king refuses to acknowledge the paternity of

¹ *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists*, p. 362.

² *Diyaśāradāna*, 459. Compare *Tibetan Tales*, p. 72.

³ *Mahābhārata*, III, lvii, 17-24. Compare *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tawney), I, p. 561.

the child, the mother says: "Sire, as matters stand, I have no means of proof but an Act of Truth. If you are the father of this child, let him remain in the air; if not, let him fall to the ground and die." With these words she seizes the child by the foot and tosses him into the air. The Future Buddha, sitting cross-legged in the air, declares himself to be the son of the king, and calls upon the latter to acknowledge him as such. The king does so.¹

To refute a false charge

A prince, thrown into prison on the false charge of plotting against his older brother, clears himself of the charge by making the following Act of Truth: "If I am my brother's enemy, let not my chains be loosed, neither let the door be opened; otherwise, may my chains be loosed and the door opened." Immediately the chains break to pieces and the door is opened.²

King Gāmaṇi refutes a false charge brought against his army by saying: "I have striven, not for the joy of sovereignty, but to establish the religion of the Buddha. If this be true, may the armour of my soldiers flash like fire." Straightway the armour of his soldiers flashes like fire.³

To prove the authenticity of a relic

To prove the authenticity of the collar-bone relic of the Buddha, the King of Ceylon employs the following Act of Truth: "If this be a relic of the Buddha, let my parasol bow down of itself, my elephant fall upon his knees, and this reliquary descend upon my head." All these things take place.⁴

To forecast the future

King Dhammāsoka of India, upon receiving the request of the king of Ceylon that the southern branch of the Bo-tree be sent to Ceylon, draws a line about the bough,

¹ *Jātaka* 7.

² *Mahāvastu*, xxv, 17-18.

³ *Jātaka* 339.

⁴ *Ibid.* xvii, 25-6.

and makes the following Act of Truth: "If it be true that the great Bo-tree is to go hence to the island of Ceylon, and if it be true that I shall ever abide steadfast in the religion of the Buddha, then let this southern branch, severed of itself, take its place here in this golden urn." The southern branch immediately detaches itself and takes its place in the golden urn.¹

When the relics of the Buddha reach Ceylon, the king of Ceylon performs the following Act of Truth: "If it be true that these relics shall ever remain undisturbed, a refuge for the people, then let them rest upon this couch in the form of the Teacher as he lay upon his deathbed." So saying, he lays the relics upon the couch, and they assume the form of the Teacher as he lay upon his deathbed.²

To decide which is the true religion

In order to decide a dispute between a sectary and an adherent of Buddha, both parties resort to Acts of Truth. The sectary says: "If it be true that Pūraṇa and the other teachers, six in number, are superior to all others in the world, then let these flowers, this incense, and this water go to them." Straightway the flowers fall to earth, the fire of the incense is extinguished, and the water disappears in the ground. The spectators applaud, and the sectaries are confounded. The adherent of the Buddha then says: "If it be true that the Buddha is of all living beings foremost, then let these flowers, this incense, and this water go to him." Straightway the flowers start in the direction of the Jetavana, soaring through the air like swans; the smoke of the incense floats thither like a mass of clouds; and the water like spangles of lapis lazuli.³

¹ *Mahāvastava*, xviii, 40-1.

² *Ibid.* xxxi, 106-7.

³ *Avadāna-Āṭaka*, i, 9. Compare the story of Elijah's discomfiture of the prophets of Baal, 1 Kings, xviii, 17-40.

Proof of chastity

Sitā, wife of Rāma, falsely accused of unfaithfulness to her husband, goes to a lake, and utters the following prayer: "Mother Earth, if my mind was never, even in a dream, fixed on any other than my husband, may I reach the other side of the lake." Having uttered this prayer, she enters the lake; whereupon the goddess Earth appears, and taking her in her lap, carries her to the other side.¹

TRICK ACTS OF TRUTH

Mock proofs of chastity

A faithless wife, accused by her husband, offers to brave the ordeal of fire to prove that no man's hand, other than her husband's, has ever touched her. Having secretly directed her lover to seize her by the hand just as she is about to enter the fire, the woman exclaims, "No man's hand but yours, husband, has ever touched me; if this be true, let not this fire burn me." With these words she makes as if to enter the fire. At that moment her lover seizes her by the hand, crying, "Shame on the man for making such a woman enter the fire!" The woman shakes her hand free and says, "My Act of Truth has been nullified; I cannot now enter the fire." "Why not?" asks her husband. "Because I just made an Act of Truth, saying: 'No man's hand but yours has ever touched me; and, here, this fellow has seized me by the hand.'" The husband remarks, "I have been tricked by her," and drives her away with blows.²

A faithless wife, accused by her husband, offers to undergo the ordeal of passing between the legs of a yaksha. Having bathed and put on fresh garments,

¹ *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tawney), i, p. 487; compare *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara-kāṇḍa, Griffith's translation (Benares, 1895), p. 520; also *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, sarga 118.

² *Jātaka* 62.

she offers incense and flowers to the yaksha in the presence of all her relatives. While she is so engaged, her lover, by previous arrangement, throws his arms around her neck, and pretends to be mad. The bystanders, believing him to be mad, drive him away. The woman bathes once more and then addresses the yaksha as follows: "If it be true that no man has ever embraced me save only my husband and this madman, then vindicate my chastity." So saying, she passes between the yaksha's legs.¹

A weaver's wife has a lover with whom she communicates by a barber's wife. One night the weaver comes home drunk, goes to bed, and begins to talk in his sleep, roundly abusing his wife for her evil conduct. Waking up, he ties his wife to a post, and goes back to sleep. The barber's wife then comes and informs the weaver's wife that her lover is waiting. The weaver's wife ties her confederate to the post and goes out. The weaver wakes up and begins once more to rail at his wife. The barber's wife remains silent. Angered by her silence, the weaver gets up in the dark, cuts off her nose, and goes back to bed again. The weaver's wife returns, releases her confederate, and ties herself to the post again. The weaver wakes up and begins once more to abuse his wife. His wife thereupon makes the following mock Act of Truth: "Let the Warders of the World hear me! If it be true that, with the exception of the husband of my youth, I know no other man besides, then may my face be free from mutilation." The husband lights a light, and seeing that the face of his wife is free from mutilation, kisses her and immediately releases her from the post.²

A prince sees his wife returning from a visit to her lover, and cuts off her nose. The princess shuts herself

¹ Hemacandra's *Parīṣṭaparvan*, ii, 533-45; Hertel's translation, pp. 102-3.

² *Tantrākhyāyika*, I, iii c.

in her chamber. The members of the household beg her to open the door. She then prays aloud: "O Sun-god, if my husband has ever *seen* me go and consort with another man, then may my nose be restored." Since, of course, her husband has not *seen* her in the act, the Sun-god is compelled to give her back her nose.¹

Trick proofs with animals as witnesses

After the righteous king Rudrāyana has abdicated his throne and retired from the world, his son and successor, Çikhaṇḍin, turns to evil ways. Fearing that his father will resume the throne, Çikhaṇḍin causes him to be murdered. Since his father had attained Arahātship, and had at the moment of death predicted that his murderer would be cast into the Avīci hell, Çikhaṇḍin is stricken with terror over his crime. Two wicked ministers of state calm his fears by declaring that in reality there is no such thing as an Arahāt; that the notion of Arahātship is merely a popular superstition. They offer to prove that the so-called Arahats, Tishya and Pushya, whose relics are preserved in neighbouring stūpas, were in reality impostors.

Accordingly, the ministers procure two kittens, dig a hole under each of the two stūpas for them to live in, and teach them to perform a trick upon the recitation of a mock Act of Truth. Calling the kittens out of their holes and feeding them, they say to them, "Tishya! Pushya! If it be true that all your lives long you tricked and deceived people and destroyed faith, and that in consequence of your impostures you were reborn in an inferior state of existence as cats, then let each one of you take his piece of meat, go around his own stūpa, and into his own hole." When the kittens are well trained, Çikhaṇḍin is invited to witness the exhibition, the kittens

¹ *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, p. 144.

perform their own part perfectly, and the king is completely deceived.¹

A farmer promises an orphan his daughter in marriage, and after putting him off finally refuses to keep his promise. In revenge, the orphan beats the farmer's oxen and ties them to a tree in the sun. The oxen remonstrate with him, and he explains the situation. The oxen suggest that he hale the farmer before the king, and offer to be his witnesses. "You must tie us up in our stalls for seven days, giving us neither grass nor water; and on the seventh day you must turn us loose where grass and water are abundant. Then you must appear before the king and say to him, 'If I am speaking the truth, may these oxen neither eat grass nor drink water.'" One of the oxen bears a grudge against the orphan, refuses to be a party to the agreement, and when the trial is called, lowers his head to pluck a mouthful of grass. Thereupon the other oxen seize his nose with their horns and look up towards the sun. The king asks one of his ministers why the oxen are behaving in such a peculiar manner. The minister explains that it is because they wish to show that not they alone are witnesses, but that the sun, the fifth Warder of the World, is also a witness. The king immediately decides the case in favour of the orphan.²

THE ACT OF TRUTH IN HINDU FOLK-LORE

For various practical purposes

By Acts of Truth, the terms of which the story-teller does not take the trouble to give, a prince cuts gems in two, a boy catches wild buffaloes, and an ascetic creates a child out of a flower.³

By an Act of Truth asserting that the guardian spirit

¹ *Diyañvulāna*, 571-2.

² *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 315-20.

³ Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. i, p. 140; vol. ii, pp. 28-9, 47.

of herdsmen has given him power and authority a herdsman unites and separates hills and trees, bags game in the hunt and deprives others of their quarry, and does many other wonderful things. Finally he challenges some drovers to toss five hundred areca-nuts into the air and catch them by an Act of Truth relating to the ownership of a drove of pack-oxen; and, when the drovers fail, he himself succeeds in catching them, without letting one of them fall to the ground.¹

Transformation Charm

An elder sister, envious of her younger sister's wealth, drowns her. The younger sister becomes a white turtle. When the elder sister's daughter approaches the turtle, it swims far away. But, when the younger sister's daughter approaches it, it comes to the bank and rubs itself over the whole of her body. The elder sister desires to eat the turtle. The younger sister says to her daughter: "When she has cooked me, she will give me to you to eat, together with a little gravy and a bone. Drink the gravy, take the bone to the cattle-field, and throw it down, saying as you do so, 'If it be true that you are our mother, may you become a mango-tree.'" All this comes to pass. By a similar Act of Truth the mango-tree, when cut down, turns into a Kaekiri creeper; and the creeper, when uprooted, into a blue lotus flower.²

As curse and oath

A man passes a cow which is stuck in the mud, and refuses to help her out. Thereupon the cow curses him, saying: "Because you have refused to help me in my extremity, this curse shall light upon you: The moment you touch your newly wedded wife, you shall turn into

¹ Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. iii, pp. 63-8.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 116-18.

a donkey." And this comes to pass. The wife, however, remains constant to her donkey-husband, and leads him about with her wherever she goes.

One day the woman's word is questioned. To prove her veracity, she takes an oath and swears by her donkey, saying: "If I have lied, may Chando punish me; and if I have spoken the truth, may this donkey become a man once more." So saying, she lays her hand on the animal's back, and the donkey becomes a man again.¹

To escape from a tiger

A man climbs into the branches of a mango-tree and begins to eat the fruit. Looking down, he sees a tiger standing at the foot of the tree. Cutting open a mango, he says: "If I be the legitimate child of my father and mother, let me with my sword find a place inside this mango fruit, and let a crow come and take this mango and drop it into the tank of King Kuar, and let a big fish swallow it." Instantly a crow comes and takes the mango and drops it into the tank of King Kuar, and a big fish swallows it.²

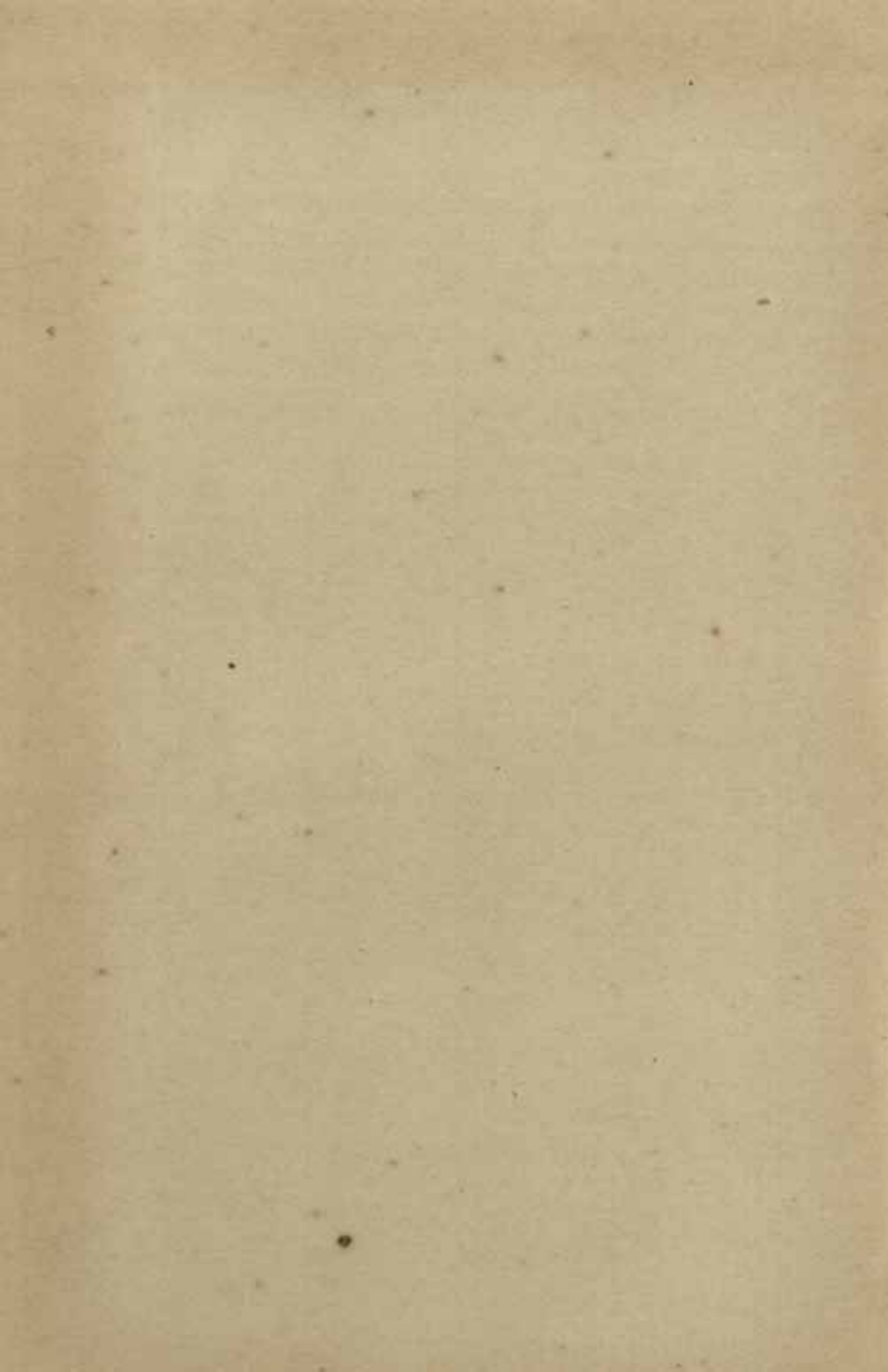
NOTE IN CONCLUSION

For additional specimens in the literature see *Dhammapada Commentary*, xvii, 3; iii, 310; Julg's *Kalmückische Märchen*, p. 20, and *Mongolische Märchen*, last story; in the folk-lore, C. H. Bompas, *Folk-lore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 118; *Mélanges asiatiques*, 1876, p. 739; Annie Busk, *Sagas from the Far East*, p. 47; Steele and Temple, *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 429; Dames, *Balochi Tales, Folk-lore*, iv, 291; H. L. Haughton, *Sport and Folk-lore in the Himālaya*, pp. 101 ff.; *Indian Antiquary*, iv, 262; vi, 224-5; xxxv, 148. Anagārika Dharmapāla, in a review of the first twenty years' work of the

¹ C. H. Bompas, *Folk-lore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 266.

² "Santal Folk-Tale": *Orientalist*, ii, p. 25.

Mahā Bodhi Society, says: "Prayer to a god is not possible for a Buddhist; but he can make what is called a *saccakiriya*, an appeal to Truth. '*If the work that I am doing is good, then let help come to me*'; and if the work is good, help will surely come. And help came four days after we were threatened by the landlord." See "Mahā Bodhi and the United Buddhist World": Journal of the Mahā Bodhi Society, Colombo, Ceylon, vol. xix, p. 7 (January, 1911).



XII

THE GOSPELS OF THE INFANCY, THE LALITA VISTARA, AND THE VISHNU PURANA: OR THE TRANS- MISSION OF RELIGIOUS LEGENDS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WEST

By J. KENNEDY

(Continued from p. 243.)

NOTE.—In the first part of this paper I discussed the method of inquiry, the political conditions, and the intermediaries. I now proceed to discuss the legends these intermediaries carried, and the knowledge they disseminated.

III

THE Jews were the first in the field; and the earliest Western legends which made their way to the East are taken from the Old Testament. Josephus has told us that the Semites were settled on the Kabul River by the first century A.D.¹; they may have been there still earlier; and there is an ancient tradition that Jews penetrated about this time into China—a thing not improbable in itself, if it could be authenticated.² Now in the year A.D. 75 a Chinese general (Keng) Kong was

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* I, 6, para. 4.

² *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, v, pp. 131-2. The inscription of Kai-fang-fu, dated A.D. 1489, says that they came from Tien-touh or India. They settled in West Szetchuen, and tradition makes them come there in the reign of Ming-ti, A.D. 58-76. In that case they must have accompanied the Buddhist missionaries who entered Western China at this very time. The story I have quoted makes the tradition highly probable. Glover will not admit that there were Jews in China before the fifth century (B. and O.R., v, p. 138); but he was evidently ignorant of the story of Kong, and the features of later Judaism among the Chinese Jews, on which he relies to prove his case, must be ascribed to subsequent comers. Tradition is an excellent guide, provided it be genuine. If there is any lesson which the archaeological discoveries of the last half-century have taught us, it is to follow tradition, and to distrust the scepticism born of ignorance in which our predecessors gloried. A translation of the Kai-fang-fu inscriptions is given in vol. v of the B. and O.R.; and the short tablet inscriptions in Hebrew and Chinese are dealt with in vol. vi, pp. 209 and 238, by Glover and Gaster.

besieged by the Hiungnu somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kashgar. The Hiungnu cut off the water supply; and the Chinese dug a well 150 feet deep, but found no water. They were reduced to the last extremities by thirst. Kong, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, cried: "I have heard that in olden time the Erh-Shih general drew his sword, and pierced the rock, and straightway a rushing stream gushed out."¹ Thereupon Kong put on his garments of state, and prostrating himself beside the waterless well, prayed for the army and for himself. Presently the well brimmed over with water.

Here is the story of Moses striking the rock. Now we have the biography of Li-Kuang-li, the famous general who conquered Ferghanah, with its capital Erh-Shih, in 104-101 B.C., and it contains nothing of this story. The story of Moses must therefore have reached Eastern Turkistan after 100 B.C. and before A.D. 75. It became a popular tale in after-times, and the spring was named the Erh-Shih general's spring.²

The well-known Indian version of Solomon's judgment forms a companion piece. It is not possible to date this with equal precision, but presumably it is to be referred to the same period.³

¹ E. Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, sér. II, vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 227. Heou-Han-chou, c. xlix, p. 6. *Biographie de Keng Kong*: "(Keng) Kong leva les yeux au ciel et s'écria en soupirant: 'J'ai entendu dire qu'autrefois le général de Eul-che tira son épée et en perça le rocher; aussitôt une source jaillissante sortit.'" The history of the Erh-shih general and of the war with Ta-yuan (Ferghanah) is given in the History of the Early Han (Tseen Han-shu), translated by Wylie, *Journ. Anthropol. Soc.*, vol. x, 1881, and vol. xi, 1882. Eul-che is the French and Erh-shih the English transliteration of the Chinese. Wylie has not translated. I think, the biography of Li-Kuang-li given in the Han-shu, but Mr. Giles tells me that it contains no mention of the miracle.

² For later notices of Li-Kuang-li's miracle, and the subsequent history of the spring, see Giles, "Tun Huang lu," *JRAS.* 1914, pp. 705-6. The spring ceased to overflow because a Chinese general fell dead beside it.

³ Jataka 546. In the Indian version the actors are the human mother and a female goblin. The mother leaves the babe on the ground while

Here we have, so far as I know, the two earliest stories borrowed by Orientals from the West. They are Biblical stories, but in their Eastern setting they are mere folk-tales without religious significance, taken by Indians and Chinese from the ubiquitous Jews.

The Kushan propaganda comes next in order of time; and it too dates from the first century A.D. The earliest Kushan propaganda was directed, as was natural, to the western provinces of China, where the Kushans formerly dwelled. Buddhism gained so many converts in these regions by the middle of the first century A.D. that in A.D. 65 the Emperor Ming-ti (A.D. 58-76) despatched ambassadors to India to discover what the tenets of this strange faith might be.¹ Central Asia and Western and Southern China were the chief fields of the Kushan missionary enterprise, but some traces of their propaganda may be found in Babylonia, although naturally it came later in time. In approaching this subject, however, I must warn the reader that we are dealing with controversial matter, and that our ignorance of what went on in Babylonia is great. I shall confine myself to those broad facts which I consider fairly certain.

By way of preface I would point out that the connexion between the Kushans and Babylonia from the time of

she bathes at the tank. The fiend picks it up, gives it suck, and runs off with it. The mother pursues. The child and the women are brought before the sage, who directs the mother to take the infant by the legs, while the goblin takes the arms. Both pull, the child screams, and the mother gives way. The goblin is known by her unwinking fiery eyes, and by the fact that her body casts no shadow. Garbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-8, decides for the priority of the Hebrew version, partly on the ground of the date ascribed to the Book of Kings, partly on account of the barbarous inhumanity, truly Semitic (*barbarische echt semitische Rohheit*), of the test proposed. Whether it be worse to be cut in two or torn in two, I cannot say, although the latter was a punishment not unknown in Europe in the eighteenth century. But an appeal to racial "frightfulness" is surely a somewhat dubious, not to say a suggestive, test.

¹ Macgowan, *History of China*, p. 118.

Kanishka is well established,¹ and that Babylonia swarmed with Jews who were in close intercourse with their kinsmen east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. Babylonia also swarmed with Gnostics; and Gnostics and Kushans were extremely syncretistic.

First. Hippolytus says:² When Callixtus was Pope (A.D. 217-21), there came to Rome a Syrian bringing with him the book of Elkesai. This Elkesai was a "righteous man" who had brought the book from the Seres of Parthia in the third year of Trajan (i.e. A.D. 100). The book contained a revelation by an angel who was none other than the Son of God. The Holy Spirit as a female figure accompanied Him. The Son of God was twenty-four *schoinoi* (some ninety miles) in height, and six *schoinoi* across the shoulders. The proportions for the rest of the figure are also given, the size of the feet being especially noteworthy.³ The female figure corresponded to the male. The special features of this revelation, according to Hippolytus and Epiphanius, were two: it

¹ JRAS, 1912, pp. 981 ff.

² Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, ix, 13 (Cruice, p. 447). A certain Alcibiades, a native of Apamea, in Syria, came to Rome *φέρων βιβλον τινα, φάσκων ταύτην ἀπὸ Σερῶν τῆς Παρθίας παρεληφέναι τινα ἄνδρα δίκαιον Ἑλκασαί, ἢν παρέθηκε τινα λεγόμενον Σοβιαί, χρηματισθεῖσαν ἐκὸς ἀγγέλου*, and then follow the details as to height, etc. Sobiai, according to Brandt, is the Greek rendering of the Aramaic *shai'aiyi*, meaning "the washed" or "the baptized". No particular sect called itself Elkesaite, but his revelation was accepted by certain semi-Jewish, semi-pagan sects mentioned by Epiphanius, the Essenes, the Ebionites, and the Sampseans (Epiph. *Her.* xix, xxx, 17, and liii, 1 and 2). Origen in Euseb. H.E. vi, 28, also briefly mentions certain of their doctrines. Salmon in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and Brandt in *Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, devote long articles to Elkesai and the Elkesaites, but Brandt often seems to me rather ingenious than sound. With regard to most of the questions which they discuss the present argument has no concern.

³ Compare the size of the footprints of Vishnu, Brahma, Buddha, Adam, Mahomet, etc. The Adam Kadmon of the Kabbalists and the primeval man of Mani owe much to the Gnostics. It would be curious if we could trace the gigantic size ascribed to them to this Elkesaite phantasm, and through Elkesai to the Mahāyānist Buddhas.

declared that the Son of God had repeatedly appeared upon earth in the person of Adam and other patriarchs, and next, it prescribed the repetition of baptism as often as fresh sins were committed. This baptism had a magical efficacy. The consecrated water cleansed both body and soul from sin; it renewed the life of immortality; and it was a prophylactic against evil. More especially it was an antidote for the bite of a serpent, a mad dog, or any other similar misfortune.

Elkesai was revered as a prophet by Ebionites and Essenes. Ebionites of various sects took his book for their Gospel; and one of these sects, the Sampseans, worshipped two women who were his descendants. They escorted them whenever they went abroad, and they used their spittle and the dust of their feet for cures and charms.¹ In short, they revered them as their *gurus*.

I accept this story in the main. Elkesai was clearly a real personage, and one of the founders of Ebionitism. The Ebionites lived to the east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and we cannot be astonished that the Roman clergy, who detested them as Jews and as heretics, knew nothing of their book. Hippolytus only mentions it because of its bearing on his controversy with Callixtus.² I take it that Elkesai did start his revelation about 100 A.D. Had it not been a very early work, so many Ebionite sects would not have accepted it for their gospel.

¹ Epiph. *Hær.* liii, 1.

² Both Salmon and Brandt admit the historical existence of Elkesai and the antiquity of his book. Salmon rejects the date A.D. 100; he says that if we reject the revelation we must reject the date. No one credits the revelation, but that does not seem to me a reason for rejecting Elkesai's claim to have received it at that time. Brandt thinks the statement regarding the Seres was added by Alcibiades, or some other, and no part of the original story. The only ground for his opinion is that Epiphanius omits it when he gives the size of the two figures. But it was a detail immaterial to the purpose of Epiphanius' argument, and moreover a detail not in the least likely to have been invented. Epiphanius has preserved the measurement by *schoinoi*, and with it the foreign character of the whole.

The Sampseans were connected with the Babylonian *Mughtasila* or "washers", and the *Mughtasila* counted Elkesai among the founders of their creed.¹

Now note that this revelation was a foreign one. It came from the "Seres in Parthia". There were no Seres in Parthia; but an ignorant man might easily call the Kushans such. Indeed, no others except Kushans or Indo-Scythians can be meant. And the measurements are given, not in Roman feet, but in Persian *schoinoi*. Clearly Elkesai had gone to Babylonia for his inspiration.

What, then, was the foreign element in this novel revelation? Not the doctrine of the efficacy of baptism and the repugnance to the taking of animal life; the first of these was not Indian at all but Christian and Jewish, and the second was common to the Essenes and many Syrians. On the other hand, the repeated manifestations of Christ upon earth, before He appeared as the Son of Mary, and the gigantic stature ascribed to Him, correspond exactly with the Mahāyānist teaching of the various Buddhas before Gautama, and the immense proportions of their figures. These doctrines are confessedly borrowed from the East, and I know not where else Elkesai could have got them.

We find, then, what we might have expected, that the earliest trace of Buddhist influence is to be found among the syncretistic Gnostics of Babylonia. It came through a Kushan medium; and it dates from A.D. 100, later, that is, than the Kushan propaganda in China. The time, the place, the agents all agree.

Second. The *Acta Archelai* (A.D. 330-40) tell a story of a certain Scythianus, which Epiphanius (A.D. 376) has enriched with certain amplifications from the legend of Simon Magus current in his time. Scythianus was a Scythian (a Kushan or Indo-Scyth) who dwelt among the Saracens east of Palestine. He traded with India,

¹ Flügel, *Mani*, p. 305, n. 231.

and having made a fortune, and married a captive from the Thebaid, he settled in Upper Egypt. There he learnt the wisdom of the Egyptians and evolved his system. He had one disciple, Terebinthus, who reduced his doctrine to writing in four books, each consisting of a moderate number of lines (*versuum*). Scythianus intended to visit Judæa, and hold disputations with the doctors there (Epiphanius says the Apostles), but he died without accomplishing his purpose. Thereupon his disciple Terebinthus, who was also his slave, buried him with every token of regard, and then fled with the books and the treasure to Babylonia, where he gave himself out to be *Buddas*, born of a virgin, and brought up by an angel on the mountains. Terebinthus held high dispute with the priests of Mithras, and perished by the hand of God in like manner as Scythianus had done.

An old woman lived with Terebinthus, and was his heir. She adopted Corbicius, then a boy of seven; and thus Corbicius came into the possession of these four books, out of which, having taken to himself the name of Mani, and adding matter of his own, he evolved his new religion. This is the true origin of the Manichaean heresy, of which, say our authorities, not Mani but Scythianus was the real author.

We are further told that the books in question contained discourses "on matters which were antecedent to the world (*ante-sæculum*) and on the sphere, and the two luminaries, and also on the question whether and in what manner the souls depart, and in what mode they return again into the bodies". They also described a war in *principiis*, i.e. among the primeval elements.¹

¹ The *Acta Archelai*, c. 51-3, and Epiph. *Her.* lxi, 2-4, are our authorities for this history. There is a translation of the *Acta* in the Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xx. All the writers on Manichæism discuss the story; some regard Scythianus and Terebinthus as real persons: others do not, although they seldom assign any grounds for their scepticism. It is admitted on all hands that the *Acta* contain genuine

Mani was born *c.* A.D. 215. Scythianus, according to the account given us, lived two generations earlier. Therefore, when the Acta and Epiphanius put Scythianus in the days of the Apostles they commit a flagrant anachronism; but that is no reason for rejecting the story *in toto*. The details are peculiar; nor is the story one likely to have been invented. I take Scythianus to have been a Kushan living in Forath, or some other market town of the Arab kingdom of Characene, who was engaged in the Indian trade, and who, when he retired from business, gave himself to religious study or Buddhist propaganda. In itself nothing is more probable. His disciple Terebinthus claims to be a *Bodhisattva*, and writes *sūtras* (versuum). Here I think we have a narrative of facts, probable in themselves, and illustrative of the propagation of Mahāyānist Buddhism in the Euphrates Valley.

Third. Christian tradition has always connected Buddhism and Mani, and the story of Scythianus is our earliest authority for the connexion. Manichæans, it is said, made Christ one with Zoroaster, Buddha, Mani, and the Sun (Mithras): τὸν Ζαρὰδαν καὶ Βουδᾶν καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸν Μανιχαῖον καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.¹ And the mediaeval formula of abjuration when Manichæans were received into the church bracketed Buddha, Scythianus, and Mani together.

Eastern tradition also appears to point in the same direction, although not in a very intelligible way. Mani, a Persian by race, was born in Babylonia. His father, Patecius (Fatek or Babek), an emigrant from Ecbatana,

Manichean matter, whether this famous disputation took place or no. The existence of Archelaus himself is often doubted, but that question is in no wise connected with the existence of Scythianus. The Acta say (*c.* 55) that the doctrines of Scythianus remained in obscurity until Mani took them up. In other words, Buddhism was confined to Babylonia, and made no impression on the Roman world.

¹ Quoted by Neander, *Church History*, ii, p. 198 (Clarke's ed.).

had joined the *Mughtasila*, or "Washers", whom we have already met. These *Mughtasila* are apparently the same as a certain sect of Sabians who lived in Albīrūnī's time in the marshes of the Lower Euphrates, and who claimed to be the descendants of "Enos the son of Seth". In reality, says Albīrūnī, they were Jews of the Captivity who refused to return to the Holy Land, and adopted a religion in part Magian and part Jewish. Albīrūnī makes Būdhāsaf the founder of this sect; and Albīrūnī's Būdhāsaf is no other than Buddha, who lived thirty years before Zarādusht. This is of course nonsense, but it shows some obscure connexion in the popular mind between Manichæans and Buddhists.

However this may be, it is certain that Buddhism was well known in Babylonia before the middle of the third century A.D. Albīrūnī quotes a passage from the *Shāh-būrkan*, one of Mani's principal works, in which Mani compares himself with Buddha: "Wisdom and deeds have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messengers of God. So in one age they have been brought by the messenger called Buddha to India, in another by Zarādusht to Persia, in another by Jesus to the West. Thereupon this revelation has come down, this prophecy in this last age, through me, Mani, the messenger of the God of truth, to Babylonia."¹

Mani knew Buddhism well, but how far he was indebted to it is another and a much debated question. Baur, Neander, and the older school found Buddhist influence everywhere.² Modern scholars consider it almost *nil*; "si elle existe (elle) est très minime," says

¹ Albīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, trs. Sachau, p. 190. For his account of the Sabians and Būdhāsaf, v. pp. 186-9.

² A good summary of Baur's and Neander's views will be found in Neander's *Church History*, ii, pp. 197 ff. (Clarke's edition of the Eng. trans.). Baur has expounded his view in his work *Das Manichäische Religionsystem*, pp. 433-51.

Rochat.¹ And so far as doctrine is concerned, this opinion appears to be correct. If I were to define Mani's system in two words, I should call it Gnostic Zoroastrianism, Zoroastrianism developed on a Gnostic framework. Like the Gnostics, Mani posits a God of Light, who is unknowable in Himself and above all predicates. We have a divine *pleroma*, the opposition of light and darkness, a series of emanations, the descent of a divine spirit, who is overborne by the evil powers, and the primeval man of the Valentinians. These and other minor points Mani has in common with the Gnostics, more especially with the followers of Bardaisan.² But this Gnostic outline is filled in with Zoroastrian details. Instead of purely intellectual abstractions such as *nous* and *ennoia*, we have the ideal elements of nature. With the God of Light there are, says Mani, two other infinities, infinite air and infinite earth; the archetypal, be it understood, and not the material air and earth.³ The elements are sacred, and thus the whole Gnostic conception of matter is changed. In the Gnostic philosophy the *hyle* is always evil, and it is inert and passive. In Mani's system, as in Zoroaster's, there is "good matter" represented by light, and "evil matter" represented by darkness, and this darkness is not sluggish or motionless but tremendously active; it invades the light. Thus there is war among the elements, Ormazd against Ahriman.

It must be admitted that in the transcendental part of Mani's scheme there was nothing Indian, not even transmigration, if we accept En Nodin's version of it as

¹ Rochat, *Mani*, p. 191.

² Flügel, *Mani*, p. 361, n. 317, says that there must have been some special connexion between Mani and the school of Bardaisan. According to the *Fihrist* Mani devoted several chapters in his *Book of Mysteries* to his controversy with the tenets of Bardaisan; and Bardaisan's followers were reckoned an offshoot of the Valentinians.

³ Cf. Spinoza, *Ethica*, ii, prop. 1: "*Cogitatio attributum Dei est, sive Deus est res cogitans.*" Prop. 2: "*Extensio attributum Dei est, sive Deus est res extensa.*"

given in the *Fihrist*. Nor did India in any way affect Mani's moral teaching, which was pure and elevated. Love, Faith, Fidelity, Courage, and Wisdom were the five spiritual "members" of the God of Light; and the whole duty of the perfect Manichæan was to abstain from wine, from meat, from marriage, and from whatever might pollute either air or fire.

But if we turn from the speculative and ethical to the organic side of Manichæism, we find the correspondence somewhat close. Both Manichæism and Buddhism were the religion of ascetics; with the exception of the "perfect" none others could be saved, although their future lot might be ameliorated. The elect, the *siddikān*, or true men, were alone perfect. They must neither sow nor reap; all labour was forbidden them, and they lived on the alms of the faithful, the *auditores* or hearers, precisely as did the Buddhist monks. The groundwork of the community was the same among Manichæans and Buddhists, and the Buddhist system was well known to Mani. How far he copied its details is a question which finds in Central Asia may some day help us to solve.¹

With Mani all trace of the Kushan propaganda in Babylonia comes to an end, and soon after A.D. 400 the White Huns broke up the Kushan Empire. There were still Buddhists in Persia in the seventh century. Hiuen Tsiang heard of two or three sanghārāmas where the monks followed the Hīnayāna rule. But these monks probably came from Ceylon or Western India, where the Hīnayāna school was dominant; and at this time commerce between the Persian Gulf and these countries flourished exceedingly.

Hitherto we have been dealing with Jews, Kushans, and Gnostics on the confines of the Roman Empire.

¹ This is also Mr. Legge's conclusion. His chapter on the Manichæans in the second volume of the *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* contains all the latest information on the subject.

We have next to discover what went on within the Empire itself. And it is important to note at the outset that down to A.D. 300 the novel information regarding Indian religions which reached Europe came directly or indirectly through a Christian channel. Plutarch and Pausanias were interested in Oriental religions, more, indeed, than any of their contemporaries, and they contribute various facts of interest to the general knowledge of India; Pausanias, moreover, had conversed familiarly with travellers to the East; but regarding Indian religions neither Plutarch nor Pausanias has anything new to say. Dio Chrysostom¹ and Aelian are writers of less note. The first gives an idyllic picture of the Brāhmans, and describes India as a paradise in which bud and flower and fruit grow together all the year round. Cuvier says² that Aelian was considerably in advance of his predecessors in his knowledge of Indian and African animals. This Aelian was a devout, not to say a superstitious man, and made a collection of stories relating to providential deliverances and instances of signal piety.³ But neither Dio nor Aelian display the smallest acquaintance with the religious thought or with the fables of India. Popular literature is equally silent. Prophetic books bearing Eastern names such as Zoroaster, Hystaspes, Osthanes, and the like, were much in vogue; but none of these had an Indian author, and the Sibyl, whether Jewish or Christian, makes no mention of India when she foretells the fate of the nations.

¹ Dio Chrysos. *Orat.* xxiv.

² Quoted by Jacobs in his Introduction to Aeliani *De natura Animalium*, p. xliii n.

³ Aelian wrote a lost work *De Providentia* (*περὶ προνοίας*), full of marvellous deliverances, providential interferences, miraculous cures, and the like. The famous story of the cock with one leg that led the song of the morning choir in the temple of Aesculapius has been preserved by Suidas. In his *Natural History*, xi, 31, he tells the story of the horse whose right eye was injured, and cured by Serapis.

With the literature of tales it is the same. If Indian tales were to be found anywhere we should expect to find them in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, or in the earlier versions of the Romance of Alexander known under the name of Pseudo-Callisthenes. But Apollonius and Pseudo-Callisthenes have no new Indian tales to tell, although they repeat many an old story.¹ It is not until the sixth century that we find fresh Indian material in the later amplifications of the Alexandrine romance.

The Christian writers, unlike the Pagans, were interested in "barbarian philosophies", the Indian among others. Basilides, Clemens, Origen, Hippolytus, and Bardaisan, all have something new to tell us, and all of them with the exception of Hippolytus belong to Egypt or to Syria. The Gnostic Basilides, who flourished under Hadrian (A.D. 117-37), is the earliest. I have shown elsewhere that pessimism and Nirvāna were the fundamental ideas on which he based his reconstruction of Christian doctrine.² Our other authors belong to the end of the second century and the first quarter of the third. The Gnostic Bardaisan, a native of Edessa, comes first. He

¹ One tale which goes back through Pseudo-Callisthenes to Nearchus has furnished Milton with a magnificent simile.

"That sea-beast

Leviathan, which God of all his works
Created hugest that swim the ocean-stream,
Him, haply slumbering on the Norway foam,
The pilot of some small night-foundered skiff,
Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,
With fixed anchor in his scaly rind,
Moors by his side under the lee, while night
Invests the sea, and wished morn delays."

Paradise Lost, i, 200-8.

² JRAS. 1902, pp. 377 ff. Mr. Tawney and others have pointed out that the ideas of Basilides are rather Indian than specifically Buddhist. I am inclined to agree with this criticism; but these ideas must have reached Basilides through a Buddhist medium, and they contain nothing which is not also Buddhist. Buddhism was most popular with Indian merchants, and these are the men with whom Basilides would naturally come in contact.

happened to fall in with a certain Damadamis, or Sandanes (the name is variously written), who came in the train of an Indian embassy to Septimius Severus.¹ With the information he obtained Bardaisan wrote his *Indica*, of which two considerable extracts have been preserved. Bardaisan is the first to distinguish clearly between Brāhmans and Buddhists, and he gives us a full and accurate account of the mode of life practised by the Brāhmans and by the Buddhist monks. The second extract deals with ordeals, and gives a long description of some Indian shrine. Had Bardaisan's book survived it would probably have thrown a world of light on Northern India in the second century A.D.

None of the Orthodox Christian writers display any knowledge of India comparable to that of these two Gnostics. Origen's references are few and slight; the most important is that relating to the spread of Christianity in the East.² Clemens knows the difference between Brāhmans and Buddhist Sramanas. He describes the mode of life of the latter, and he makes mention of Sramanās among the Bactrians. He is the first to mention Buddha (Βούττας) by name, and he says that Buddha's followers have raised him to the rank of a god—*εἰς θεὸν τετιμήκασι*. He elsewhere talks of the

¹ Our knowledge of Bardaisan's work is derived from Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, iv, 17-18, and Stobaeus, *Physica*, i, 56. Both passages are translated by McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 169-74. The text of the Barlaam and Joasaph legend enables us to settle the name of Bardaisan's informant. Among the personages mentioned in the legend is a certain *Zandani* according to the Georgian text, or *Zapδάν* according to the Greek. Kuhn identifies *Zandani* and *Zapδάν* with Buddha's charioteer *Channa* or (Skt.) *Chanda[ka]*. Sandanes was therefore the proper name of Bardaisan's informant; he must have been a Buddhist sent officially with the embassy by a Buddhist king. We can therefore understand how Bardaisan came to distinguish between Brāhmans and Buddhists. For *Zandani* and *Zapδάν* see Kuhn, *Barlaam u. Joasaph*, pp. 35, 36.

² I have quoted it in JRAS. 1907, p. 958. Elsewhere he mentions Brachmanes and Samanaiol as using *mantras* or spells (c. *Cela*, i, 24).

Semnoi (σεμνοί), who go about naked, foretell future events, and worship a pyramid (stūpa) under which they say the bones of some god are concealed. He contrasts the death of the Christian martyrs with the suicide of the Gymnosophists, and he gives at length the famous conversation between Alexander and the ten Jogis.¹ But Clemens' knowledge of Indian religions, although

¹ Here is a list of Clemens' references: Strom. i, 15, para. 68 (335 P.): Wise men (σοφοί) were honoured by many barbarian races, for instance by all the Brahmans, the Getæ, Egyptians, Chaldeans, etc. Ibid. i, 15, para. 70 (358 P.): Pythagoras learnt from the Galatæ, the Brahmans, etc. Ibid. i, 15, para. 71 (359 P.): Philosophy was cultivated by the barbarians long before the Greeks, e.g. by the Chaldeans, Druids, the Σαραναιοὶ Βάρταροι, etc. Among others the Indian gymnosophists. Of these there are two kinds, the Brāhmans and the Sarmanai. Some of the Sarmanai, those called the Hylobii (Allobii), neither live in cities nor under a roof, but they clothe themselves with the bark of trees, feed on nuts, and drink water out of their hands. Like the Enekratites of the present day, they know not marriage nor the procreation of children. Some, too, of the Indians obey the precepts of Boutta, whom, on account of his extraordinary sanctity, they have raised to the rank of a god. Ibid. i, 15, para. 72 (361 P.): A quotation from Megasthenes. The Brāhmans of India and the Jews in Syria had already said all that the Greeks had to say about nature. Ibid. iii, 7, para. 60 (539 P.): Alexander Polyhistor says that the Brāhmans neither eat flesh nor drink wine; some fast for three days. They despise death, believe in rebirth, and worship Herakles and Pan. The σεμνοί go about naked, practise truthfulness, foretell the future, and worship a pyramid under which the bones of some god are concealed. Ibid. iv, 4, para. 17 (571 P.): Some who share our name but are not of our body give themselves to the flames, like the Indian gymnosophists, but neither they (the heretics) nor the gymnosophists have the martyr's reward. Ibid. iv, 7, para. 51 (586 P.): The Indian philosophers told Alexander that he might transfer their bodies where he pleased, but their souls were steadfast. Ibid. vi, 4, para. 38 (758-9 P.): Alexander and the ten gymnosophists. This legendary conversation is first recorded by Plutarch, *Vita Alex.*, c. 64 (translated by McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 313-14). It was repeated by Clemens and Pseudo-Callisthenes with variations, and continued to be in vogue throughout the early Middle Ages. Palladius' tract, *De Gentibus Indiæ et Brāhmanibus*, and Pseudo-Ambrosius, *De Moribus Brāhmanorum*, borrow from it. In his edition of the Alexander romance Ausfeld says that the story appears to have arisen from the fusion of three separate occurrences, mentioned respectively by Plutarch, *op. cit.*, c. 65, Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii, 2, and Strabo, xv, p. 714. The earliest form of the story according to Ausfeld arose out of Alexander's campaign against the

greater than that of his contemporaries, is vague. He knows that there were Sramanas, but he does not seem to realize that the Sramanas were Buddhists.

There remains Hippolytus.¹ His account is a very curious one, and must have been derived from some Christian who had visited a settlement of Brāhmins on the Tagabena River, a river otherwise unknown, but apparently in the Dekhan. These Brāhmins were part ascetics, part ordinary householders. They taught that God was light and also *logos* (word or speech), not the sensible light or the articulate word, but that which is perceived and known in the intellect. The Brāhmins alone knew this light (which was also *logos*), because they alone had put off illusion (*κενοδοξίαν*), that last garment of the soul. They despised death, and constantly repeated the name of God in their own tongue, singing hymns to Him. . . . This *logos*, which they called God, was corporeal; it wore the external body like a garment, like as a man might wear a sheepskin; when it put off the body it became visible.² . . . They further said that

Oxydrakai. The Brāhmins had persuaded the king, whom Plutarch calls Sabbas (Sambus), to revolt, and they sent Alexander a letter, not unlike the letter ascribed by Philo (in his *Quod omnis probus liber*, c. 14) to Kalanos. The Oxydrakai came in Philostratus and in the Romance to be a synonym for sages. Ausfeld, *Der griech. Alexander-roman*, pp. 174-7.

¹ Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, i, c. 21. The passage is so curious that I give Cruice's text. Οὗτοι τὸν θεὸν φῶς εἶναι λέγουσιν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐδὲν τις ὁρᾷ, οὐδ' οὐρανὸς καὶ πῦρ, ἀλλὰ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς λόγος, οὐχ ὁ ἐναετός, ἀλλὰ ὁ τῆς γνώσεως, δι' οὗ τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς φύσεως μυστήρια δοῦνται σοφοῖς. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ φῶς, ὃ φασὶ λόγον τὸν θεόν, αὐτοὺς μόνους εἶδέναι βραχυῶναι λέγουσι, διὰ τὸ ἀπορρίψαι μόνους τὴν κενοδοξίαν, ὅς ἐστι χιτῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐσχατος. (Cruice quotes from Athenæus, *Deipn.*, ix, a sentence of Plato: ἐφησεν ἐσχατον τὸν τῆς δόξης χιτῶνα ἢ ψυχῆς πέφυκεν ἀπορίσθαι.)

² Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν λόγον, ὃν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι, σωματικὸν εἶναι, περιεκείμενον τε σῶμα ἔχοντα ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ εἰ τις τὸ ἐκ τῶν προβάτων ἐνδύμα φορεῖ, ἀπεκδυσάμενον δὲ τὸ σῶμα, ὃ περιέκειται, ὀφθαλμοφανῶς φαίνεσθαι. The meaning of this last sentence is very obscure; it is supposed to be corrupt. For attempts to amend it c. Cruice's note in *loco*. It may refer to the contrast between the gross material body and the subtle covering of the soul.

this corporeal body, which was external to self, was the seat of constant wars. They were captives to their own passions, to their bellies, their appetites, to grief, anger, joy, desire, and the like. He alone has access to God who has established a firm bulwark against his natural appetites.

Here we have the most intimate exposition which occurs in ancient literature of specifically Indian doctrines. We have the doctrine of *Vāc* (speech), of *Māyā* (illusion), and of Indian apathy. But it was not Indian philosophy which attracted the attention of this inquirer, but the discovery that the Brāhmans held a doctrine resembling the Christian doctrine of the Logos. What the Christians naturally sought for was similarity or identity of doctrine; that was the attraction.

A generation after Origen comes the Neo-Platonist Porphyry, a Syrian by birth, and well acquainted with Gnostics and with Christians. What he says of India is derived at second hand, and chiefly from Bardaisan; but in his book *De Abstinencia* Porphyry lays down the proposition that it is wrong to destroy life, whether vegetable or animal. This doctrine he holds in common with his contemporary Mani, who forbade the perfect to reap the fields or to pluck fruit. The objection to take animal life was widely entertained in Syria as well as in India. For this reason the Essenes rejected the bloody sacrifices of the Temple. On the same ground Asoka had prohibited the sacrificial system of the Brāhmans. Both in Syria and in Egypt large classes of the population were naturally vegetarian, and seem to have felt a physical repugnance to the eating of flesh.

We have now exhausted all that the Greek and Roman authors of the first three centuries tell us regarding Indian religions. We need not marvel that it is so little, if we consider how slight was the knowledge the Pagans possessed of the beliefs of the Christians living among

them. Christians and Brāhmans alike contemned death; that was the main fact that struck the popular imagination. The fraternal affection of the Christians, the solidarity of their communities, and their willingness to help each other, their sacred books, their mysteries, and their impiety in rejecting the Greek gods, which even a scoffer like Lucian counts to them for a crime—these things the Pagans could not help seeing. But all this was external. The classical world of Rome and Greece never got beyond what was obvious in the case of Christians or of Indians.

Outside literature some acquaintance with Indian ways and beliefs may be traced as a matter of general knowledge, especially in Syria. Apollonius of Tyana and Peregrinus Proteus will furnish us with some instances in point. Of all Indian practices, the voluntary death of their philosophers by fire was the best known, and created the greatest astonishment. Kalanos had burnt himself in the presence of Alexander. Zarmanochegas, a Buddhist Sramana as his name implies, accompanied the embassy which King Porus sent to greet Augustus at Samos in B.C. 19, and burnt himself afterwards at Athens, where the Indian's tomb was long pointed out.¹

We have a European imitation in the voluntary death of Peregrinus Proteus. Lucian, a "mean white" born on the outskirts of Hellenism, brilliantly witty, but low, ungenerous, and spiteful, tells the story with more than his usual malice. Peregrinus, a vain but honest, puzzle-headed fellow, wandered from his native town of Parium to Palestine. In Palestine he became a Christian, so says Lucian, and rose to be a leader in the Christian

¹ For Zarmanochegas, or Zarmaros (Zarmanos) as Dio Cassius calls him, *v. Strabo*, xv, 686 and 719-20; also *Dio Cass.* iv, 9. The Kushan Huvishka was the Porus who sent this famous embassy to Augustus at Samos in 19 B.C.; that is, if Dr. Fleet's theory of the date of Kanishka, the correct one in my opinion, be accepted.

synagogue.¹ Arrested and put in prison for his faith, he was discharged by the governor of Syria, who was a philosopher. After this, Peregrinus led a wandering life. He left the Christians, or was expelled by them (so Lucian says), and then turned Cynic.² He gathered a band of disciples, and wrote oracular letters, like Apollonius, to various Greek towns, directing them how to manage their affairs. Finally he announced that he

¹ Lucian, *De morte Peregrini*, c. 11: "Ὅτε περ καὶ τὴν θαναστὴν σοφίαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐξέμαθε περὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην, τοῖς ἱεροῦσι καὶ γραμματεῦσιν αὐτῶν ζυγγυόμενος—ἐν βραχεῖ παιδας αὐτοῖς ἀπέφηνε, προφῆτης καὶ θιασάρχης καὶ ζυγαγωγός καὶ πάντα μόνος αὐτὸς ὢν. Synagogue was the word in common use for the meeting-houses of Palestinian Christians and Marcionites. There still exists an inscription of one such meeting-house in a village three miles from Damascus: *Συναγωγή των Μαρκωνιστων κωμης Λεβαθων* (Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, ii, 275, Eng. trans.). Egyptian churches also got the name of synagogues, a proof of the close connexion which existed between the Palestinian and the Egyptian Christians. Other indications point in the same direction. For instance, the presbyteral constitution of the church, or churches, in Alexandria differed greatly from the episcopal organization which prevailed in Asia Minor and the West. Apollos of Alexandria probably learnt of the Baptism of John in his native city. In the opinion of some scholars the Babylon from which St. Peter addresses his first Epistle was the Babylon opposite to Memphis on the right bank of the Nile. Through St. Mark the Alexandrian Church derived its lineage from the Apostle of the Circumcision; and Basilides, who taught in Alexandria and the Delta, claimed to be a disciple of Glaucias, St. Peter's interpreter. The Gospel according to the Egyptians and the Gospel according to the Hebrews were both known in Egypt. The close connexion of Palestinian and Egyptian Christians would be a continuation of the former, and anticipate the later connexion between Syria and Egypt, and may be responsible in part for the dearth of our information regarding the history of early Egyptian Christianity. "The most grievous blank in our knowledge of early Church history is our total ignorance of the history of Christianity in Alexandria and Egypt up till A.D. 180." So says Harnack, and he sums up all that is known in three pages (Harnack, *op. cit.*, ii, 305-8, Eng. trans.).

² I once had a man brought before me who, having been born a Rajput, became a Christian, and finally turned Mohammadan. His religious speculations, however, did not end in making him a philosopher but a burglar, and he was taken up for robbing his late fellow-Christians. Lord George Gordon and Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu's son are examples of half-crazy men who, like our friend Peregrinus, indulged in religious vagaries.

would burn himself at the great gathering of Olympia in A.D. 165. Lucian describes the scene, the moonlight, and the crowds, some applauding, others scoffing, the procession of Cynics with their flaring torches, and Peregrinus as the central figure. He describes the farewell speech and the leap into the fire; and these last details are Indian. Peregrinus on arriving on the ground lays aside his outer garments, and facing south, that is, towards the Indian region of death, addresses the *Manes* of his ancestors: "Divine spirits of my ancestors, maternal and paternal, receive me kindly."¹ In other words he invokes the *Pitris*, and, true to Indian feeling, the mother's line comes first.

Peregrinus leaped upon a pyre, some 6 feet high, and blazing with combustibles. There were three ways of committing *sati*. In the north of India the sufferer mounted on a pyre; in Central India and Rajputana he or she leaped into a trench filled with burning brushwood; in the South the victim was buried alive, and the skull was smashed with a cocoanut. Peregrinus probably immolated himself after the fashion of Barygaza, which after all was the most obvious and best-known mode.

Peregrinus was a well-known character, and a temple which gave out oracles and worked cures was erected to his ghost in his native town of Parium.² That he intentionally imitated the Brāhmans cannot be doubted; his disciple Theagenes says as much;³ but how, and how far, he knew the exact details is a curious question. Peregrinus had never been in India, and he cannot have witnessed a *sati*. But he had been a Christian, and lived in Palestine; and he may have met with Syrians or Indians who could inform him.

¹ Δαίμονες μητρικοί καὶ πατρικοί θέλωσθαι με εὐμενέας (Lucian, op. cit., 36).

² Peregrinus gave out that he would become a night-wandering spirit, guardian of the night (Lucian, op. cit., 27).

³ Οἱ Βραχμῶνες ἰσχυροὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔβλου θρασύτης ἐκδιδόν (Lucian, op. cit., 25).

Apollonius—or rather Philostratus' life of him, which is quite a different matter—furnishes another example of some general knowledge of things Indian. In many outward ways he gives one the impression of an Indian Vairāgi. His fantastic dress, his oracular speech and equally oracular silence, his vegetarianism, the mysterious appearances and disappearances, the crowd of followers, the miraculous cures, and the air he assumes of a quasi-supernatural being, are not all these the characteristics of a Jogi? Philostratus has doubtless exaggerated the features, but they are probably not untrue to the real Apollonius, who was much talked of, Eusebius tells us,¹ in his day. Apollonius has a much more Indian look than a later prophet of Asia Minor, Alexander of Abonoteichos, who took a somewhat similar method of advertisement. But the resemblance between the *outré* ways of Apollonius and the Jogi may after all be due to the vanity of human nature.

Many men have tried to separate the true from the false in Apollonius' alleged Indian travels. Two genuine Indian items I can find, and no more. The first is not doubtful. Apollonius paid a visit of four months to the *Sophoi* on their wonderful hill that rose out of the level plain of the Oxydrakai country. These *Sophoi* wore long hair; they must therefore have been Brāhmans and not Buddhist monks, who, as Bardaisan knew, were shaven. Now the *Sophoi* rose two cubits in the air when

¹ 'Ο παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ᾄδόμενος αὐτὸς ἑαῖνος ὁ Τυαρεὺς Ἀπολλώνιος (Euseb., *Præp. Evang.*, iv, 150a). In later times Apollonius performed some of the offices of a mediæval saint. He protected Constantinople, as Virgil did Naples, from flies. At Edessa this was the business of St. Thomas. During his festival of forty days not a fly settled on the meat, or infected the water. Thus the occupation of Baal-zebub, lord of flies and of Ekron, was passed on to his successors. Trajan's army, marching through the waterless desert between Babylonia and Osroene, sadly needed some such protector, for according to Dio Cassius, lxxviii, 31, it suffered greatly from a plague of flies. Our soldiers in these plains have had a somewhat similar experience.

they prayed. This was not a Brāhman accomplishment, but it was a common practice with the Buddhists.¹ Two inferences follow: *first*, the mistake shows that Apollonius had never been in India, or if he had, then Damis the Assyrian, who is Philostratus' authority for the travels, knew nothing of it.² And, *second*, some vague knowledge of Indian beliefs was vulgarly current in Syria in the second century A.D., and it came through a Buddhist channel.

The aerial devotions of the Indian sages, as described by Philostratus, took hold of the popular imagination. A third or early fourth century legend made Simon Magus perish in mid-air, the prayers of St. Peter having driven off the demons who supported him, and brought the arch-heresiarch to the ground. Epiphanius tells similar tales of Scythianus and Terebinthus.³ And Ammianus Marcellinus says that Maximianus tried to imitate the Brāhmanas: "pedes hue et illuc exultando contorquens, saltare non incedere videbatur, dum studebat inter altaria celsius gradientes (ut quidam memorant) imitari Brachmanas."⁴ But the most famous example was the Magdalene in her grotto at Marseilles. In the twelfth century legend of her she habitually rose at her prayers into the air in her rocky cell, while a band of angels guarded her.⁵

Another Indian trait is less striking. It was the

¹ Sometimes the saint ended his life in the air. "Rising up into the air, he exhibited spiritual transformations, and at last he was consumed by fire, and his bones fell to the ground" (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, 306).

² Philostratus (or Apollonius) can never have seen an Indian. He describes the Indo-Aryans of the Panjāb (ii, 22) as having a "flat nose, curled locks, prominent cheeks, and a certain fire about the eyes". He confounds them with the Ethiopians. He happens to be right about their height, but many Greeks had remarked on this.

³ The end of Simon Magus is described by Philaster and by Epiphanius, *Her.* xxi, 5. For Scythianus and Terebinthus, *Her.* lxvi, 3.

⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi, 1.

⁵ A friend tells me that St. Catherine of Sienna was said to rise on the wings of prayer.

custom at Taxila, says Philostratus, to entertain strangers for three days, after which they had to leave. As Apollonius arrived at Taxila after noon, he was allowed by a special act of grace to stay a fourth day.¹ This rule seems to have been a common one in various Buddhist monasteries, whereas in Syria the custom was different. The *Didache* represents the practice of the Christian communities in rural Syria in the early part of the second century. It says that "if an apostle comes, he is to be received as the Lord; let him stay one day, and if need be two: if he stays three days, he is a false prophet".²

I have now dealt with whatever was consciously and definitely regarded as Indian by the Roman world. One large domain of practice and of thought remains untouched in which Buddhist or rather Indian influence has often been surmised, not so much by way of direct borrowing as of unconscious assimilation. The Essenes, Gnostics, Neo-Pythagoreans, Neo-Platonists, and the exponents in theory or in practice of the Oriental philosophy of religion dealt with questions which had the opposition of spirit and matter, spirit identified with goodness and matter with evil, for their base. The God who was unknowable in Himself, and the mode of His connexion with the world of sense, the divinity of the soul, its fall and its redemption, the origin of evil, the tyranny of fate, and the series of emanations, these were the profound subjects that occupied their minds.³ Their speculations had a partial correspondence with the speculations of Indian philosophers; but they approached

¹ Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.*, ii, 23, 40.

² Πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς Κύριος· οὐ μὲν γὰρ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἴαν δὲ χρεῖα, καὶ τὴν ἑλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἴαν μέγας, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν (Didache, c. 11).

³ Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, i, pp. 33-7. Eng. trans., summarizes all the principal subjects of speculation with which this "Oriental philosophy" dealt.

these questions from a different standpoint, and their interests were rather ethical than purely intellectual. It is impossible for me in this place to do more than indicate the subject.¹

We have now completed our survey of the first three centuries of our era. It has detained us long, partly because of the intrinsic importance of the times, partly on account of the many theories, baseless for the most part, to which it has given rise. The next three centuries are richer in results, and although our materials are scanty there is little controversy.

Between 300-600 A.D. the Eastern world underwent a change. Persia and Northern India became well-compacted states. Zoroastrianism ruled with much intolerance in Persia, where it acquired its fullest development, and Buddhism rapidly declined in Northern India before the Guptas and nascent Hinduism. Inter-course by land and sea with the Roman Empire was vastly multiplied, and it was no longer confined to the merchant class; Brāhmans and learned men took part in

¹ Garbe has devoted some pages (op. cit., pp. 61-7) to stories from the *Physiologus*. The *Physiologus* is a little manual of natural history popular in the Middle Ages; it circulated also in a Syriac translation (Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 133). I do not know the book, and I have not thought it necessary to look it up. First, the analogies pointed out by Garbe are too far-fetched to form the basis of any argument; and, second, the ascription of the work to Christian influences in Alexandria in the first quarter of the second century A.D. can scarcely be meant to be seriously taken. But it contains a legend interesting in itself, and of frequent recurrence in the Middle Ages. It is that "the lion's whelps were born dead, and first roused to life on the third day by the roar of their sire"; thus also was Christ raised from the dead.

"Voce Patris excitatus
Surgit Christus, laureatus
Immortali gloria."

Origen (*Hom. xxi in Gen. xlix, 9*) alludes to the legend; so it goes a long way back. Another very interesting legend, which, however, does not enter into this discussion, is that "the lion slept with its eyes open; these open eyes being an emblem of that divine life of Christ which ran uninterrupted through the three days' sleep of His body in the grave" (Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*, pp. 68, 170).

it. The agents in this intercourse were three—the Syrians, the Persians, and the subjects of the Guptas.

1. Syria attained under the early Byzantine emperors to a prosperity otherwise unknown. Peace and security prevailed everywhere; roads were multiplied, the bandits were suppressed, and the wandering Arabs on the frontier reduced to order. New towns and villages covered the face of the country, cultivation was pushed far into the desert, and cisterns were hewn in the rock to catch the scanty rainfall that overtopped the richly clad slopes and lofty summits of the Libanus and its southern continuation.¹ The province was in many ways the most important in the Eastern Empire. It had the monopoly of the trade in silk, which now came entirely by land from Kashgar, while Chinese and Indian goods reached it in great abundance by way of the Persian Gulf. An annual fair at Batnæ, near the Euphrates, collected all the merchants of the East,² and although Petra had come to an end by some unknown mischance under

¹ The Palestine Exploration Fund Annual, 1914-15, pp. 29-30, gives a vivid picture of Syria under early Byzantine rule. "In the Byzantine period a deep and sudden change came over the whole aspect of Syria. The disappearance of the petty states and the peace enjoyed by the inhabitants led to a great state of prosperity." The country was covered with paved roads; streams were bridged; and rest and guard houses erected along the routes. Towns sprang up on the Roman model with shaded porticoes and colonnades, markets, temples, and sumptuous private houses. Hamlets arose in the desert. There was a motley crowd of Jews, Phœnicians, Persians, Armenians, Arabs, in their brilliant national costumes. From the Euphrates to the Red Sea the ruins of this period transcend those of the earlier times, and bear witness to a population more numerous and more wealthy than those the land has seen before or since. Brünnow & Domaszewski's magnificently illustrated work, *Die Provincia Arabia*, gives a very detailed account of the Hauran and Arabia Petraea.

² Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv, 3: "Batne municipium in Anthemusia conditum Macedonum manu priscorum ab Euphrate flumine brevi spatio disparatur, refertum mercatoribus opulentis; ubi annua sollemnitate prope Septembris initium mensis ad nundinas magna promiscuæ fortunæ convenit multitudo ad commercanda quæ Indi mittunt et Seres."

Alexander Severus¹ Bostra more than took its place. The looms of Phœnicia supplied the silken hangings and robes rich with gold and silver embroidery which gave splendour to the Byzantine Court. The intellectual activity of the Syrians kept pace with their material prosperity. Edessa, Antioch and Gaza possessed schools of learning; the law school of Berytus was the first in the empire, and the theologians of Syria were the foremost of their time. The importance of the Syrians for our present inquiry lies in the fact that they were the chief intermediaries in the transmission of Oriental ideas to the West. What the Syrians afterwards did under the Caliphs for the interpretation of Greek science and philosophy to the Arabs, that they previously did in interpreting Oriental legends to the Greeks.²

2. The Persian merchants and clergy were equally active and no less important during this period. Until Ardashir conquered Characene in A.D. 226, the trade of the Persian Gulf had been chiefly in the hands of Chaldæans, Arabs, and Jews. But from this time the Persians came to be the leading traders, so much so that the Chinese gave the name of Persian (*Po-ssi*) to all the goods that reached Canton from the West.³ The Persian

¹ Brännow, etc., op. cit., i, p. 191. The coins and the building came to a sudden end under Alexander Severus; Brännow and his colleague think it may have been due to an attack by the Sassanians, who wished to divert the traffic to the Persian Gulf. I notice, however, that the inscriptions in the temple of Isis go on to a later date, and Epiphanius, quoted by Brännow (I have failed to trace the passage in my Epiphanius) says that the Arabians continued to hold an annual festival there in honour of Dusares and *Charabou*, who was the *παρθένος* or *κύρη*, in other words Allat, and as Allat not only *παρθένος* but also *μήτηρ θεῶν*.

² Bouchier, *Syria as a Roman Province*, pp. 180 ff., gives a good and convenient account of Syria under the Byzantines.

³ Hirth & Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 7-8. "... dynastic histories covering the period from the fourth to the beginning of the seventh centuries, in which we find all the products of Indo-China, Ceylon, India, Arabia, and the east coast of Africa classed as 'products of Persia (Po-ssi)', the country of the majority of the traders who brought their goods to China."

traffic with Ceylon and the western seaboard of India was not inferior to the Roman, and on the South Arabian coast their political influence triumphed over the Romans and the clients of the Romans, the Axumite kings, suzerains of Arabia Felix.

On land the activity of these Persian merchants was equally great. There was no such abundance of silk to be found anywhere as in Persia, says Cosmas;¹ and early in the fifth century a line of demarcation was drawn between the areas open to the Roman and the Persian traders.²

The missionary zeal of the Nestorians is well known, and the literary activity of their clergy was considerable. Syriac was the classical language, but there existed beside it a Pahlavi literature of which nothing has survived. Sachau gives the names of three authors between 420 and 550 A.D. who translated Syriac works into Pahlavi, and of certain learned Persians who wrote in Syriac, and may therefore be supposed to have composed works in their native tongue.³ We shall find that through translations from Pahlavi into Syriac and Arabic Indian legends first reached Europe.

3. In the fourth century A.D. the Guptas annexed the greater part of Northern India; and there sprang up a mighty wave of reaction against Buddhism. It was the renaissance of Hinduism; and the Kushans, the patrons of Buddhism, were confined to the extreme north-west. The Indian borderland and the adjacent countries remained Buddhist, and their communications were with Persia. Throughout the dominions of the Guptas Hinduism triumphed, and their subjects had intercourse with the Romans by sea. Thus, while the Persian clergy turned Buddhist stories into Christian legends, the

¹ Cosmas Indicopleustes, ii, p. 49 of McCrindle's trans.

² Bouchier, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

³ Sachau, *JRAS.* (N.S.), 1870, iv, pp. 230 ff.

Brāhmans of Ujjain were engaged in learning the science of the Greeks. These two series of events are independent of each other.

First. The sea trade between India and Egypt increased greatly, but it must be confessed that this is an inference from the general activity of trade in the Indian seas rather than from any direct proof. The finds of Roman coins in India furnish some illustration of it. From the death of Caracalla (A.D. 217) to Constantine (A.D. 306-36) there is a complete blank. But from Constantine to Justinian (A.D. 527-64) almost every emperor is represented by his coins; and the series goes on sporadically to Phocas (A.D. 602-9). Moreover, these coins penetrated as far east as Bengal, where no earlier coins have been found; and they are often in copper, a fact which points to a more intimate intercourse.¹ We have also a few examples of Romans who visited the East. Cosmas is the chief, but it is evident from his work that voyages like his were not uncommon. Sometimes men of learning visited India. Thus Metrodorus is said to have journeyed thither in the reign of Constantine, in order to study the science and philosophy of the Brāhmans. His friend Meropius of Tyre followed his example, taking with him Frumentius and Ædesius, of whom the former became the founder of the Ethiopic Church.²

¹ R. Sewell, JRAS. 1904, pp. 608 ff.; Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, pt. i, p. 61 (reprint from the *Num. Chronicle*, ser. III, viii, pp. 199-248). The only evidences of Egyptian trade with India in the third century A.D. are, I think, the visit of a Roman sea-captain (Ts'in-lun) to the court of the Emperor Sun-ch'uan in A.D. 226 (he travelled from Tongking, v. Hirth & Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 5); a small find of coins of Gallienus in Southern India; and a statement in the *Historia Augusta* regarding Firmus, the ally of Zenobia, xxix, 3: "idem et cum Blemmyia societatem maximam tenuit et cum Saracenis. Naves quoque ad Indos negotiatorias saepe misit."

² For all the authorities regarding Metrodorus, Meropius, and Frumentius v. an excellent article by Reynolds on the Ethiopic Church in *Dict. Christ. Biog.* Rufinus, *Hist. Eccles.*, i, 9, our earliest authority,

This intercourse with the West was no longer usually direct. Throughout the third century, from Caracalla (A.D. 217) to Domitian (A.D. 286), Egypt had been the scene of repeated massacres, of pestilence, and of war. Rival claimants for the Empire contended on its soil, and the population of Alexandria dwindled to one-fourth.¹ From the time of Caracalla's massacre the Indian trade had been diverted to Adule (Massowah), the great harbour of the Abyssinians near the entrance of the Red Sea, and through this trade the kings of Axum had grown powerful. Romans travelling to the East usually came by way of Ailana, or from the Gulf of Suez, or from Berenice to Adule, and there took ship for India. Indians also must have gone to Egypt by the same route.

We have some notices of the Indians who visited Europe. The Blemyes, the Ethiopians, and the Indians sent embassies to Constantine.² An Indian embassy waited on Julian in A.D. 361, and another came to Justinian in A.D. 530.³ Theophilus, a native of the Maldives or Ceylon, was taken as a hostage to Constantinople, and brought up there; and in A.D. 356 Constantius employed him on an embassy to the Homerites and to Axum. Much more interesting is the mention by Damascius in his life of Isidore of certain Brāhmans who put up with the ex-consul at Alexandria,

got the story of these journeys from Ælesius. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 185, gives extracts from Rufinus and Kedrenus regarding Metrodorus. He is also mentioned in Jerome's *Chronicon*. Kedrenus says he was a Persian by birth.

¹ Some idea of the history of Alexandria and of Egypt during the third century A.D. may be gathered from Milne, *History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, pp. 71-83. For the plague at Alexandria c. A.D. 259 see Euseb. H.E. vii, 22.

² Eusebius, *de vita Constantini*, iv, 7, 50. Chapter iv, 50 is translated by McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 214. The embassy came in the last year of Constantine's reign, A.D. 336-7.

³ Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii, 7, and Joannes Malala, p. 477. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

c. 500.¹ It must be remembered that throughout this period not only were the Egyptians and the Roman merchants Christians, but from the middle of the fourth century Christians were numerous both in Abyssinia and on the south coast of Arabia; while Persian Christians were settled on the coast of Malabar and in Ceylon.² If the Brāhmans who visited Alexandria wished to learn anything of Christianity, they had abundant opportunities for doing so. But it would appear from the account of Damascius that they were more anxious to observe the rules of their caste than to inquire into strange religions. It was Alexandrian science and not Alexandrian Christianity that they came to learn.

During the first three centuries of our era the merchants had been the chief agents, and the knowledge which the Romans entertained of Indian thought and Indian ways was fragmentary and partial. It is the distinction of the second period that in some departments at least knowledge became fuller and more complete. The Brāhmans set themselves to learn the science of the West. This is so well known in the case of astronomy that I need only refer to it. "Of the first five Siddhantas named as the earliest astronomical systems, one — the Romaka Siddhanta — is denoted by its very name as of Greek origin; while a second — the Paulisa Siddhanta — is expressly stated by Albīrūnī to have been composed by Paulus al Yūnānī." Varāha-Mihira's work, the *Horā-Sāstra*, has a Greek title, and "gives the entire list of the Greek names of the zodiacal signs and planets".³

¹ I have given the passage in full, JRAS. 1907, p. 936.

² Cosmas, iii, p. 119, and xi, p. 365 (McCrindle's trans.). Persians must have abounded, as we have seen from the notices of the Chinese, on the west coast of India and in Ceylon, and there must have been many Christians among them. They had a bishop and presbyters from Persia in Cosmas' day, and these cannot have been recent settlements, although we have no previous mention of them. But neither have we any prior mention of the Persian settlers.

³ Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 253-4.

Weber enumerates thirty-six technical terms borrowed by the Indian astronomers of the fifth and sixth centuries from the Greeks.¹

In addition to Ptolemaic astronomy, the Brāhmins borrowed Ptolemaic geography, a thing which I believe has hitherto escaped notice. Cosmas supplies the link. "The Indian philosophers, called the Brāhmins, say that if you stretch a cord from Tzinitza (China) to pass through Persia onward to the Roman dominions, the middle of the earth would be quite correctly traced, and they are perhaps right."² Now this is precisely the division of the northern, that is to say of the habitable part of the globe first laid down by Eratosthenes, and adopted by all subsequent geographers. Eratosthenes was the first to lay down parallels of latitude. "For this purpose he began by tracing one main line, which extended from the Sacred Promontory (the westernmost point of the Iberian peninsula) between the pillars of Hercules along the whole length of the Mediterranean to the island of Rhodes, and thence to the Gulf of Issus. Hence it was prolonged along the southern foot of the chain of Mount Taurus, which he conceived as a continuous range of mountains of great width, but preserving an uniform direction from west to east, and continued under

¹ I.A. 1873, p. 146. That distinguished scholar, Dr. Fleet, whose death is a loss to learning and to friendship, used to ask himself how and where Indian astronomers learnt to commence their year with the spring equinox. The Seleucidan, the Coptic, and most of the calendars in vogue in the Levant begin their reckoning with the autumn equinox. Only the Roman calendar and the year of Nabonidus reckon from the spring. Dr. Fleet thought that Brāhmins must have visited Rome. Perhaps so; but it is more probable, I think, that they took the spring equinox for their starting-point from the year of Nabonidus. When the Alexandrian astronomers reformed their calendar in the reign of Diocletian, they based their reform upon the Nabonidus era; and these astronomers were the teachers of the Indians.

² Cosmas, ii, p. 48, McCrindle's trans.

the name of Caucasus along the northern frontier of Media until it ended in the Eastern or Indian Ocean."¹

Strabo follows Eratosthenes. He defines the breadth of the earth "by a line drawn from the west at right angles (to the parallel of longitude) passing by the Pillars of Hercules and the Strait of Sicily to Rhodes and the Gulf of Issus, then proceeding along the chain of the Taurus, which divides Asia, and terminating in the Eastern Ocean between India and the Scythians dwelling beyond Bactriana".² Ptolemy assumes as a fundamental fact in his geography of Asia "the existence of a continuous mountain chain traversing the whole continent from one end to the other, and separating the plains of Scythia on the north from Ariana and India on the south".³ The Brāhmans, therefore, were merely repeating to Cosmas the lessons they had learnt in Alexandria.

The influence of the Greeks on the classical Indian drama and romances of this period is a much debated question. The Brāhmans had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with both, for Greek plays were acted in Egypt, even in the country towns, down to a late period.⁴ A story told by Hiouen Tsiang shows some acquaintance with Western literature. "To the south-west of Fo-lin (Syria), in an island of the sea, is the kingdom of the Western women; here there are only women with no men; they possess a large quantity of gems and precious stones which they exchange in Fo-lin. Therefore the king of Fo-lin sends certain men

¹ Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, i, p. 627.

² Strabo, ii, c. 5, para. 14, p. 118 (Bohn's trans.).

³ Bunbury, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 596.

⁴ In the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth, Schnoudi, most fanatical of Egyptian ascetics, with his monks stormed the town of Akhmin while the Greeks were at the theatre, where the "Birds of Aristophanes" was being acted. These Greeks "aimaient le theatre avec passion" (Amélineau, *Vie de Schnoudi*, p. 302).

to live with them for a time. If they should have male children they are not allowed to bring them up."¹

The Brāhmans took their physical science from the Greeks. Whether the later Neo-Platonists, with whom the Brāhmans consorted, borrowed ideas in return from Indian philosophy, is a question I am not competent to answer. I have quoted Albertus Magnus to show that Indian philosophic ideas were current in Europe in the Middle Ages, and they may very probably have come through this channel and about this time.²

If we turn from Hindustan and its Brāhmans to the Buddhist world and the Indian borderland we find equal activity, but in this case the agents are Christians, chiefly priests or monks, and they convey stories and legends adapted to Christian uses. Three, if not four, specimens of their work survive, all written probably in Pahlavi, the Persian literary language, but first known to the West in a Syriac translation. The originals have disappeared, and only one, and that not a religious work, can be approximately dated. Chosroes I Anushirwan (A.D. 531-78) claimed the renown of a literary Mæcenas; he invited to his court the Neo-Platonists whom Justinian had expelled from Athens; he welcomed Greek physicians, and he caused translations to be made from the works of Plato and Aristotle. By his command the physician Barsuyah³

¹ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, p. 279.

² I should like to invite the attention of students of *bhakti*, and more particularly of Sir G. Grierson, the corypheus in this study, to the position faith (*śrīra*) occupies in the later Neo-Platonism. Proclus is said to regard it not only as equivalent to certainty, but "he opposes it to knowledge, and regards it as a mystical introduction to a divine illumination. By it man is made to indwell in the unknowable and hidden unity, wherein every motion and energy of the soul arrives at rest" (Ritter, *History of Ancient Philosophy*, Eng. trans., iv, p. 644). My knowledge of Proclus is entirely second-hand. Six volumes of his works stand on the topmost shelves of my library; their study is reserved for some future migration.

³ "The Pancha-tantra, analysed by Mr. Wilson in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, was translated into Persian (Pahlavi) by Barsuyah, the physician of Nushirvan, under the name of the Fables of

translated into Pahlavi the Pancha-tantra, a collection of Indian beast fables, Buddhist in origin according to Professor Macdonell.¹ Towards the end of the same century, "the periegetes Bodh, who is said to have had the charge of the Christians in the remoter districts of the Persian Empire as far as India," translated it into Syriac,² and from this translation, or from the earlier Pahlavi,³ came the Arabic version known as *Kalilah and Dimnah* made in the eighth century. The work became famous in Europe under the title of *The Fables of Pilpai*.⁴

The Pancha-tantra was translated to amuse a monarch's idle hours, but the Persian clergy laboured to clothe Buddhist legends in a Christian garb for the edification of the faithful. Of all their works, the legend of Barlaam and Joasaph is the most famous, and Kuhn has made it the subject of a learned and exhaustive study.⁵ Both the monk Joasaph and the young Prince Barlaam are replicas of Buddha; Ānanda, Rāhula, and the charioteer

Bidpai. It was translated into Arabic by Abdalla Ibn Mokaffa, under the name of *Kalila and Dimnah*. From the Arabic it passed into the European languages" (Milman's note on Gibbon, *Decline, etc.*, c. xlii). Gibbon says he had seen three copies—one in Greek translated from the Arabic c. A.D. 1100, a translation into Latin from the Greeks, and a French version translated from the Turkish.

¹ Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 417. The Pahlavi text has been lost; the Sanskrit, Syriac, and Arabic survive.

² Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 123-4.

³ Wright, who discovered the Syriac version of the Pancha-tantra, says that 'Abdallāh ibn al-Mukaffa translated not from the Syriac but from the Pahlavi (Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 239). Another work translated about the same time from the Pahlavi into Arabic was the book of *Sindibādh* (*op. cit.*, p. 241).

⁴ Gibbon (*op. cit.*, c. xlii): "In their present form, the peculiar character, the manners, and religion of the Hindoos are completely obliterated; and the intrinsic merit of the fables of Pilpai is far inferior to the concise elegance of Phaedrus, and the native graces of La Fontaine. Fifteen moral and political sentences are illustrated in a series of apologues; but the composition is intricate, the narrative prolix, and the precept obvious and barren."

⁵ Kuhn, *Barlaam u. Joasaph*, Munich, 1894. Berry gives a convenient resumé of the story in an appendix to his *Christianity and Buddhism*, pp. 136-93.

Chandaka are introduced; the story of the young Prince's seclusion and of his first meeting with the evidences of sickness, poverty, old age, and death, is given in full, while the narrative has become a framework for many an edifying parable. Kuhn has pointed out the Buddhist originals of six, and among them the story of the three Caskets, utilized by Shakespeare. All the indications point, so Kuhn says, to the north-east of Iran as the source of the work, and he thinks it was composed in order to counteract the efforts of the Buddhist monks to make popular the life of their founder.¹ If so, its composition must be due to the Christian propaganda among the Ephthalites in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. The Pahlavi and the Syriac versions are lost and the Greek does not go back beyond the seventh or eighth century.

Of the single Buddhist stories which travelled to the West the most famous perhaps is the parable embodied in the letter of Alexander to his mother Olympias. Alexander, wishing to prepare his mother for the news of his approaching death, bids her give a banquet to which none must come who have lost wife or child, parent or friend; if she succeeds in giving this banquet he will recover from his illness. In the Buddhist version a young girl, Kisā Gotamī, is the heroine. Her child is dead and she takes it to the Buddha, thinking he will revive it. The Buddha tells her to fetch mustard seed from a house where neither husband nor parent, child nor slave has died. Kisā Gotamī's search is vain, and she learns resignation in learning the transitoriness of all things.²

¹ Kuhn, *Barlaam u. Joasaph*, pp. 35-9. "Es waren somit nördliche Buddhisten, denen die Uebermittlung des Stoffes zu danken ist, und diese Tatsache erweist uns als Heimat des Joasaph-Romans das östliche Iran mit seiner nördlichen Nachbarschaft" (p. 36).

² Rhys Davids gives the story of Kisā Gotamī in his *Buddhism*, p. 133, under the title of the Parable of the Mustard Seed. Garbe omits all notice of this story, one of the most famous in mediæval literature.

Alexander's letter is no part of the early versions of pseudo-Callisthenes. It first occurs in the Syriac translation of that work, a translation which was made in the seventh or eighth century. In Nöldeke's opinion the original was in Pahlavi.¹ The story, with its details slightly altered, passed into all the European languages, and it continued a favourite down to the seventeenth century.²

St. Hubert, the patron of the chase, St. Julian, who gave the traveller a good night's lodging, and other saints who loved venery, or protected the weary wayfarer from nocturnal harm, owe their legends, so it has been said, to a Buddhist source. This Buddhist element appears most fully in the legend of St. Eustachius, a military martyr under Hadrian, whose pre-baptismal name was Placidus. Placidus pursues a deer upon whose head he perceives a representation of Christ hanging on the Cross. The deer turns and speaks with the voice of Christ, and Eustachius is converted. He afterwards falls into disgrace and poverty, his wife is seized as a slave, and a lion and a wolf carry off his two sons. He recovers them miraculously, and all four receive the crown of martyrdom.

Two famous Jātakas are supposed to have supplied the materials for both parts of the legend. The first is the story of the Banyan deer (Jātaka No. 12). In a former life the Buddha was born king of the deer.

¹ Budge, *Life, etc., of Alexander the Great*, Introd., p. xxi, quoting Nöldeke. "Nöldeke has shown from an examination of the language, and especially the forms of the proper names, that the Syriac must be a translation from the Pahlavi, and almost certainly not later than the seventh century" (Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 140).

² It is told in a slightly altered form in the story-book compiled for the edification of the inmates of the Anglican convent of Little Gidding, which *John Inglesant* has made famous. If I remember aright, the story is told of a young gentleman who falls sick of a mortal illness at Naples, and wishes to prepare his mother in Rome for the news of his approaching death. He bids her send him a shirt sewn by a woman who has never suffered any loss.

He sacrifices himself to save the life of a doe with young. The second part is the story of the Visvāntara Jātaka (No. 547), in which a king parts with his wife and two sons to relieve others.

In neither case is there any close correspondence. Two circumstances are quoted to prove an Indian origin. Christ is never represented, it is said, in Christian legend in an animal form, whereas Buddha had often been born an animal. In the case of the Visvāntara legend Garbe points out that the scene is laid on the Hydaspes. Very possibly the legend had an Indian origin, although it retains very little of the original. Dr. Gaster says that the oldest texts of the *Vita* appear to go back to the ninth century, and it was well known in Egypt in the tenth; the MS. from which Dr. Budge has edited the Coptic text dates from c. A.D. 1000. The Syriac version is late. The legend had its origin in the East, and is old, but we have no clue as to the mode of transmission, and I confess that I have grave doubts regarding the matter.¹

¹ The legend of St. Eustachius in no way conforms to the canon I have laid down for my inquiry at the commencement of this essay, and I admit it only in deference to the judgment of so experienced a folklorist as my friend Dr. Gaster, who was the first to point out the Buddhist parallels (JRAS. 1893, pp. 869-71, and 1894, pp. 333-40). Garbe deals with the legend at length, op. cit., pp. 86-101. I do not know Speyer's contribution which he quotes, nor have I studied the *Vita*. Maury, *Légendes pieuses du Moyen-Age*, pp. 169-76, gives much information regarding the employment of the deer in Christian legend and symbolism. The legend of St. Eustachius was attributed also to St. Hubert, St. Julian, and St. Felix of Valois. Maury thinks the story had its origin in the not uncommon identification of the stag with the unicorn, and the belief that the *Thau*, the sign of the cross, was imprinted on the forehead of the latter animal (p. 174). In the old French version of the *Legenda aurea* quoted by Maury, p. 172, the story runs thus: "Il [Placidus] veit entre les cornes de celluy cerf la forme d'une croix resplendissante plus que le soleil, et l'image de Jésus-Christ, qui par la bouche du cerf, ainsi comme jadis par la bouche de l'asne à Baslaam, parlant à celluy disant: Placidus, pourquoi me poursuis-tu? Je suis Jésus-Christ que tu honores ignoramment; tes aumones sont montées jusqu'à moy au ciel; pour ce, Placidus, je viens à toy; si que par ce cerf que tu chasses, je te preigne." In this version there is no identification of our Lord with the deer.

The rise of the Mohammadan power and the Muslim conquest of Eastern Iran brought Arabs and Hindus into political conflict. Hindus were excluded from the West, and Brāhmans ceased to visit Egypt. But the enlightened patronage of the Caliphs of Bagdad was extended not only to Greek but to Sanskrit science and literature. A knowledge of Sanskrit was not uncommon in the frontier lands of North-Western India, as Albīrūnī found, and Indian astronomy and medicine, together with collections of Indian tales, were highly esteemed on the banks of the Tigris. The Arab conquest of Syria caused a large exodus of Syrians to the West. Along with Christianity and civilization these Syrians brought some knowledge of things Indian; their influence extended as far as Ireland and Gaul,¹ and in A.D. 883 the Saxon Alfred dispatched messengers with gifts to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and to the tomb of St. Thomas across the Indian Ocean.²

Looking back on the long way we have travelled we are able to draw certain conclusions.

1. There was never any oral transmission of Indian tales to the West after the fashion in which folk-tales

¹ In the *Quarterly Review*, July, 1906, pp. 79 ff., R. Dunlop maintains that the civilization and art and much of the religion of Ireland came from Egypt and Syria. "Bréhier has shown how in the first eight centuries the West was overflowed by Orientals, including Armenians; and how next to merchants and monks, artists were the chief propagators of the movement." The Arab conquest quickened the migration westwards. "After this event the best Christian element emigrated to the Frankish Empire," says Strzygowski. Dunlop ascribes "the Hellenistic art of the Mediterranean area and the vigorous impulse given by the Orient to Christianity" to these Syrian fugitives. The litany of Aengus the Culdee furnishes "evidence of the presence in Ireland of crowds of Orientals, including seven Egyptian monks buried at Disert Ulidh". The beehive cells, the round towers, the illustrations of the Book of Kells, Cormac's chapel at Cashel, the learning of Scotus Erigena, alike bear witness to this Oriental, and more especially this Syrian, influence; Gregory of Tours, and Le Blanc, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes*, etc., furnish examples of the Oriental influence in France.

² Medlicott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 81, quoting the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

are supposed to travel. The physical difficulties were great, the intervening population scanty, and all the tales which reached the Mediterranean were either due to Greeks who had visited India, or were obtained by them through Persian sources.

2. The tales which they brought were of the marvellous. The popular taste demanded such, and of any other kind there is neither trace nor proof.

3. There was no material addition to the stock of Indian tales circulating in the West between the third century B.C. and the third century A.D.

4. Although individual Buddhists, like Zarmanochegas, wandered to the West, there was no definite knowledge of Buddhism in the Mediterranean lands until Indian merchants settled in Alexandria, and the Kushans began a Buddhist propaganda in Babylonia; in other words, not until near the end of the first century A.D.

5. In the second century A.D. Christian writers showed a certain curiosity about Indian religious beliefs. The Christians of the first two centuries were not syncretistic,¹ but the Gnostics were, and certain Gnostics incorporated Buddhist teaching in their doctrine. Some popular knowledge of Indian practices was common about the same time in Syria, and this knowledge came chiefly through Buddhist channels.

6. Between A.D. 300 and 600 Indian savants came to study Greek science in Alexandria, while the Christian clergy of greater India adapted Buddhist legends for the edification of their flocks.

7. The only tales of Western origin which we have found circulating in the East during the first three centuries of our era are of Jewish origin. We have yet to consider a much more important group of legends,

¹ Even Harnack admits this, and it is self-evident from the Christian literature of these two centuries. These Christians repudiated everything which savoured of paganism.

common to the three religions, Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu.

IV

The Gospels of the Infancy, the *Lalita Vistara*, and the Vishnu Purāṇa, are devoted to the birth and youthful history of the founders of their respective religions. The *Lalita Vistara* and the Vishnu Purāṇa have no stories in common except such as are derived from older Indian sources, but each contains a cycle of legends which it shares with the Gospels of the Infancy. The number of these legends is too great and their coincidence for the most part too exact to admit of any other explanation except that of a common origin.¹ Our investigations have shown that the hypothesis of the oral transmission of such legends is inadmissible, nor is the idea of a third and unknown source tenable. Either the Jewish and Syrian writers derived these legends from the Buddhists in Babylonia, or the Buddhists, and later the Hindus, took them from the Christians in Bactria and Seistan. This borrowing was the work of a professional clergy, and the question is: Who were the borrowers? If we can find in any of these legends a doctrine of significance peculiar to one particular religion, and unshared by the others, the question will be solved. The Gospels of the Infancy and the *Lalita Vistara* are confessedly the oldest of the works with which we have to deal, and I begin with them. I shall first give the history of these books, so far as it

¹ Ten years ago I said that although the number of coincidences between the *Lalita Vistara* and the Christian sources was striking, the legends were worked out in Indian fashion, and I did not see any proof that they had been borrowed from Christianity (JRAS. 1907, p. 982, n. 2). The *Lalita Vistara* did not concern my argument at the time, my acquaintance with it was slight, and the remark was a passing one expressed in a footnote, while I was content to follow the opinions of great scholars like the late M. Barth and others, my masters in these studies. I had not then paid much attention to the subject. A wider knowledge of the history of the relations between India and its neighbours has entirely altered my opinion.

is known. I shall next enumerate the legends which they have in common; and finally, I shall apply the proposed test.

The Nativity and Infancy of our Lord were favourite subjects of legend from the earliest times. The three oldest works, and the three with which alone we are concerned, are the Gospel of James the Less, better known by its modern title of the *Protevangelium Jacobi*,¹ the Gospel of Pseudo-Thomas, and the Gospel of Ps.-Matthew, also called the *Evangelium Infantiae*.² All three were known to Origen. In his commentary on Matthew x, he says: "As to the brethren of Jesus, some say on the authority of the Gospel according to Peter (as it is entitled) or of the book of James, that they were the sons of Joseph by a former wife"³; and in his Homily I on Luke he says: "I know the Gospel which is called according to Thomas, and according to Matthew, and many others we have read."⁴ Hippolytus ascribes the Gospel of Thomas to the Nahasenoi (Ophites), and quotes a passage from it which has disappeared in our much expurgated version.⁵ But we have older authorities for the *Protevangelium* and Ps.-Thomas than either Hippolytus or Origen. The *Protevangelium Jacobi* is a charming work, and the source from which all the Lives of the

¹ Postel first gave it this title in 1552; but his text with his Latin interpretation was not published until twelve years later.

² In my account of these Gospels I have merely summarized the *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha*. Vol. xvi of the Ante-Nicene Library has a translation of these Gospels in English, which I have used freely. For the age and composition of the *Protevangelium* see Tischendorf, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii and xxxvii, n. 1. For Ps.-Thomas, pp. xxxix-xi; for the Gospel of the Infancy, pp. xxv-xxvii.

³ Cf. Euseb. H.E. iii, 3, 2, and 25, 6. In this last passage Eusebius says that the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, and Matthew were in use among the Gnostics.

⁴ "Scio evangelium quod appellatur secundum Thomam, et juxta Matthiam, et alia plura legimus."

⁵ Hippolytus, *Philosoph.*, v, c. 7, p. 148 (Cruice).

Virgin have drawn their inspiration.¹ It opens with the ✓ visions which preceded the birth of Mary, and describes her miraculous conception, the story of her infancy, and her education in the temple; then follows her betrothal by the high priest to Joseph, an elderly widower with a grown-up family, the angelic salutation at the well, the nativity in a cave, when Mary is surrounded by a halo of supernatural light, while men and animals suspend their work and are transfixed with astonishment, the visit of the midwives, and the history of the infant Christ up to the age of two.

In this history two stories were especially popular—the nativity in a cave and the visit of the midwives. The cave found its way into some MSS. of St. Luke.² Justin Martyr, who suffered c. A.D. 163, in his dialogue with Trypho says that Christ was born in a cave (*ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ σύνεγγυς τῆς κώμης*),³ and Origen says that the cave at Bethlehem was shown in his time.⁴ Justin knew the

¹ Although representations of the Virgin are common from the fourth century A.D. downwards, and even from an earlier age, the scenes are seldom taken from the Apocryphal Gospels in early Christian art, and the influence of these Gospels is traceable chiefly in the accessories, such as the well in the background of the angelic salutations (Schultze, *Archäologie der altchristlichen Kunst*, pp. 358-61). These Gospels first came to their own in the lives of the Virgin by the Italian painters, beginning with Giotto's frescoes in the Cappella dell'Arena at Padua, unsurpassed in their reverent and simple beauty. After this lives of the Virgin became a favourite subject for artists. Ghirlandajo's frescoes in St. Maria Novella and Andrea del Sarto's in the St. Annunziata at Florence are probably the most famous, while north of the Alps Albert Dürer's wood engravings are often full of homely poetry, although his realism sometimes degenerates into sheer ugliness, relieved only by its quaintness. Witness the birth of the Virgin where the midwife is asleep with her head on the bed, the gossips sit drinking beer out of a mug, and a maid tubs the infant. An angel, whom no one heeds, swings a censer at the top of the steps leading down to the *Stube*, to show that it is a solemn occasion.

² Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 165.

³ Justin M. *Dial. c. Tryph.*, c. 78 (ed. Otto, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 268).

⁴ Origen, *adv. Cels.*, i, 51. *δεικνύται τὸ ἐν Βεθλὲμ σπηλαίον ὅθα ἐγενήθη.* Jerome, in one of his letters, if I remember aright, mentions the visit of

Protevangelium itself as well as this legend, for in two passages, quoting doubtless from memory, he quotes verbally from it, and not from the Synoptics.¹ We have seen that it shares with the Gospel of Peter the tradition regarding the children of Joseph, and Dean Armitage Robinson puts the Gospel of Peter in the first half of the second century.² The Protevangelium belongs to the same period.

The story of the midwives was equally popular, and is referred to by Clemens. We shall have occasion to go into it more fully; I pass on, therefore, to the Gospel of Thomas. This Gospel relates the life of our Lord from the age of 5 to 14; but being an heretical work, it has undergone many expurgations and emendations, and has come down to us in two abbreviated Greek versions and a much longer Latin one. The most famous of its stories was the story of Christ teaching His teachers the alphabet. Irenæus, whose words we shall quote later, knew both the book and the story. The original work must have been, as Tischendorf says,³ of much the same age as the Protevangelium; that is, it must go back to A.D. 150, or earlier.

Our third work, the Gospel of Ps.-Matthew, otherwise called the Gospel of the Infancy, is the original authority for the stories of the flight into Egypt. This is the only novel part of the book, the rest being taken from the Protevangelium Jacobi and the Gospel of Thomas. The work exists only in a Latin version, and we have no external evidence for it before A.D. 405.⁴ But there is certain Indians to it, probably Christian Indians from the south coast of Arabia.

¹ Tischendorf, *op. cit.*, xxxviii, n. 1.

² Armitage Robinson, *The Gospel according to Peter*, p. 32, puts it before A.D. 160. *The Apocalypse of Peter* goes back "almost to the end of the first century of our era" (p. 13).

³ Tischendorf, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, pp. xxv-vi. In the MSS. it is usually called *Liber de ortu Beatæ Mariæ et infantia Salvatoris*.

independent evidence regarding two out of the three stories with which we have to deal, to show that they were current in Syria in the second century A.D.; and the third story was itself probably suggested by the Protevangelium.

Thus all the Christian legends in question go back to the second century A.D., most of them to the first half of it. Now let us examine the *Lalita Vistara*.

The *Lalita Vistara* gives the Northern Buddhist version of the life of Gautama from his birth until he attained to Bodhihood, and began to preach the law. It deals, therefore, with a period considerably longer than that contained in the Gospels of the Infancy, and comparison is limited to the first twelve of the twenty-seven chapters. Each event is repeated twice over, first in what Professor Rhys Davids calls "singularly bald Sanskrit prose", and then in dialectic verse.¹ Professor Rhys Davids thinks that it was based on a life of Buddha in use among the Sabbatthivādins living in territories beyond the extreme north-west of India. It was translated into Chinese in A.D. 308 and again in A.D. 683; and there is a tradition of an earlier translation "made apparently between A.D. 70-6"; but the text has been certainly recast once, and perhaps oftener.² It is difficult to assign a date to a work which has undergone so many alterations. The anterior limit is the Council of Kanishka, whether we put that Council in B.C. 58 or A.D. 100; the posterior limit is fixed by the Chinese translation of A.D. 308.³

¹ La Vallée Poussin calls the language of the Gāthās "a peculiar jargon": Hastings, *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. "Mahāvastu", p. 330.

² The quotation is from Rhys Davids' article in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. "Hinayāna", p. 685. I have taken my account of the *Lalita Vistara* chiefly from the Professor's articles on Buddha in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, pp. 341 ff., the article on "Hinayāna" above mentioned, and his admirable little work on *Buddhism*, p. 11, etc.

³ Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Tripitaka* (No. 160) gives the date of one Chinese translation in A.D. 308, and of another (No. 159) in A.D. 683.

Perhaps if we assign the book to the third century A.D. we shall not greatly err.

Now here is a list of ten incidents common to these Gospels of the Infancy and to the *Lalitā Vistara*.¹

1. Herod inquires of the priests and scribes where Christ shall be born (St. Matt. ii, 4-7).

L.V. *The Bodhisattvas inquire where Buddha shall be born* (c. iii, pp. 21 ff.).

2. Mary and Christ are miraculously conceived (Protev., c. 4 and c. 11).

L.V. *Buddha is miraculously conceived* (c. v, p. 51; c. vi, 55, 56).

3. Mary remains a virgin after childbirth; *virgo intaeta* (Protev., c. 19, 20).

L.V. *Māyādevī remains intact after giving birth to Buddha. Her side shows no scar* (c. vii, p. 77).

4. (a) When Mary is six months old, she walks seven steps to her mother Anna (Protev., c. 6).

(b) When Christ is born He stands on His feet, and is adored by angels (Ps.-Matt., c. 13).

L.V. *Buddha when born takes seven steps to each of the four quarters of the globe, and proclaims himself Lord of all beings* (c. vii, pp. 78-9).

The dates given by Foucaux and Professor Rhys Davids differ slightly. The translation of A.D. 683 is said to agree with the Tibetan. Two other translations into Chinese are said to be missing: one made under the Later Han of the three kingdoms, A.D. 221-63, the other made under the Sung dynasty A.D. 420-79. The number of translations suggests the frequent changes or additions which the text has undergone. I have to thank Dr. Thomas for drawing my attention to Nanjio, as well as for information on some other points.

¹ The references are to Foucaux's translation of the *Lalitā Vistara*, vol. i, in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*. The texts in Sanskrit and Pali which bear on Buddha's pre-existence and birth, and the marvels which accompanied it, are very fully discussed in Windisch's learned and judicious monograph *Buddha's Geburt*, 1908, a work which I am sorry not to have consulted earlier. Windisch tries to explain the evolution on purely Indian grounds. In c. xii he discusses the question of reciprocal Christian and Buddhist influences.

5. Nature and all animated beings become motionless and transfixed with astonishment at the birth of Christ (Protev., c. 18).

L.V. Nature and all animated beings are transfixed with astonishment at the birth of Buddha (c. vii, pp. 79-80).

6. St. Simeon takes the infant Christ in his arms (St. Luke ii, 25-35).

L.V. The aged Asita and then Mahesvara take the infant Buddha in their arms (c. vii, pp. 91-3, 102-3).

7. The palm-tree bends down and yields its fruit to Mary in the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt (Ps.-Matt., c. 20, 21).

L.V. The sāl-tree bends itself to Māyā, who takes hold of a branch (c. vii, p. 77).

8. The idols all fall down when Christ is carried into a heathen temple (Ps.-Matt., c. 22, 23).

L.V. The idols all fall down when Buddha is carried into the temple (c. viii, p. 108).

9. Christ teaches His teachers the meaning of the letters of the alphabet (Ps.-Thomas, c. 6; Ps.-Matt., c. 31).

L.V. Buddha teaches his teacher the meaning of the letters of the alphabet (c. x, pp. 113-17).

10. Christ is left behind in the temple. Mary and Joseph seek for him (St. Luke ii, 42-9).

L.V. Buddha's first "meditation" under the jambu-tree which continues to give him shade, despite the revolution of the sun. The search for Buddha, distress at his disappearance, and attempts to restrain him (c. xi, pp. 118, 121).

In every case except the tenth the correspondence is exact. Buddha's first *samādhi* under the *jambu*-tree was a favourite with the earlier Buddhists; it is represented on a bas-relief at Sānchi¹; in this case, therefore, the

¹ Foucher has identified the scene in his article on "The Eastern Gate of Sānchi". Dr. Thomas drew my attention to this identification.

comparison is limited to the (very moderate) distress of Suddhodana. Originality has also been claimed for the visit of Asita, a claim which I shall examine later.

With the exception of the tenth, these incidents are unknown to the earlier Buddhist tradition. According to that tradition, which was probably a true one, Buddha's mother, Māyādevī, had been long married to Suddhodana, and was barren. She bore Buddha when she was 45 years of age; she died a week later; and the child was brought up by his mother's younger sister, Suddhodana's second wife. The only portent which announced his conception was a vision Māyādevī had of a white elephant descending into her womb; he was born in the ordinary course of nature; and his childhood was devoid of miracles.¹

In contrast with this sober narrative the *Lalitā Vistara* surrounds the infant Buddha with a miraculous halo; and among its wonders there is one incident (No. 3), the most notable of all, which has no moral significance for Buddhism, but bears a profound doctrinal signification in the Gospels of the Infancy. It is the view they take of marriage and of childbirth.

Neither Hinduism nor Buddhism regards marriage and childbirth as a pollution. The gods and *Rishis* had their wives; it was the duty of every *Ārya* to beget a son; and Buddha himself was married, and begat Rāhula. The Mahāyānists allowed married men to become monks, and monks to return to civil life and marry. Christians also, although they looked on virginity as a higher state, thought no evil of marriage; and the ascetic Tertullian says that women with child should be regarded as holy.²

¹ Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 26-9. *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s.v. "Buddha".

² "A woman in travail . . . ought rather to be honoured in consideration of that peril, or to be held sacred in respect of [the mystery of] nature." Addressing Marcion, he says: "Of course you are horrified also at the infant. This reverend course of nature, you, O Marcion,

But in Syria many people thought otherwise. The soul had been forcibly imprisoned in matter; from this conjunction came all the evils which afflicted it; and its deliverance from matter was the first of necessities. Add to this the horror of ceremonial defilement which displays itself about this period in certain Oriental cults and sects—the Essene, the revived Zoroastrian, and the worshippers of Isis. For reasons such as these we find a widespread repudiation of marriage among the Syrians. The Essenes abjured it; so did the Marcionites, who were numerous in Syria. The Manichæans went further, for they abjured not only marriage but every occasion of dealing with matter which it was possible to avoid.¹ This feeling extended to the pagans. Theandrites, a god especially honoured in the Hauran, was praised for enabling men to lead a virginal life (*ἀθηλὺν βίον*).²

The writer of the Protevangelium fully shared this view. The work seems to have been written to refute the Ebionites,³ who asserted that Jesus was the naturally born son of Joseph, and that His divinity descended on Him at His baptism. The author, therefore, does everything to exalt the purity of Mary. She is conceived in the embrace of Joachim and Anna as they meet at the gate of their dwelling. Mary touches the ground only once with the soles of her feet before she is received into the temple, and nothing unclean passes her lips. The high priest guards her in the temple with the utmost care.

[are pleased to] spit upon." *De Carne Christi*, c. 4 (Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xv, p. 170). Cf. *Anti-Marc.* iv, c. 21, and *De Anima*, c. 27.

¹ The mediæval Manichæans in France and Northern Italy held that Eve was the fruit Adam was forbidden to touch; he plucked it and he fell. "Conjunctio Adæ cum Heva, ut dicunt, fuit pomum vetitum" (Gieseler's *Ecc. Hist.*, Eng. trans., iii, p. 409, n. 32). Milton has adopted the same idea—a blot in the glorious jewel-work of the *Paradise Lost*.

² Dittenberger, *Orientalis Græci inscrip. selectæ*, ii, p. 306, inscr. No. 610, and n. 1. Theandrites was replaced by St. George.

³ Tischendorf, *op. cit.*, Proleg., p. xiii.

With the Nativity the effect is heightened. She brings forth the Christ alone, and no mortal eye beholds her. A luminous cloud overshadows the cave, and when it disappears and Joseph returns with the midwife Mary and the Child are seen within, enveloped in an overwhelming glory of light. The midwife finds that a Virgin has brought forth a child and she fetches Salome. Salome puts forth her hand to examine Mary, and her arm is withered.¹ The Virgin is free from all taint, a perpetual Virgin, intact and undefiled.

The idea of an immaculate parturition immediately took root, and appears to have been shared by Clement. He says: "As appears, many even down to our own time regard Mary on account of the birth of her Child as having been in the puerperal state, although she was not. For some say that after she brought forth she was found, when examined, to be a virgin."²

This stainless birth is the crowning stone in the doctrine of the Protevangelium. In the Buddhist version it is merely a marvel without any esoteric significance.³ It was truly a marvel so great that I cannot recall any other

¹ Καὶ εἶπεν Σαλώμη ὦ κύριος ὁ θεός μου, ἴδὼν μὴ βαλὼν τὸν δάκτυλόν μου καὶ ἐρεινῆσαι τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω ὅτι παρθένος ἐγέννησεν. καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἡ μαία καὶ εἶπε τῇ Μαρίας Σχημάτισον σεαυτὴν· οὐ γὰρ μικρὸς ἀγὼν περικύβηται περὶ σοῦ. καὶ ἔβαλε Σαλώμη τὸν δάκτυλον αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἥλαλε καὶ εἶπεν Οὐαὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ μου καὶ τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ μου, ὅτι ἐξεπείρασά τοὺς ζῶντας, καὶ βού ἡ χεὶρ μου περὶ ἀποκρίνεται ἀπ' ἐμοῦ (Protev., c. 19, 20).

² 'Αλλ' ὡς εἶκεν τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μέχρι νῦν δοκεῖ ἡ Μαρίας λεχῶ εἶναι διὰ τὴν τοῦ παιδίου γέννησιν, οὐκ οὕτω λεχῶ· καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μαιευθεῖσαν φασὶ τινες παρθένον ἐρεθῆναι (Clemens, Strom., vii, c. 16, p. 889 P.). Clemens goes on: "Now such to us are the Scriptures of the Lord, which give birth to the truth, and continue virgin in the concealment of the mysteries of the truth."

³ Without any general significance except for the Buddha. It is introduced, like the miraculous conception, in order to exalt the purity of the Buddha. The expressions which the Bhagavat uses regarding the period of uterine gestation (*Lal. Vist.*, tr. Foucaux, c. vii, p. 81) are almost word for word the same as those which Tertullian puts into the mouth of Marcion (*De Anima*, c. 27). But whereas in Syria the sentiment extended to all nativities, in India it is confined to this solitary instance.

example. All nations, savage and civilized, have regarded woman after childbirth as in a state of natural though innocent pollution.¹ Our churching of women is reminiscent of it. The author who invented the story of a birth *sine pollutione sanguinis* must have been the one whose prepossessions suggested it. But we can trace the origins of the Buddhist story in much greater detail.

That story contains two other elements, the miraculous conception and the birth from the side of Māyādevī. The LXX made known to the world the prophecy regarding the *reārus* of Isaiah, and the idea of a virgin birth spread both west and east. Virgil's fourth Eclogue is supposed to have borrowed traits of the Saturnian age from the Jewish prophet, and the later Zoroastrians claimed that the future deliverer would be born of a virgin. The idea extended to the Buddhists. We have seen that Terebinthus claimed to be a Buddha, born of a virgin, and brought up on a mountain; and Terebinthus was a Buddhist who flourished in Babylonia about the end of the second century A.D. The idea came to the Buddhists from the West.²

¹ St. Cyprian remonstrates with some African presbyters who refused to baptize infants under seven days old on the ground that they were too impure to receive the "kiss of peace": "*Nam et quod vestigium infantis in primis partus sui diebus constituti mandum non esse dixisti, quod unusquisque nostrum adhuc horreat exoculari, nec hoc putamus ad caelestem gratiam dandam impedimento esse oportere. Scriptum est enim: omnia munda sunt mundis*" (Ep. lviii). How different is the mediaeval and the modern spirit! In the Middle Ages St. Nicholas of Bari was the model baby. When he was born, he stood up and thanked God for having brought him safely into the world. On Wednesdays and Fridays he refused nourishment. Every visitor to the Vatican will remember the charming fresco by Fra Angelico of the little Nicholas standing in his tub with his baby hands clasped before him in prayer. Sir G. Grierson tells me of one of Rāmānanda's disciples who displayed equal piety at his birth. In a previous life he had been a Brāhman, but having the misfortune to be reborn in the family of a Chamar, he refused to partake of his mother's milk until Rāmānanda came and whispered the initiatory formula, or *muntro*, in his ear.

² The virtue of virginity never appealed greatly to the Buddhists. The *Lalitā Vistara* does not represent Māyādevī as a virgin, although

The birth from the mother's side is also a Western story. Plutarch, in his treatise on Isis and Osiris, says that Typhon (who was of a violent nature) would not await the appointed day, but forcibly made a way for himself through the flank of his mother.¹ So popular was Serapis that he appears on the coins of Persis and of the Kushan Huvishka.² The Phœnician town of Byblus³ was closely connected with Plutarch's version of the Osiris myth. The story, therefore, would reach the Indians in Bactria through the Syrians, and in the Punjab through the Alexandrian merchants from Characene. Thus, nothing original is left of the Buddhist version except the "right side". In India to this day the right hand alone is pure; the left is employed for all ignoble uses.⁴

Suddhodana had nothing to do with the conception of Buddha (*Lal. Vist.*, c. vi, tr. Foucaux, p. 56). Mâyādevī's virginity was therefore somewhat like Mme. Blavatsky's; she was a virgin only for the nonce. Geden says: "The story of the virginity of Mâyā, the mother of the Buddha, is late, and owes its inspiration, it can hardly be doubted, to Christian sources. According to L. de la Vallée Poussin, the doctrine is asserted in the Mahāvastu, but not elsewhere" (*Hastings, Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. "Buddha", p. 881, n.). Cf. La Vallée Poussin, s.v. "Bodhisattva", p. 741, n. The latter author says that sins of the flesh were considered venial, while sins of hatred were deadly. But it was fixed doctrine that a Bodhisattva "becomes incarnate by his own wish, and without the ordinary laws of conception" (*op. cit.*, s.v. "Bodhisattva", p. 741, n.). One school, the school of the Lokottaravādin Mahāsaṅghikas, went further. They held that not only were the Buddhas "produced by their own powers", but that they, their mothers, and their wives, were virgins; and that "if they came forth from their mother's right side without injuring her, it is because their form (*rūpa*), i.e. their body, is entirely spiritual" (*op. cit.*, s.v. "Bodhisattva", p. 742). Pure docetism.

¹ Τυφῶνα, μὴ καιρῷ μηδὲ κατὰ χάριν, ἀλλ' ἀναρρήσαντα πληγῇ διὰ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἐξαλείψαι. Typhonem, non suo tempore et loco, sed latero ictu perrupto, exsiluisse. (Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osir.*, c. 12.)

² For these coins v. Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 157 (Persis), and Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans*, p. 67 (*Num. Chronicle*, ser. III, vol. xii, pp. 98-159).

³ Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osir.*, c. 15-16.

⁴ Even the right side is a novelty. At Bharhut and Sānchi, Mâyā lies asleep on her right side, and presents her left flank to the white

The story of Buddha's birth from Māyādevī's side under the *sāl*-tree soon became popular,¹ and was a favourite subject for the sculptors of Gāndhāra. Its fame reached Jerome. He says of Buddha²: "Apud gymnosophistas Indiæ quasi per manus hujus opinionis auctoritas traditur quod Buddam principem dogmatis eorum e latere suo virgo generavit." The Buddhist story, therefore, dates after the middle of the second century A.D. and before the end of the fourth. These are the extreme limits; it really belongs to the third.

It is easy to understand how the Buddhists got hold of this story. As we have already said, Professor Rhys Davids conjectures that the original of the *Lalita Vistara* was due to the Sabbatthivādins, a school of "realists", numerous in Bactria and the regions beyond the extreme limits of North-West India.³

In its progress through Europe the propagation of Christianity usually followed the trade routes. It was so in Asia Minor, in Southern Italy, in Gaul. It was the same in the East. The silk trade by land from Central Asia during the first two centuries was mainly in the hands of Syrians; among these Syrians there were Christians; and we have already seen that Christians and Brāhmans abounded in Bactria.⁴

elephant which is descending from the sky to be incarnate in Buddha. In the later sculptures of Gāndhāra and Amarāvati the position is reversed. Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt*, p. 7, quoting Foucher.

¹ We have seen that it was made a test of orthodoxy. "Le Bodhisattva était né sans que le côté droit du sein de sa mère fut blessé ni brisé" (*Lal. Vist.*, c. 7, tr. Foucaux, p. 87).

² Hieron, *adv. Jovianum*, i, 42, quoted by Rhys Davids in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s.v. "Buddha", p. 341, and more fully by Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

³ Rhys Davids, *Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. "Hinayāna", p. 686. "The *Lalita Vistara* is believed to be founded on the text of an older biography of the Buddha current in this school."

⁴ The Indians were sufficiently numerous to give their name to a town, Indiko-mordana, in Sogdiana (Ptolemy, *Geog.*, vi, c. 12, p. 5).

But this is not the only story which can be traced to a Syrian original. When Mâyādevī approaches the *sāl*-tree in the Lumbini Garden it bows down to salute her; she takes hold of a branch* and there awaits her accouchement.

Ps.-Matthew in its narrative of the flight into Egypt says that Mary rested under a palm-tree and desired some of its fruit. "Then the Child Jesus, with a joyful countenance, reposing in the bosom of His mother, said to the palm: 'O tree, bend thy branches and refresh my mother with thy fruit.' And immediately at these words the palm bent its top down to the very feet of the Blessed Mary."¹ Again, when Buddha is carried into the Temple of the Gods, their images prostrate themselves before him. In Ps.-Matthew it is Christ who is carried into a heathen temple at Hermopolis for want of any other *diversorium*, and the 365 idols fall prostrate on their faces and are shattered to pieces. Somewhat similar stories occur in Philostratus' life of Apollonius. When Apollonius visits the Ethiopian sages they make an elm-tree to salute and address him.² At Athens Apollonius expels a devil, and bids the devil give a sign when he is gone. The devil says, "I will make that statue fall," and it does so.²

I come to the story of Christ teaching His teacher the alphabet. Irenæus puts it down to the Marcosians, and calls it "that false and wicked story which relates that our Lord, when He was a boy learning His letters, on the teacher saying to Him, as is usual, pronounce *alpha*, replied *alpha*. But when again the teacher bade Him say *beta*, the Lord replied, 'Do thou first tell me what *alpha* is, and then I will tell thee what *beta* is.' This they expound as meaning that He alone knew the

¹ The palm-tree was transported to Paradise, one of the many trees which grow there (Ps.-Matt., c. 27).

² Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.*, iv, 20, and vi, 10.

unknown, which He revealed under its type *alpha*".¹ I have quoted this passage at length because it gives the clue to the purport of the story. The reference evidently is to the meaning of the letters under which the Gnostics concealed the names and mysteries of the *Æons*, examples of which Irenæus had previously given.¹ This Gnostic interpretation had no meaning for outsiders. In the Buddhist version, which is otherwise a duplicate of the former, Buddha is made to associate each letter of the Sanskrit alphabet "with some truth of Buddhist philosophy".² An Indian origin has been claimed for this tale on the ground that in the Yoga system letters and syllables have a mystic meaning.³ No one who has seen a band of stalwart Vairāgis jostling their way through a holiday crowd of men, women, and children, who are chattering, singing, and playing on their return from a bathing fair, and has heard the deep-toned mystic *ōm* which the Vairāgis send forth with all the strength of their powerful lungs, will forget the startling effect. But, so far as I am informed, the mystic meaning of letters belongs only to the later Yoga, and in Buddha's lesson there is no question of mysticism. The Gospel of Thomas was a Gnostic work, and the hidden value of letters formed an essential part in the communication

¹ Irenæus, *adv. Hær.*, i, 20, 1. Cf. i, 16, 1, 2, where Irenæus discusses the Gnostic interpretation of the numerical values of the letters. Thus the *ēta* and the *episēmon* (c. 5) constituted an ogdoad, and as the values of the letters from *alpha* to *ēta* made up thirty, the Ogdoad was the mother of the thirty *Æons*. One constantly finds combinations of three or nine *alphas*, *omegas*, etc., in Gnostic formulae. The Manichæans used an alphabet of their own invention to conceal their mystic teaching. The copyists of Ps.-Thomas and of the *Evangelium Infantis* misunderstood the meaning of the story, and as the translator in the Ante-Nicene Library remarks, the text is unintelligible and corrupt.

² Rhys Davids, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s.v. "Buddha", p. 348.

³ Garbe, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

of Gnostic doctrine. It was to teach this that the story was invented.

We have, then, a series of legends all bearing on the same subject, interconnected and known in the West before they were recorded in the *Lalita Vistara*, while the two principal had a doctrinal significance for Christians and Gnostics which they had not for the Buddhists. We know the road by which they travelled to the East, and the earliest hint of their appropriation is through a Bodhisattva in Babylonia. Lastly we find the *Lalita Vistara* itself stoutly declaring that these legends were no novelties, a significant admission that people so regarded them. Bhagavat says that such unbelievers will be plunged into the lowest hell.¹ Does it not seem as if the authors of the *Lalita Vistara*, living perhaps in Bactria, themselves propagandists, and meeting with a Christian propaganda (for every Christian of the second century was a propagandist), created a youthful Buddha as a rival to the youthful Christ? They naturally retained the white elephant and the sheltering *jambutree* of the earlier tradition, but for the rest they drew upon the Synoptics and the Apocrypha.

This has not been the general opinion. On the contrary Garbe claims that it is the Evangelists who have borrowed in four cases from the Buddhists. These four cases are the Visit of Asita, the Temptation, St. Peter walking on the sea, and the feeding of the five thousand. Only the first case, the story of Asita, is included among the parallels of the Infancy, and it is much the strongest case of Garbe's four. The story occurs in the Sutta Nipāta, and indeed in one of its oldest portions, while the

¹ "Dans un temps à venir, plusieurs Religieux—ignorants, inhabiles, extrêmement fiers, orgueilleux, arrogants, sans frein—ayant beaucoup de doutes, sans foi,—qui ne croiront pas qu'une pareille descente de Bodhisattva dans le sein de sa mère est parfaitement pure. Ils tomberont dans l'Avitchi, le grand enfer" (*Lal. Vist.*, c. vii, tr. Foucaux, pp. 81-2).

Sutta Nipāta was part of the Pali Tripitaka, and therefore a part of the Buddhist Canon. The story is identical with the story of Simeon; it is centuries older than the Synoptics, and it may have reached Palestine through oral transmission by way of Bactria. Such is Garbe's argument.¹ The last suggestion is untenable. After B.C. 160 the Parthians by conquering Media cut off all direct communication between North-West India and Syria. If there was such oral transmission it must have been by way of Babylonia. But all the first part of our inquiry has been devoted to showing that no Indian stories whatever, and no knowledge of Buddhism, reached the West through Babylonia until after the end of the first century of our era, therefore after the Synoptic Gospels had been put into writing. This bars the way until the contrary can be demonstrated. But waiving this objection for the moment, let us see upon what foundation the claim of superior antiquity for the Asita story rests.

Between the version of the Asita incident in the *Lalita Vistara* and the one in the Sutta Nipāta there is a fairly close correspondence. The first would appear to be an expansion of the second, or the second an abbreviated edition of the first.

The story in the *Lalita Vistara* runs thus²: A Rishi Asita lived with his sister's son Naradatta on a slope of the Himalayas. At the moment of Buddha's birth he saw the gods moving to and fro, waving their garments, and making the sky to resound with the name of Buddha. The Rishi surveyed Jambudvīpa to ascertain what miracle had happened, and having discovered what was on foot, he proceeded with Naradatta (by astral aeroplane) to the town of Kapilavastu. He approaches the palace door, asks for Siddhodana, and is received

¹ Garbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

² *Lal. Vist.*, tr. Foucaux, c. vii, pp. 103 ff.

with polite deference. He inquires for the infant and examines it carefully, and then bursts into sighs and tears because he will not live to see the Buddha in his glory. He next explains to Suddhodana the marks of future greatness on the body of the child, and predicts the deliverance he will bring. Telling Naradatta to enter into religion when the Buddha preaches the Law, he salutes the child, and after partaking of some refreshment he returns with Naradatta in aerial flight to his hermitage.

The Pali version is much shorter.¹ Asita is in the heaven of the Bodhisattvas. He sees the "flocks of the Tidasa gods" waving their clothes and delighted. He asks the reason, and they answer: "The Bodhisatta, the excellent pearl, the incomparable, is born for the good and for a blessing in the world of men, in the town of the Sakyas, in the country of Lumbini. Therefore we are glad and exceedingly pleased." Asita descends to Suddhodana's palace, asks the Sakyas for the child, takes it in his arms, and says: "Without superior is this, the most excellent of men." Then thinking of himself, he weeps because he "will not hear the *Dhamma* of the incomparable one". He leaves the town and bids his sister's son Nālaka "lead a religious life with the Bhagavat".

The most remarkable thing in this version is the answer of the "Tidasa gods" to Asita's question. It sounds like an echo of the angelic announcement to the shepherds in St. Luke.²

The *Sutta Nipāta*, a collection of discourses by the Buddha, was reduced to writing in Pali with the other canonical Buddhist scriptures in the beginning of the fifth century A.D.; and the *Mahāvagga*, which contains

¹ SBE., vol. x, pt. ii, No. 11, *Nālaka-sutta*, pp. 125 ff.

² I have quoted the version in the SBE. Garbe quotes Edmunds' version which accentuates the parallelism.

the story of Asita, forms part of it. Fausböll, the editor and translator of the *Sutta Nipāta*, says: "The collection of discourses, *Sutta Nipāta* . . . is very remarkable, as there can be no doubt that it contains some remnants of primitive Buddhism. I consider the greater part of the *Mahāvagga* and nearly the whole of the *Atthakavagga* as very old."¹ In his preface to the Pali text he enumerates six cases (the story of Asita is the sixth) of which he says: "I think we may reasonably conclude that Christian influence has been at work here."² Rhys Davids, speaking more generally of the Tripitaka, says: "There is reason for suspecting some later editions by Buddhaghosha in the fifth century of our era."³ Professor Macdonell talks of "the inferior preservation of Pāli works."⁴ The experts therefore permit us to consider the story of Asita as an interpolation, and the following considerations go far in my opinion to prove it.

First. "The legends of the *Lalita Vistara* were well known in Ceylōn,"⁵ and "whole passages of it recur almost word for word in the Pali Scriptures."⁶

Second. Those parts of the Pitakas which relate to the

¹ SBE., vol. x, pt. ii, p. xi. In the Preface to this edition of the Pali text published by the Pali Text Society, p. iv, the Danish scholar apparently modifies this opinion somewhat so far as the *Mahāvagga* is concerned, and on p. v he says that among other things "the frightfully corrupted state of the metre in so many verses goes far to prove that in the course of time considerable changes have taken place in the text of the *Suttanipāta*. I am not even sure that in its present shape it is anterior to the time of Christ".

² Ibid., Preface to the Pali text, p. vi.

³ Rhys Davids, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s.v. "Buddha".

⁴ Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 307.

⁵ Rhys Davids, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s.v. "Buddha", p. 346.

⁶ L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. "Mahāyāna", p. 336. De la Vallée Poussin, however, apparently holds that there was no plagiarism; the *Lalita Vistara* and the Pali scriptures both embodied the traditional teaching more or less textually. The legends, of course, were no part of that teaching.

life of Gautama "were not the passages which the monks in Ceylon were accustomed to learn by heart".¹

Third. The *Mahāvagga* consists of twelve discourses of the Buddha, the first which he delivered after attaining to Nirvāṇa. Four of these begin abruptly without any introduction. In the others the occasion of the discourse furnishes also the subject. The visit of Asita is the sole exception. Nālaka's relationship to Asita furnishes the excuse for the introduction of Asita's visit. Nālaka was Asita's nephew, and asked Buddha the path of wisdom, whereupon Buddha delivers a discourse on the qualities of a perfect monk. The text itself marks off Asita's visit as a separate composition.² Omit it, and the Nālaka Sutta falls into line with the rest of the book. The natural conclusion is that we have here an interpolation, and that the *Lalita Vistara* gives us the original version.³ Like the other incidents I have enumerated, it is borrowed from the West. The difficulties in the way of any other conclusion are immense.

Here our dealings with the *Lalita Vistara* have an end. But Professor Garbe cites three other cases in which he considers the Synoptics to have borrowed from the Buddhists,⁴ and as these, if unchallenged, constitute a monstrous exception to our general conclusions, I shall notice them briefly.

I have already alluded to one case in the introduction to this paper. It is the story of the Buddhist monk who

¹ Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 10.

² The story of Asita ends with verse 20 of the Nālaka Sutta, and after it comes the colophon, "the Vatthugāthās are ended." The Nālaka Sutta then begins, and ends after verse 45 with the words "the Nālaka Sutta is ended".

³ For Garbe's discussion of the Asita visit, see Garbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

⁴ Garbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-61. Garbe originally denied all connexion between the N.T. and Buddhist works. His first impressions in this case were, *me judice*, the best; but Edmunds seems to have persuaded him to change his opinion.

walked across a stream, and was saved from drowning by his faith in the Buddha. It is identical with the story of St. Peter, and either the Evangelist or the Buddhist borrowed it. The story occurs in the introduction to Jātaka No. 190. Neither the introduction to the Jātaka nor the Jātaka itself has any mark of time; both are timeless. The Jātakas or birth-stories of the Buddha are folk-tales of very various dates, and many of them are not Buddhist but Hindu. Some of the stories are Vedic; the Bāveru Jātaka must date from some time between Nebuchadnezzar and Seleucus Nicator; perhaps forty Jātakas, more or less, can be identified in the sculptures of Bharhut, Sānci, Amarāvati, and Gāndhāra; the judgment of Solomon dates from the beginning of our era. The introductions to the Jātakas explain the occasions on which the Buddha related that particular story of his former birth. Although these introductions are sometimes coeval with the Jātaka, they do not profess to be such; on the contrary, they profess to be modern; and occasionally the narrator is told to vary the details at his pleasure. In this particular case all we know is that the story of the monk, and the Jātaka which follows it, were considered old enough to be included among 546 others, when the Jātaka book was compiled in the fifth or sixth century A.D.¹

But, says Garbe,² the Hebrew prophets never walked on water, and Buddhist sages did. Certainly Buddhist saints walked on the water, rode in the air, belched forth fire and smoke, and performed all the other prodigies

¹ For the Jātakas see Cowell's Introduction to the translation of the Jātakas edited by him, vol. i; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 189 ff.; Winternitz, s.v. "Jātaka" in *Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*; Thomas, *Jātaka Tales*. A critic reviewing this last work in the *Times Literary Supplement* for March 22, 1917, says: "Most of the verse, it would seem, is not older than the third century B.C., and much of the prose must date from early in our era."

² Garbe, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

which modern travellers say Siberian shamans do. I do not see how that helps us.

The other two instances, so far as I can see, have no connexion with Christianity. One is really a serio-comic story. Like the story of the monk we have just discussed, it occurs in the introduction to a Jātaka,¹ and is subject to the same comment. A rich miser treats himself grudgingly to a rice cake made of broken grains. A Buddhist sage appears at his window and sits in the air, kicking his heels and belching forth smoke and flame until the miser consents to give him some. The miser's wife bakes a cake which grows miraculously, and the sage transports the room, the cake, the miser, and the miser's wife to the presence of the Buddha. The Buddha feeds 500 monks with the cake, but it remains as big as ever. Here we have a parallel to the stories common all the world over of magic cauldrons, the widow's cruse of oil, and the like stories, which receive their apotheosis in the legend of the Grail.

The last instance is the Temptation. The story of Māra and Buddha probably goes back in one shape or another to Buddha himself, and the most popular versions of it, such as that represented in a ruined fresco, form a striking contrast to Western ideas. Demons assail the Buddha under the *bo*-tree with their darts, while the Apsaras tempt him by the display of their beauties. Similar temptations befel St. Anthony and St. Dunstan. St. Dunstan attacked the devil with his tongs, and Luther threw his inkstand at him. The Eastern sage sits unmoved by all such fleeting shows, impassive, silent, and absorbed. There were other less well-known legends of Buddha's temptations upon other occasions. Various scholars have formed from these a selection which they compare with the account given in the Synoptics. The two are so unlike that one instinctively feels there can be

¹ Jātaka No. 78.

no comparison. The Synoptic account is steeped in Old Testament ideas, and the only point of even superficial resemblance is in the Jewish expectation of an all-conquering Messiah and the Indian belief in a Chakravarti Rāja. The suggestion that these stray and unconnected legends of the Buddha found their way orally to Palestine, and that out of them the Synoptics have framed the continuous Gospel narrative, savours rather of a vivid imagination than of any historic insight.¹

V

Was the infant Krishna a supposititious child smuggled into Hinduism? A foundling, the offspring of Buddhism and Christianity, who now lords it in the house of his adoption? It is a question which has often been asked

¹ Garbe, *op. cit.*, p. 50, supports his opinion by saying that while bodily devils are frequently met with in the Buddhist canonical works, they never occur in the Bible except in the history of our Lord's temptation. The latter part of Garbe's argument rests on two very dubious assertions: *first*, that the devil took a personal shape in the temptation of our Lord; and *second*, that corporeal devils were unknown to the Jews. *First*. I take down Alford's Greek Testament, and I read his commentary on Matt. iv, 1-11: "Had Luke's been our only account, we might have supposed what took place to have been done in a vision; but the two other expressions (in S. Matth. and S. Mark) entirely preclude this. It is undetermined by the letter of the sacred text whether the Tempter appeared in a bodily shape." "There is not a word in any one of the three narratives of the temptation of Christ which would warrant the belief that the devil came personally visible to Christ. Indeed, one of the temptations, and perhaps the keenest and deadliest of the three, must have been visionary and subjective" (B. Barrett, *The Temptation of Christ*, p. 54). Plutarch says that Socrates paid no attention to stories of supernatural appearances, but he listened attentively if any one spoke of hearing words uttered by an unseen speaker. Such was the demon of Socrates. But the whole subject is one I must decline to discuss. *Second*. I cannot profess to have made any study of Jewish demonology, but, to take the two first instances which occur to me, I have always supposed that the *incubi* of Genesis vi who begat children with the daughters of men had some corporeal substance; the *Book of Enoch* certainly represents them as corporeal beings. And I imagine that Isaiah's satyrs who danced amid the ruins of Babylon were pictured as visible bodily forms.

and very variously answered, and with an examination of it I propose to close this paper.

I discussed the matter at length some ten years ago.¹ As an Indian ethnologist I was interested in the history of the Gujars; I tried to prove that they had come, probably with the White Huns, from Central Asia; and from time beyond the memory of man they had been the chief pastoral tribe in the sacred grazing grounds and woodlands of Vrindāvan. So far as I could discover, they made their appearance simultaneously with and in the same locality as the youthful Krishna; and I suggested that the two events might be connected in some way; that the Gujars might have acquired some crude acquaintance with Christian legends of the Nativity in Central Asia; and that the Brāhmans had employed these legends for the evolution of a divine child. This would go far to explain the pastoral character of the youthful divinity.

This hypothesis was put forward explicitly as a pure but not quite improbable conjecture. I could not prove that the Gujars knew anything of Christianity, while my proposed solution would be disproved if it were shown that the story of the child was older than the arrival of the Gujars. That story is contained in the *Harivaṃsa* and the *Vishnu Purāṇa*. Neither work can be exactly dated, but the *Harivaṃsa* is often considered the older, and to go back to some time in the fifth century which is anterior to the arrival of the Huns,² and anterior therefore to the advent of the Gujars. Be it so. I am not particularly attached to the Gujar hypothesis. But that does not dispose of the main subject of my former argument, nor does it help us to a solution of the question. The pastoral character of the young Krishna

¹ JRAS. 1907, pp. 951 ff., "The child Krishna, Christianity, and the Gujars."

² Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 287.

will remain unexplained; for I follow Weber in thinking that the mere epithet of *Govinda* applied to the elder Krishna is insufficient to explain it.¹ But the popularity of the youthful Buddha does help us to explain, or so it seems to me, the history of the Krishna legend. I propose to advance and maintain three theses: *first*, that the story of the child Krishna is a novel one; *second*, that it arose in rivalry with the legend of young Buddha; *third*, that its authors went to the Christian quarry, like the Buddhists, for the framework of their story. I shall treat the first two together; and although I may restate things said before, the reiteration will be as little as possible.

The *Harivaṃśa* and the *Vishnu Purāṇa* are admittedly much later than the *Lalita Vistara*. They belong to the Gupta period, when Hinduism, freed from the opposition of Maurya and Kushan kings, and rejoicing in the sunshine of the royal favour, finally triumphed in its long struggle over Buddhism. In this contest for popular favour the Vaishnavas were the protagonists. Between the cult of Siva and the Buddhists there was "a subtle connection";² but with the Vishnuites there was open rivalry, and it was the practice of the latter to appropriate all the elements most popular in Buddhism.

As Krishna was the eighth Avatar, the Vishnuites took Buddha for the ninth. The Mahāyānists had made religion easy for the common man, but they had left women somewhat in the lurch. The Vishnuites with their doctrine of *bhakti* made it as easy for women as for men, *bhakti* being that saving faith which surpasses knowledge.³ Mahāyānists and Vishnuites were, both of

¹ "Der Name Govinda allein, im Vārtika, beweist nichts dafür" (Weber, *Indische Streifen*, iii, p. 429).

² Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, p. 427.

³ *Bhakti* has almost as wide a range of meaning as the Christian doctrine of Faith; and as La Vallée Poussin says, "the Indian schools of devotion (*bhakti*) are often not strict as regards morality and

them, monotheists in a way; and the Buddhist Avalokitesvara was always ready to aid the distressed. But Krishna was tribal god, epic hero, All-God in one; a much more powerful and more human deity; while the lessons he taught were of the essence of Hinduism.

In this conflict of religions young Krishna makes his first appearance. The legends of Buddha's youth had become very popular. They were represented in the bas-reliefs of Gāndhāra and the frescoes of Ajanta. They were novel and attractive. And then the youthful Krishna steps forward with a story more attractive still.

discipline" (*Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. "Mahāyāna", p. 332). The Gītā calls it the "less troublesome way" (Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, p. 188). *Bhakti* was one of the many doctrines the Buddhists evolved *pari passu* with the Hindus, or which they borrowed from them. "The belief in the providence of Amitābha and of Avalokita, the belief in their saving grace, has very little in common with ancient Buddhism, but is excellent Krishnaism" (La Vallée Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 335). The whole subject of *bhakti* has attracted much attention of late; v. various articles in the JRAS. 1907-11. On the Continent Professor Garbe is, I believe, the chief exponent. Barth, *The Religions of India*, pp. 218-19, has some brief but excellent remarks on the subject. "All antiquity had in the end resolved religion into matter of knowledge, either rational, intuitive, or revealed. It is *bhakti* which enlightens the soul, which alone can render the exercises of meditation and asceticism productive of fruit. Or rather it dispenses with these; for to him who possesses it, all the rest is given over and above. It addresses itself, not to the God of the learned and the philosophers, but to the manifestation of God that is most accessible, most at hand; among the Vishnuites, for instance, not to Vishnu or to Paramātman, but to Krishna, to God made man, who makes answer by his grace, or who has rather made answer beforehand, when, condescending to close his ineffable and inconceivable majesty in a sensible form, he thus permitted the humblest to love him, and to give himself to him, even before knowing him. That was a new idea" (Barth, *The Religions of India*, p. 218). Barth rejects the idea that *bhakti* was a direct importation from Christianity. "*Bhakti* appears to us to be the necessary complement of a religion that has reached a certain stage of monotheism" (p. 220). The influence of Christianity on the modern developments of the doctrine is undoubted. On these modern developments Sir G. Grierson is the chief authority; whose wishes to study modern *bhakti* and does not study his writings, *sua distanza vuol volar senz'ali*. On the teaching of the great epic with regard to it see Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-200; and on the traces of Buddhism in the later epic see his *Religions of India*, p. 428.

This story was a novel one; that is the crux of the whole question. Let us see what Professors Keith and Garbe have to say in favour of its antiquity. "Surely the existence of the standing enmity between Krishna and Kamsa, his uncle, of which the *Mahābhāṣya* presents the most conclusive proof, essentially presupposes the existence of the legend of a youthful Krishna? The relationship would normally be accompanied by friendship and protection; when the reverse is found, and the nephew slays the uncle, the similar legends found elsewhere justify us in thinking that tradition must have told some tale of the efforts of the uncle to remove from his path the unwelcome nephew."¹ Professor Garbe advances the same reason.² One might reply that this is at best an inference, and not a necessary inference, since the relationship and the enmity of the parties would require no special explanation if both were nature-gods, as Professor Keith and I hold them to have been. The story, if it ever existed, can have been of little importance, since no trace of it has been found; and in the epic the killing of Kamsa is not the first of Krishna's exploits after reaching manhood.

But all this is beside the question, for the story, whatever it may have been, was not the story now before us.

1. The killing of Kamsa is a primitive part of the Krishna legend, and therefore centuries older than the Christian era. But the present legend cannot have taken shape until the identification of Krishna with Vishnu and Krishna's glorification as the All-God was complete. Its *raison d'être* is to show how Vishnu became entirely incarnate in Krishna. It is the coping-stone of Vishnuite teaching, and therefore later than the *Bhagavad Gītā*. In the epic Krishna's divinity is intermittent; in this story there is never a moment when the child is not,

¹ JRAS. 1908, p. 173.

² Garbe, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

consciously or unconsciously, the All-God. The killing of Kāṃsa belongs to the earliest stage of the Krishna myth, the child of Braj and Vrindāvan to the last.

2. Some of the principal personages, Yasodā, Nanda, Rādhā, Kālīka, and Kubjā, figure also in the Buddhist legends.¹ This is intelligible if the youthful Krishna was started as a rival to the youthful Buddha, and it would be in keeping with the Vishnuite practice. The first three personages are the chief *dramatis personæ*, and are essential to the story; but how could they have figured in the original Kāṃsa myth—a myth centuries older than Buddha?

3. Balarāma was universally known as Krishna's elder brother. Our legend admits the fact and avoids it by transferring him in embryo from Devakī to Rohinī. Why this violent alteration? As Rohini's son he was free from Kāṃsa's hostility. Why does Vasudeva hand him over with Krishna to the cowherds? It is perfectly intelligible if old names were to be fitted to a new framework, but not otherwise.

4. Everything about this child-god is novel. He is provided with a new father and mother, new companions, new surroundings, and an entirely new character. But I have dwelt elsewhere on this aspect of the story.

This child-god is the consummation of Krishnaism; how can he have been a part of its rude and barbarous beginnings?

I hold that the young Krishna was born in the Gupta period, and that he was produced at a time when the youthful Buddha was popular, and the Vishnuites were striving to outbid the Buddhists.² I have still to show where the Vishnuites got their materials and why they won.

¹ Weber, *Indische Streifen*, iii, p. 428.

² Jacobi has a notable article on the evolution of Krishna in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. "Incarnation" (Indian), pp. 193 ff.;

They borrowed nothing directly from the Buddhist legend; the two or three stories they have in common, such as the bending of the bow, are Indian. But like the Buddhists, they went to Western, i.e. Christian, sources for their material. If the Pundits of Ujjain could borrow Greek astronomy and Ptolemaic geography from Alexandria, they would have no difficulty in making themselves acquainted with the Gospels and the apocryphal narratives. Not that they showed any special interest in Christianity; the story itself suggests that they did not. But it was a convenient quarry and they used it. Let us see how it was done.

Vasudeva and Devakī were the father and mother of Krishna, Kāṃsa his mother's brother whom he killed. These were fixed points in the ancient tradition, and the points of attachment for the new story. Balarāma was Krishna's elder brother, but as he has to play the part of the youthful John the Baptist he gets a new mother, and is handed over to Nanda to be Krishna's foster-brother. The gods complain to Vishnu of Kāṃsa, and Vishnu announces that he himself will be born as Krishna and will kill Kāṃsa. Nārada (who is of a somewhat sneaking disposition) informs Kāṃsa, and Kāṃsa kills Devakī's children as they are born. Balarāma is saved by being born to Rohini, and Vasudeva takes Krishna across the Jumna to the cowherds, and exchanges him secretly and unknown to everyone, with the daughter born at the same moment to Yasodā. Kāṃsa kills Yasodā's infant, and the two boys grow up among the cowherds. Nārada tells Kāṃsa how he has been tricked. Kāṃsa sends for the boys and they kill him. Devakī,

but he takes no account of the child-god. Garbe has treated the history of Krishna at considerable length (op. cit., pp. 209-71); but one may suspect that his euhemerism is influenced by his desire to extract a *bhakti* Upanishad from the Bhagavad Gītā; nor do I find any serious attempt to reconcile the various Krishnas, or if one prefers, the various aspects of Krishna.

Vasudeva, and Kāṃsa figure at the beginning and end of the story, which is otherwise independent of them. Throughout the rest the cowherd Nanda and his wife Yasodā figure as the father and mother of Krishna. Now note the parallels with Christian legends.

1. A marvellous light envelops Mary when Christ is born (*Protev.*, c. 19).

A similar light envelops Devakī before Krishna is born (Vish. Pur., v, c. 2, p. 500).¹

2. Universal gladness of nature when Christ is born (*Protev.*, c. 18).

Universal gladness of nature when Krishna is born (Vish. Pur., v, c. 3, p. 502; Harivaṃsa, ii, 59, p. 269).

3. Herod inquires of the wise men where is He that is born King of the Jews (St. Matt. ii, 4).

Nārada warns Kāṃsa that Krishna will kill him (Vish. Pur., v, c. 1, p. 498; Harivaṃsa, ii, 56, p. 258).

4. Herod is mocked by the wise men (St. Matt. ii, 16).

Kāṃsa is mocked by the demon that takes the place of Yasodā's infant (Vish. Pur., v, c. 3, p. 503; Harivaṃsa, ii, 59, pp. 270-1).

5. The massacre of the Innocents (St. Matt. ii, 16).

Kāṃsa orders the young boys to be killed (Vish. Pur., v, c. 4, p. 504).

6. Joseph came with Mary to Bethlehem to be taxed (St. Luke ii, 1; *Protev.*, c. 19).

Nanda came with Yasodā and the herdsmen to Mathurā to pay tribute (Vish. Pur., v, c. 3, p. 503).

7. Joseph is a widower with grown-up sons (*Protev.*, c. 8 and 9).

Vasudeva congratulates Nanda on having a son in his old age (Vish. Pur., v, c. 5, p. 506).

¹ The pages refer to Wilson's translation of the *Vishnu Purāṇa* and Langlois' of the *Harivaṃsa*.

8. The flight into Egypt (St. Matt. ii, 14).

a. *Flight of Vasudeva with Krishna to the cowherds* (*Vish. Pur.*, v, c. 3, pp. 502-3).

b. *Flight of the cowherds to Braj* (*Vish. Pur.*, v, c. 5, p. 506; *Harivaṃsa*, ii, 60, p. 274).¹

Apart from their number the incidents are for the most part neither so peculiar nor so striking as is the case with the *Lalita Vistara*. Taken singly, several of them might be put down as an accidental coincidence. There are two, however, which cannot be so treated. It is not an accidental coincidence that Joseph, the supposed father of Jesus, should have gone to Bethlehem to be taxed, and that Nanda, the putative father of Krishna, should have come to Mathurā to pay tribute. Nor is it an accident that Joseph is an elderly widower with a grown-up family, while Nanda is congratulated on having a son in his old age.²

The details I have quoted are all more or less connected with the Nativity; they fix the framework of the story, and determine the relations of the actors. One or two later incidents, such as the story of Kubjā, may have been suggested in similar fashion, but the subsequent history is for the most part due to the invention of the author. His object was to depict the sports and gambols of two divine children wandering at will in pasture lands and woods

¹ One might also compare the infant Christ in the manger, the ox and ass standing by, with the infant Krishna and Balarāma crawling in the cow-pens; but so far as there is any coincidence, it may be natural and unintentional.

² "Vasudeva spoke to him (Nanda) kindly, and congratulated him on having a son in his old age" (*Vish. Pur.*, v, c. 5, Wilson tr., p. 506). Both this and the matter of the tribute are omitted in the *Harivaṃsa*, which represents Nanda as a hind living near Mathurā, while his fellow cowherds live in Braj. Rohini is confined in Braj, not in Mathurā; and Vasudeva merely commends Balarāma to the care of Nanda; he does not actually hand him over, as in the *Vishnu Purāna*. The *Harivaṃsa* also says nothing of the massacre of the innocents. It represents a slightly variant and not quite so Christian a version of the tale as the *Vishnu Purāna*.

with companions as light-hearted as themselves. The country is infested with demons; there is a she-devil who suckles infants to their death; other demons in animal form affright the herds and their keepers. The divine boys destroy them in pure sport. For the rest they play in the forest, imitate the cry of the peacock, make garlands of wild flowers, lie under the trees, and come back to the encampment in the evening to join in the nightly games of the nomads. We have pictures of the seasons, the bursting of the rains, the sky heavy with clouds, the bellowing thunder, the flight of the white storks, the calls of the birds, the joy of the earth and the upspringing grass. In the hot weather the rivers shrink, the pools dry up, the sky is of brass, and the moon is resplendent. The whole is an idyllic picture of happy, irresponsible childhood; and these two children are divine.

It is the quite unconscious or semi-conscious divinity of the child Krishna which the author meant to teach; other moral teaching he had none. And it is this which made the fortune of the story, for in the child Krishna every Hindu mother sees the ideal of her babe. The Vaishnavas called in the women to their aid, and it is the women who have made the child more popular than the epic warrior.¹ Lewd men have seized on the boy and girl loves of Krishna and Rādhā as a pretext for their own abominations. But that is a perversion which is far from universal. Krishna and Rādhā are the Hindu prototypes of Paul and Virginia. The story is still full of vitality: the killing of Kāṁsa, a gigantic figure made of paper and bamboo, is celebrated by the crowd with as much shouting and merrymaking as in the days of Patanjali, and on well-watered lawns under shady trees in the gardens of rich merchants round about Mathurā, one may see children act the sports of Krishna and of Balarāma.

¹ At least in the Gangetic Doāb. East of the Ganges Oudh and Bihar are Rāma country, and in Rājputāna the epic hero takes the first place. Such at least is my personal impression.

We have seen what use India made of Christian legend in antiquity. As regards theological and philosophic speculation she had abundance and to spare; she was better able to give than to receive. Christianity has influenced modern Hinduism most profoundly in its ethical ideals; whether it did so in antiquity is a question harder than any I have touched on. The two religions touched each other only at the periphery, and each would be attracted solely by what it felt to be most akin.

Here my task has ending; and it is for the Pundits to determine what these speculations may be worth.

"Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor,
Et jam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla."

VIRGIL: *Georg.* ii, 541-2.

The goal was distant, and we've travelled far;
'Tis time to loose the tired steeds from the car.

XIII

YASNA XLIII, 1-6, IN ITS SANSKRIT FORMS

By PROFESSOR MILLS

1. *Salvation's Hail to the Nation's Chief,—Prayers for the Support and Progress of the Cause—and for the Spiritual Reward.*

Namah(-o) vah(-o), haye Gāthāh(-ā) ṛtāvarīh.¹

(a) *Uṣtā((-e-),² iti, kila, (-e) iṣtau-, iṣtisthā*
su(v)astih(-s) syāt(-d)) asmai³ yasmai(-ā(y)) *'ustā'
kasmaicit(-d) (iṣtau-sthā** suastih(-s));—

(b) sva-vaśena kṣayan(-t) sumedhāh (-ā) mahādhāh
(-ā) dāyāt,⁴ (-d), dheyāt(-d), asurah(-a)

(c) Uta-yuti* (-tyau) taviṣi⁵ ((-yau) (sarvatātī(-y-)-
amṛtatve, iyaṃ su(v)astih(-r) ā, -abhi(-y-ā) gāt (-d) (?),
gha-id (= ghed (?) vā),⁶ tat te* vaśmi (-y);—

(d) ṛtaṃ* dhārayadyāi, -tat(-d) me dāh(-ā), (dehi)
aramatyā (, aramate vā),⁷

(e) rāyah(-o) (raivatyāni suar - samunnati - dhārīni),⁸
ṛti(-r),⁹ iti, kila, phalāni(-y) ṛju(-v) arhaṇā samprāp-
tāni(-y), upagṛhītāni, vasoh(-or) gayam* (jivanam, jīvātum)
manasaḥ.¹⁰

2. *May that Glory—later called the hvarenah—be his indeed—revealing more and more the mysteries of the new form of Faith through many spiritually prospered years.*

(a) Āt(-e) ca (-ā-) asmai viśvesām vasiṣṭham

¹ So better. Recall the Ved. nom. pl. in -īḥ (-s); otherwise '-yah'.

² *Uṣtā*, Salvation's Hail. As elsewhere so often explained, this word is idiomatic. It has long been the fashion to call it a loc. sg. of an *uṣtī*—adverbially used;—but an instr. sg. nt. is of course also possible, as also an acc. pl. nt. adverbially used. It means "in the course of salvation"—"How long was thy *uṣtā*" is the question asked of the soul arriving from earth,—Yasht XXII;—"in the wished-for beatitude."

³ *Ahmāi*. Some paramount person must be meant as the representative of all the faithful,—so throughout wherever this undefined form "*ahmāi*" re-appears—perhaps Vishtāspa is meant. *Ahmāi* *Yahmāi* *kahmāi*, "To whomso'er (among us)". Can it mean "to every man?" I fear that this fine sense may be really too ethereal to be exactly safe;

Praise to You, O Holy Gāthās!

1. Salvation's Hail to this man, salvation to him whosoever (he may be);—

(b) Let the absolutely ruling Mazda grant, He Ahura,

(c) the two eternal Powers (Universal Weal and the Deathless Long life, Haurvatāt and Ameretatāt)—these verily I ask of Thee;—

(d) for the maintaining Asha (the Holy Law within our State, now as ever so endangered);—this grant me with* Armaiti (Archangel of our Land and devoted toiling Zeal)

(e) distinctive-riches,* blest rewards, the Good Mind's life—[(even the good man's life with goodness in the soul.)]—

2. Aye, for this man—whoever he may be (see 1)—may he (—our representative—) attain that best of all things (—the *ushtā* beatitude, bright halo of his office—);—

—but such higher sentiment should be always reported as an alternative;—see the extremely advanced religious-philosophical sentiment elsewhere in the Gāthās. Can it express a doubt as to which one of the four or five persons was considered to be actually the leader, Vishtāspa, Jamāspa, Frashaostra, or Zarathushtra?

* *Dāyāt*. For a stem *dāya*-to *dā* recall *dāyamāna*-and *dāyeta** (Wh.).

* Haurvatāt and Ameretatāt.

* *Gat*. A *gāt* with *ā* or *abhyā*, might possibly equal "let it happen", otherwise I suggest *gha* + *id* = *ghed*. The Pahl., Pers., and Sanskt. suggest *gūtōi*=*gatē* as infin. = "to come", though *tōi* is also further expressed by *lak*, etc.

* Or *-tē* = *o A-;—see forms of Armaiti in 6, 10, 16.

* *Bdyō*. Some Vedic analogies point to the idea of "riches". Not so the Aryan, Iranian. "Glory" there predominates in the idea conveyed by the word. Even Ind. *ud* = "the dawn" must have been "rich" only figuratively.

* *Alē*. Recompense for good and evil, but just here "the blest rewards" are the more held in mind.

* The good mind's life,—“that of thy good men amid our people, good in thought, word and deed.”

(b) svarvān¹ nā suar dadhita;²—

(c) tvā, tvadiyena, cikiddhi, cikitsva,³ cikitvā (?)^{*} (-e-) iti, cetayasva, śvāntatamena, *puṇyatamena manyunā ((-ā-) ātma-buddhyā), sumedhaḥ(-o) mahādhāḥ, (-ā)

(d) yāḥ(-ā) māyāḥ(-ā)) dhāḥ(-ā) ṛtena vasoḥ(-or) māyāḥ(-a) mānasah(-o)

(e) viśvāni (-y) ahāni (-y), ahar-ahar, dīrgha-jīvatoḥ^{*} (-r) *vṛdhasā,⁴ vardhanena.

3. *The Better than the Good as the "Ushtā"—Reward for the faithful Teacher here and on high,—the Home of God,—Straight Paths.*

(a) Āt svaḥ (?) (saḥ, sa), vasoḥ(-or) vasyaḥ(-o)⁵ nā abhi-gamyāt(-d)

(b) yaḥ (-o) naḥ(-a) ṛjūn pathaḥ⁶ (-ś) *śavasah(-ś) śikset (-d(?)), śiksayet(-d)

(c) asya (-ā-) asoḥ(-or) asthanvataḥ (-ś) śariravataḥ (-o), manasaḥ(-ś) ca, manomayasyaca,⁷

(d) satyān ā *stin(-īs),⁸ yān ā, svarga-sthānāni yāni (-y) ā kṣeti (-y) asuraḥ—

(e) (saḥ (so-'rdh-) ardhayitā (-ā-), asmākam adhipatib(-s) tvāvān(-t-) *sujantuh(-s), sujanmā,⁹ (tathā (-ā-) abhi-gamyāt (-c ch-)) śvāntaḥ, puṇyavān,¹⁰ (haye)¹¹ sumedhaḥ.

¹ *Hvāthrōyā*. Reading *hvāthravā*—the sign for *y* being here as so often elsewhere miswritten for that for "v";—see *rāyō* in 1, and recall "the *hvar(e)naḥ*", "the glory of the Airyas." Otherwise a supposed denom., but then the *o* would not be accounted for;—it is the debris of an old Pahl.-Av. letter, a mere perpendicular stroke, which represented "v" as well as *ō*, while the sign for *y* ʏ is the constant mistake for that for "v" ʋ in hastily written MSS. In the resulting jumble letters were constantly repeated. N.B.

² *Daiditā* in its middle form should naturally mean "receive", "attain"; though "give" comes in most aptly here;—so read alternatively "May he give".

³ *Cikithrā*—read as if *cikīṭ, hvī*, either a second sg. perf. imperv., or an inst. sg. of *-tu* = "with caretaking Holy Spirit," (?) so one writer;—see *Gāthās*, Comm. and Dict.; *cikī* hardly as an imperv. of itself;—for form only recall *cavīṭavo*, or imperv. perf.;—for an inst. recall *cikīṭu* (-vā), *cikīṭu* (-vā), adj. and f. = "understanding";—see Comm., p. 510.

⁴ *Uvādanāḥ*. A **vṛdhasā* would correspond. Does Grassmann

(b) Yea may he—that person so endowed with glorious distinction—attain (still further) blessedness (to give us all);—

(c) and may'st Thou thereto, O Ahura Mazda, through Thy most Holy and most bounteous Spirit assign this glory to him, revealing

(d) what wonder-working mysteries of Benevolence (of Thy Good Mind) Thou may'st really* impart (through Asha, Archangel of Thy Law)

(e) with blest increase of this happiness* on a long life's every day.

3. Yea, may he that (Holy One, our Leader crowned with that distinction;—see strophe 2) attain to that (*ushtā* blessedness) which is better than the good⁵,

(b) he who may teach us straight⁶ paths of (all true spiritual) profit,

(c) of this world bodily the gain, and of that the mental⁷

(d) (paths) toward those veritably real (eternal) abodes where dwells Ahura,—

(e) a helpful offerer* of Thine own—worthy of Thee—(he is, who thus hath taught us,—and may he indeed attain that realization of his hopes),—the good citizen (by eminence he is, nobly wise), holy-and-bountiful, (of soul).

doubt the meaning "stir up", to *vrādh-*, and does the P.W. reject a reference to *vrādh-* which G. accepts?

⁵ *Vaiśvānara vākyo* :—The summum bonum—a curiously philosophical turn of expression. See the words "better thing" at Y. 53, 9, and *vaiśvānara* in strophe 2 here.

⁶ See the Inscription Pers. "leave not the right path".

⁷ See Y. xxviii, 2.

⁸ *Sti* to *sti-* as masc. = "household", and so "home"; see *sti-pā*.

⁹ Whether *huzāštā* should be taken simply in the later sense of "good citizen" is of course a question. One feels more inclined to the meaning "noble of soul".

¹⁰ So, with others, "Holy," which I have long resisted for safety, fearing exaggeration.

¹¹ *Haye* is used only to mark the vocative,—so throughout.

4. *Yea, I would magnify Thee for all Thy Spiritual Help towards us—as The Sacramental* Aids of Grace—and for Thy Fire's Flame, the Chief of all, and for the Good Mind's Spiritual Might.*

(a) Āt tvā,** tvām, mānsai takvaṃ (-ñ-) ca (-e-) (iti), śvāntaṃ, puṇyaṃ, sumedhaḥ(-o), mahādhaḥ (-ā)

(b) yat tāni hasteha¹ yāni** tu(?)** (tvam) sapasi, sapāsai(ā)-y avāṇsi,² (yat(-d) dharma-daivya-prasādasya (-ā-) avāṇsi mām prati(-y) abhi(-y),** upa (-ā-) āgacchan, kila, yat tava (-ā-) atharvāṇaḥ(-o'sm-) asmākaṃ trātāraḥ (-o) netāraḥ(-o'v-) avāṇsi*(avo-)-bhṛtaḥ (-a) āgacchan),

(c) yāh(-ś) ca dhāh(-ā) ṛtīḥ,³ ((-r, iti(-y) evam), kila, yāni pratidānāni(-y) ṛju,** (-v-) ṛjūni, daṇḍa(-ā-) artham iva) dhvarate, dvesiṇe, pāpāya dhāh, phalāni su(-v-)asti-bhṛnti tu (-v), ṛju(-v-) arhaṇā samprāptāni, (-y) upagrhitāni(-y), ṛtāvane dhāh(-ā), dadhātha (-itha),

(d) tvadiyasya, tava, gharmeṇa (-ā-) atharyāḥ,⁴ (-ā) rtena(-au-)-ojasaḥ(-a),⁵ ojasvatyāḥ (-ā)

(e) yat(-d) me vasaḥ(-or) sahaḥ (-o'bhi(-y-)) ā(-o-), upa, (-ā-) agamat(-d) manasaḥ.

5. *God's Bountiful Creative Holiness is fervently apostrophised in view of His Creative Act,—and this gives warrant of the future judgment upon good and evil.*

(a) Śvāntaṃ (puṇyaṃ(-ñ-) ca (-ā-)) āt tvā, tvām, sumedhaḥ (-o) mānsi, (-y) asura,

(b) yat tvā* (tvām) asoḥ(-or) jantve, kila, janmani(-y), adarśaṃ pūrvyaṃ;⁶—

(c) yat (-d) dhāh(-ś) cyautnāni mīdhvāṇsi (-i-) iti,⁷ yāni ca (-o) ukthāni (-y) asan),

(d) aghaṃ (daṇḍam) aghāya, vasvīm ṛtiṃ* (iti(-y) evam), kila, su(v)asti-pratidānam ṛju (-v-) arhaṇā samprāptam upagrhitam vasave,

¹ "By thy personally present messenger." *Zastā*; so, "the more hallowed in efficiency";—recall *ustānazastā*, *zastavat*, etc.

4. Yea, I will regard Thee thereby as mighty and bountiful (in holiness), O Ahura Mazda,

(b) when those (sacramental?) aids of grace (come to me) hand-sent (by this our Monarch Priest) (means of Thy saving help) which thou dost nurture and maintain,

(c) (aids of keen justice too) which thou did'st also establish as Asha's recompense in retribution for the faithless, in blest rewardings for the believer,—

(d) (all) through Thy Fire's flame (made efficient), the strong through Asha (Archangel of Thy Law and Ritual's Truth),

(e) and when to me Thy Good Mind's Power came,—
(in Thy beneficent Good Minded One—Our Monarch-Chief—, or in Thine Archangel of Good Will).

5. Yea, I conceived of Thee, as Bounteous (in holiness), Ahura Mazda,

(b) when (as if) in the world-life's birth I saw Thee first,⁶—

(c) when Thou did'st (from that birth hour on) render actions provided with those rewards (just named (see 4)), and words, as well,

* The word *arā* = "aids",—so also the Pahl.; must have a semi-technical significance:—see it elsewhere used also in connexion with the Fire as in Y. xxxii, 14. One writer avoids this meaning, regarding the word as a pronoun, but see *zastava arā*, 29, 9. All the prominent recurring expressions in the Gāthās have an especially pointed significance, though they may at times be allowed their more commonplace meaning:—here we have "aids of Law and grace".

² *Aiā* = "recompenses".

³ One might have formed an **athar* from *atharvan*, and, I accept *athari* in this sense. The P.W. avoids the meaning "fire" for *athari*:—but "arrow-point" is the secondary figurative meaning from "the points of the flame".

⁴ *Aiā-aojāhā* is a compositum.

⁵ A rhetorical retrospective vision of creation with a prospective one of future judgment.

⁶ *Mizdavañ* for *a-vini* = "provided with rewards": cf. *mišhuymanti* in a figurative sense. The final short *i* was omitted previously as inherent: cf. the Pahl.

(e) tvā,* tava, tvadiyena, *tvena ((-e) iti ??)
 *sunṛtayā¹ dhāmanah(-o'n-)² ante, vṛttānte,³ (p-) apame
 ((s-) asoh).

6. *And that last judgment is vividly present to his mental eye.—The Sovereign Power—which builds up the State upon earth will then indeed be established to verify all the beneficial workings of the Cause which have pushed on the settlements in righteousness, Armaiti now continuing the teaching of those undeviating principles.*

(a) Yasmin ((-n) ante (yasyām vṛttau(-yām), (tvam) svāntena, puṇyena,⁴ *tvā, tava, tvadiyena manyunā (-ā-) ante, vṛtṭyām, vṛttante*(-a) ā-gacchāh(-ā)

(b), haṇe sumedhaḥ kṣātrēṇa (-ā-) asmin ((-n) ante), vasunā manasā,⁵ (kila, (-ar-) rtāvanā ca vasumanasvatā, sumanasā)

(c) yasya cyautnaiḥ(-r)⁶ gehyāni, gayāḥ (-ā) ṛtena⁷ pra, purah(-o) dadhate*(-a, iti), pra, purah(-o)-dhiyāntai(-ā(y));

(d) ebhyaḥ(-a) rtūn(-ś) śānsati, śāsati(-y) aramatih(-s)⁸

(e) tvadiyasya, tava, *tvasya(??) sarvajñasya kratoh (-or) yaṃ nakih(-r) dambhayati(-yāt(-d)).

¹ Lit. "Virtue", which perhaps is here in this old piece the better meaning;—the idea of "wisdom" for *hunarā* sounds rather "late" for documents which abound in the original meanings of *asha*, *rohu manah*, etc.

(d) Ill to the evil, a good rewarding to the good, (to be adjudged) (e) by Thy true-wisdom,¹ (or "by Thy virtue") in the creation's² final change.³

6. In which last changing Thou shalt* come and with Thy Spirit bounteous (in holiness⁴),

(b) O Mazda, and with Khshathra, Archangel of Thy Sovereign Might, in this (last ending), and with Vohu-Manah, Thy Good-Minded-will,⁵

(c) by whose great⁶ deeds (our) settlements are furthered through Thy Law of Righteousness;⁷—

(d) Thy judgment's saving-regulations unto these (homes) Armaiti⁸ teaches (dear Angel of our cultivator's sacred toil,—of our Devotion)—

(e) plans of Thy Wisdom which no man deceives.

¹ Could we form a ***dhāmi*—masc. or f.;—see *Zarathuštrī* in lili possibly and probably a masc.

² *uračsē* = *vračsē* to Ind. *vrt-* in the sense of "a final turning".

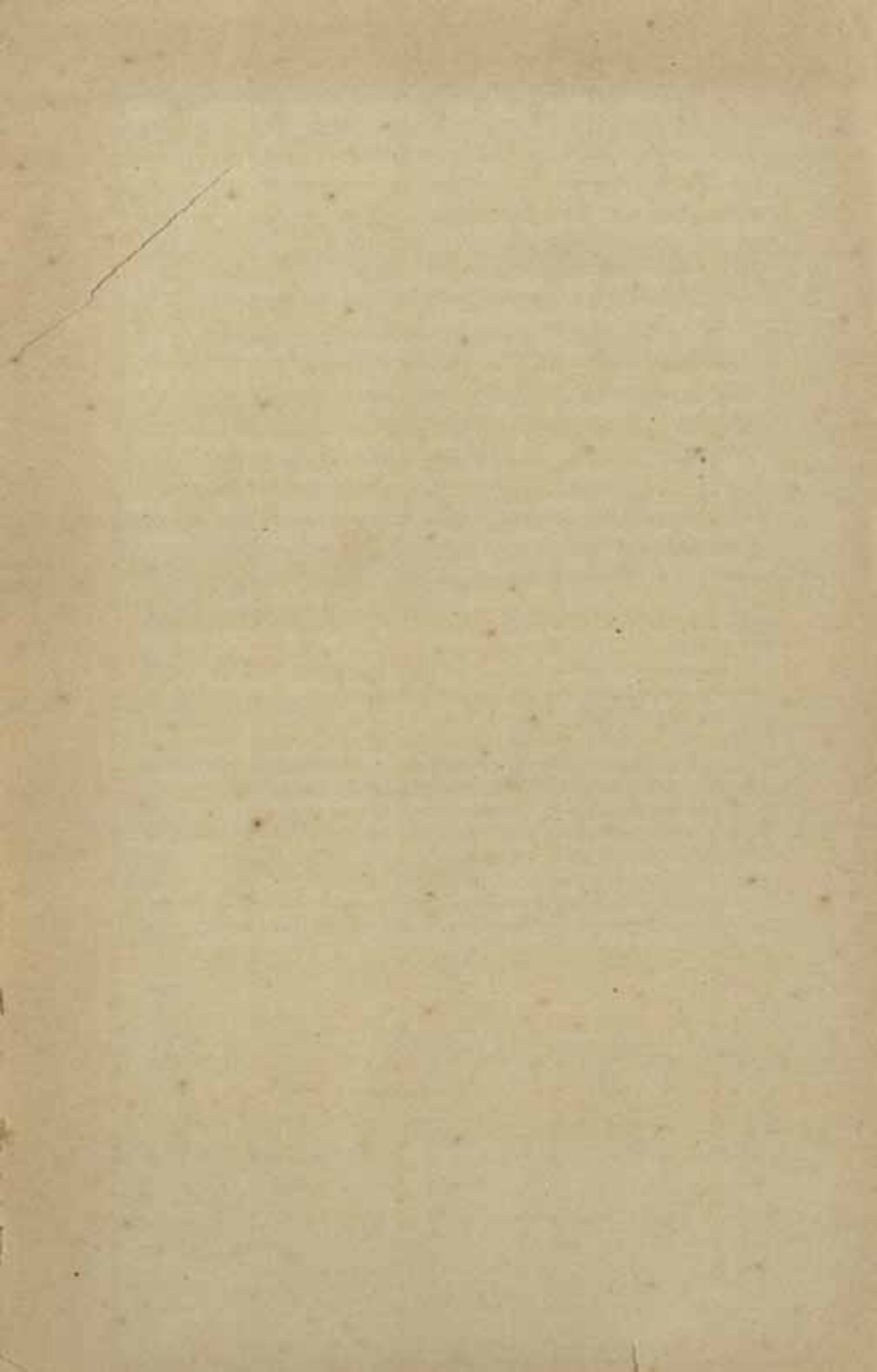
³ Others always "holy";—see notes elsewhere.

⁴ Benevolence even in retribution;—see *rohā manahā* recurring throughout, instr. with inherent nom. so used on account of the neut. gender which could not so well express the personal subject. This instr. is of course not simply for the nom., as has been stated.

⁵ *cyautna-* means in the Ind. "mighty deeds".

⁶ Notice the necessity of the moral idea here;—"the settlements are advanced through righteousness."

⁷ Notice how forms of *Ar(a)maiti* recur in strophe 1, here, in 10 and in 16. Recall *Artemis* and *Armenia* both probably related to *Ar(a)maiti*;—nothing is more familiar than changes in the positions of letters.



XIV

THE CONFUSION BETWEEN HAMIDA BANO BEGAM (MARYAM-MAKANI), AKBAR'S MOTHER, AND HAJI BEGAM OR BEGA BEGAM, THE SENIOR WIDOW OF HUMAYUN: HUMAYUN'S TOMB

By VINCENT A. SMITH

HUMĀYŪN married Hāji, *alias* Bēga Bēgam, about 1527. Fourteen years later, in 1541, he married Hamīda Bāno Bēgam, who became the mother of Akbar in 1542, and was known by the honorific style of Maryam Makāni, "dwelling with Mary," that is to say the Virgin Mary, after her death. On the face of it no confusion between the two ladies should be possible. Nevertheless, they have been frequently confounded, and the error can be traced back as early as 1612, only seven years after Akbar's death. The common error is explained by the fact that Akbar treated Hāji Bēgam, the elder lady, as a second mother, so that many people believed him to be her son.¹

The Biographical Notices of court ladies in Mrs. Beveridge's excellent edition and translation of Gulbadan's *Memoirs* make the truth clear.

I begin by reciting the facts as stated by Mrs. Beveridge, and will then set forth the mistakes made by a long series of authors.

BEGA BEGAM OR HĀJĪ BEGAM, NO. XXXV

She was a daughter of Yādgār Beg or Mirzā, and apparently first cousin of Humāyūn, who married her in his youth.² Their first recorded child was born in A.H. 934 or 935, probably equivalent to A.D. 1528, when

¹ Badāonī, trs. Lowe, ii, 308.

² Yādgār Nāsir Mirzā, son of Bābur's youngest brother Nāsir, seems to be the same person as Yādgār Mirzā or Beg. Yādgār Nāsir Beg was executed by Humāyūn (H. Beveridge).

Humāyūn was about 21 years of age. The marriage, therefore, may be assigned to 1527. The lady's second and last-mentioned child, Aqīqa or Afifa Bēgam, was born in 1531, and tragically lost eight years later.

"Bega was with Humāyūn during the idleness of his decadence in Bengal . . . She was captured at Chausa by Shīr Khān, and here she lost her little girl, 'Aqīqa. The historians all call her *Hājī Begam* in recording her capture; it is only Gul-badan who calls her Bega Begām. She was returned in safety to Humāyūn under the escort of Shīr Khān's best general, Khawāṣ Khān . . . I do not know whether she went to Sind with the exiles or was sent later direct to Kābul. She was in Kābul with the royal family after 1545. She remained there with the other ladies when Humāyūn made his expedition to recover Hindūstān, and she came with Hamīda, Gul-badan, and the rest to join Akbar in 964 H. (1557). After this she built her husband's tomb near Dehli, and became its faithful attendant . . . She went to Makka in 972 H. (1564-65) and returned three years later . . . Bega Begam died in 989 H. (1581), shortly before Gul-badan's return from Makka. She had almost certainly passed her seventieth year, and was perhaps still older."

HAMĪDA BĀNO BEGAM, WITH POSTHUMOUS STYLE OF "MARYAM MAKĀNĪ", "DWELLING WITH MARY," NO. LXXXIII.

Her father was Shaikh Alī Akbar Jāmī, also known as Mīr Bābā Dost, and her brother was Khwāja Muazzam. Her father was in the service of Humāyūn's brother Hindāl (Abū'n-nāṣir Muḥammad), and is said to have been the young prince's preceptor. She was distantly related to both Bēga or Hājī Bēgam and to Humāyūn. At the age of 14, early in A.H. 948, the summer of A.D. 1541, she was married at Pāt in Western Sind to Humāyūn, whom she accompanied in his subsequent painful wanderings. At 'Umarkōt (Amarkot), on November 23, 1542, she gave birth to Akbar, being herself then about 15 years of age. In 1543, when Humāyūn fled to Kandahār

from Shālmastān, she travelled with him, leaving the child behind. She did not meet her boy again until November, 1545. After various adventures, she rejoined Akbar early in 1557 along with the other ladies who came from Kābul. She died in the autumn of A.D. 1604 (19 or 20 Shahriwar, the 6th month of the 49th regnal year, A.H. 1013), more than a year before Akbar's decease, and must have been about 77 when she passed away.

I see no reason to hesitate concerning the identity of Shaikh Ali Akbar with Mir Bābā Dost, or to doubt that he was the father of Khwāja Muazzam.¹

Humāyūn had never seen Hamida Bāno Bēgam before 1541.

The name Akbar conferred on her son presumably was selected because it was borne by the child's grandfather.

The facts having been thus set forth, I now proceed to cite, and, so far as necessary, to discuss, the blunders of various writers, ancient and modern. The errors begin early with the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodī*, or *Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, named Niāmātu-llā, who finished his book in A.H. 1021 (A.D. 1612).

The relevant parts of that author's account of the battle of Chausā or Chaunsā, fought on June 27, 1539, are as follow :—

"Humāyūn had not yet performed his ablutions, when his troops were thrown into complete disorder; he therefore, immediately finishing them, lent all his thoughts to saving his own person; for to save his favourite lady, with all the other beauties of the *harem*, was impossible. He sent Khwāja Mu'azzam, with some other persons who were just at hand, in this painful situation, to rescue Begam Mariam Makānī from her dangerous position, whilst he himself hastened to reach the bridge . . . He was nearly drowned . . . Khwāja Mu'azzam

¹ Mrs. Beveridge's discussion of those two matters has been duly considered. I adopt Jauhar's date for the birth of Akbar. See discussion in *Indian Antiquary*, 1915.

... could not find an opportunity of rescuing the veiled ladies. Nevertheless, he sacrificed his life in the execution of his master's command . . . The Imperial consort likewise fell into their [the Afghāns'] hands, with all her establishment."¹

It is curious that the person who sacrificed his life in his efforts to serve the queen should be called Khwāja Mu'azzam, which was the name of Hamida Bāno Bēgam's brother. It is hardly necessary to point out that the man of that name said to have been killed in 1539 at Chāusā while gallantly performing his duty could not possibly be identical with the savage murderer, the brother of Hamida Bāno Bēgam, who met with merited punishment from Akbar in 1564, and subsequently died insane at Gwālior.

The demonstrable error in the account just quoted consists in the application of the title Maryam Makānī, the posthumous appellation of Akbar's mother, Hamida Bāno Bēgam,² to Bēga Bēgam, or Hāji Bēgam, who, beyond all doubt, was the lady captured at Chausā in 1539 and subsequently sent back to Humāyūn unharmed. The author, like later writers, evidently confused in his mind the two consorts of Humāyūn. Possibly his mention of Khwāja Mu'azzam may be a consequence of that mental confusion.

The second case of ancient blundering on the subject under discussion is more complicated. It occurs in the *Fragmentum Historiae Indicae*, written in Dutch by President van den Broecke of Surat in 1629 or 1630, and translated into Latin by Joannes de Laet in 1631.

The text, so far as relevant, is as follows:—

"Jamque Tziochan venerat Hamayon, quum Tzeerchan ipsum assequutus, ita cecidit ut Agram perfugere cogeretur . . . quum novum exercitum coëgisset Hamayon, versus Gangem contendit . . . Tzeerchan . . . Ghawas-chanum . . . praemittit: qui . . . in exercitum Hamayonis irruit . . . Hamayon ē somno excitus

¹ Elliot & Dowson, vol. v, pp. 69, 113.

² According to Mr. Beveridge (*Akbar-namah*, tr., i, 33n.), Akbar conferred the title on his mother during her lifetime.

. . . offendit equum cujusdam militis, qui fluvio hanstus fuerat, quo Agram perfugit. Hoste omnibus illius elephantis, equis et ingenti gaza potito, concubinae quoque et tam ipsius quam Ducum filiae et gynoeceum omne in Tzeer-chani venerunt potestatem. Ille tam insperatam victoriam nactus, eandem summa cum moderatione usus est, nihil aut ipse impudice in hostium conjuges liberosque admittens, aut suis permittens: Quantocius movit versus Agram, multa oppida in itinere sui juris faciens. Hamayon interea omnibus copiis exutus, assumpta Zimlebegem una conjugum quae praegnans erat, petit Asmeeren, atque inde provinciam Siermel, ubi uxor in arce Ammer illi filium peperit, qui postea Achabar fuit appellatus."¹

Or in English:—

"And now Humāyūn had come to Chausā, when Shīr Khān, following him up, so routed him that he was obliged to flee to Agra . . . Humāyūn, when he had got together a fresh army, directed his march towards the Ganges . . . Shīr Khān . . . sent in advance Khawās Khān, who burst in on the army of Humāyūn . . . Humāyūn, roused from sleep . . . stumbled on a horse belonging to some soldier who had been drowned in the river, and on this he fled to Agra. All his elephants, horses, and a vast treasure fell into the hands of the enemy. His concubines also, as well as his daughters and those of his generals—in fact, the entire female establishment, came into the possession of Shīr Khān. He, having gained a victory so unexpected, used it with the utmost moderation; he neither offered himself, nor permitted his people to offer, any indignity to the wives and children of his enemies. As rapidly as possible he advanced to Agra, bringing many towns on the way under his dominion. Humāyūn, meanwhile, deprived of all his forces, taking with him Zimlebegem, one of his wives who was pregnant, made for Ajmēr. Thence he proceeded to the province of Siermel, where his wife, in the fortress of 'Umarkōt, bore to him the son who was afterwards called Akbar."

This account contains many errors. The defeats of Humāyūn in June, 1539, at Chausā and in May, 1540, at

¹ De Laet, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera*; Lugduni Batavorum, Elsevir, 1631; 2nd issue, pp. 165-7.

Kanauj, had so many points of resemblance that the author or his informants confused the details of the two events. It is certain that the queen of Humāyūn was taken prisoner at the Chausā battle of 1539 and not at the Kanauj battle of 1540. The lady captured was Bēga or Hāji Bēgam. Humāyūn never saw the mother of Akbar—Hamīda Bāno Bēgam—until 1541, when he married her after some weeks' wooing, and it is needless to add that she did not accompany him in the flight from Kanauj.

It is interesting to observe that the Dutch author gives "Zimlebegem" as the name of the lady alleged to have travelled with Humāyūn and to have given birth to Akbar. The name looks like an attempt to express "Jumla Bēgam", or something of the sort, but it may be merely a misprinted corruption of Hamīda Bēgam. Mr. Beveridge suggests that "Zimle" may be a corruption of "Chūli", an epithet applied to Akbar's mother because of her wanderings in the desert (*chāl*). Monserrate spells the word as "Txoëlii".¹ The personal name of Bēga Bēgam, *alias* Hāji Bēgam, is not known. Both those designations are titles or epithets. "Hāji," of course, means "pilgrim". I cannot make any sense of the name Siermel for the 'Umarkōṭ region, now the Thar and Pārkar District of Sind. Perhaps it may be a misprint for some form intended to represent "Sind".

The whole passage is a curious specimen of blundered history. The note of Lethbridge, who translated part of the *Fragmentum*, shows that he did not appreciate the nature of the errors (*Calcutta Review*, 1873, p. 174).

¹ "Ac Zelaldini mater nec regium genus nec dignitatem Cinguiscani, in Zelaldinum transfudit: fuit enim, privati cujusdam tribuni filia. Vocabatur Txoëlii Beygum et anteaquam Emaumo nuberet data fuerat a parentibus Cayacano uxor" (*Commentarius*, p. 656). The last clause, intimating that Hamīda, before her marriage with Humāyūn, had been given by her parents to one "Cayacanus" (? Kāim Khān), must apparently refer to a betrothal, not to a consummated union. De Laet, owing to his confusion between the two ladies, gives the epithet "Chūli Bēgam" to the wrong one.

The errors in modern works claiming authority are equally serious and misleading.

Carr Stephen states that "' Arab-Sarāi ', miscalled Araf Sarāi, is a walled village and was founded by Hāji Begam, the widow of Humāyūn and mother of Akbar, in the year 968 A.H. (1560 A.D.). She brought with her 300 Arabs on her return from Mecca and settled them here".¹

Hāji Bēgam, who built Arab-Sarāi, was not the mother of Akbar.

The date also is wrong. She went on pilgrimage in A.H. 972 (1564-5), and returned three years later. The Sarāi must have been built between 1568 and 1581, the year of Hāji Bēgam's death. Harcourt notes that there is now no trace of the Arab settlers.²

Carr Stephen is equally unfortunate in his account of the mausoleum of Humāyūn, which is close to the Sarāi. He writes:—

"On the 11th of Rabi' I, 963 A.H. (21st January, 1555), Humāyūn died at Din Panāh, and was buried in the village of Kilokheri, where his mausoleum now stands. Hāji Begam, his attached and faithful wife, and the mother of Akbar, laid the foundation of this building, which was completed in the year 973 A.H. (1565 A.D.), or, according to some, in the 14th year of the reign of Akbar, 977 A.H. (1569 A.D.), at a cost of 15 lakhs of rupees; the best part of which expenditure must have been borne by the Emperor Akbar himself . . . Round the grave of Humāyūn are interred Hāji Begam, his wife, and the companion of his many troubles"; etc.³

Here we find the same erroneous belief that Hāji Bēgam was the mother of Akbar, and consequently the companion of Humāyūn in his many troubles, the allusion no doubt being to the wanderings in the desert and subsequent perils. Hāji Bēgam's worst trouble occurred at Chausā, where she lost her little daughter, and was abandoned by

¹ *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*; 8vo, Ludhiana and Calcutta, 1876, p. 198.

² *The New Guide to Delhi*, 1866, p. 102.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 202, 203.

her husband, who was more anxious to save his own life than hers.

The dates too are wrong. The true date is given by Badāonī, who states:—

"And in this year the building of the tomb of the late Emperor, which is heart-delighting, paradise-like, was completed. It is at Dihli on the banks of the river Jumna and took Mirak Mirzā Ghiyās eight or nine years to build."¹

The next paragraph proceeds to deal with events in Muharram, the first month of 978. "This year," therefore, in the quotation, must mean A.H. 977 (June, 1569–June, 1570). The fifteenth regnal year began on March 11, 1570. Mr. Beveridge accordingly places the completion of the mausoleum in the fifteenth year of the reign, in which year Abul Fazl records that the building was visited by Akbar.² Presumably his visit was made to see the newly-finished edifice.

Carr Stephen's remark that most of the cost must have been borne by Akbar himself is not well founded. Ladies in the position of Hāji Bēgam enjoyed very large incomes. She was a quiet, pious person, and may well have had fifteen lakhs at her personal disposal.

The next offenders against accuracy are Messrs. Beale and Keene, who have managed to commit a surprising number of errors on this subject.

The few words under the heading "Haji Begam" in their dictionary correctly state that that lady was the "wife of the emperor Humāyūn". But the reader is referred to the article on "Hamida Bāno Begam", which is nearly all wrong. The text is as follows:—

¹ Badāonī, 135. This author alone gives the name of the architect. The references are to Lowe's translation, Calcutta, 1884.

² *Akbarnamah*, tr. Beveridge, ii, 512, and note. The fifteenth year, according to the *Tabakāt*, began on March 14, 1570=6th Shawwāl, A.H. 977 (E. & D., v, 334). But the table at p. 246 of the same volume gives the first day as March 10 or 11, equivalent to 2nd Shawwāl. The table, based on the *Akbarnamah*, is to be preferred.

"**Hamida Bano Begam** (حميدة بانو بیگم) styled (after her death) Mariam Makāni, and commonly called Hāji Begam, was a great-granddaughter of Shaikh Ahmad Jām. She was married in A.D. 1541, A.H. 948, to the emperor Humāyūn, and became the mother of Akbar. She is the founder [of] the Sarāi called Arab Sarā, situated near the mausoleum of her husband at old Delhi. She had gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and on her return brought with her 300 Arabs, for whom she built this place in A.D. 1560, A.H. 968. She died at Agra on Monday, the 29th August, 1603, 17th Shahrewar, A.H. 1012, aged about 78 years, and was buried in the mausoleum of Humāyūn at Delhi."¹

That article emphasizes the confusion which forms the subject of this paper. Its errors are specially deplorable as occurring in a book of reference constantly used and claiming a certain amount of authority. Hāji Bēgam died in A.D. 1581, and Hamida Bāno Bēgam died in 1604. The date of decease given in the Dictionary is not correct for either lady.

Similar errors probably are to be found in other books, but so much criticism may suffice.² I do not expect that the mistakes now exposed will cease to be repeated frequently. My experience has convinced me of the extreme difficulty of killing historical errors in books which have won a reputation or are in common use.

We thus see that the noble monument erected in honour of Humāyūn was not planned by Akbar's mother, who had shown herself a mistress of worldly intrigue by

¹ *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, by T. W. Beale, revised and enlarged ed. by H. G. Keene, C.I.E., London, Allen & Co., 1894. It may be useful to note that the late Mr. William Irvine corrected many errors and supplied various omissions in the book for the period A.H. 1100-1200 (about A.D. 1689-1785), in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiii (1894), pp. 299-304. The Dictionary must be used with caution, for all periods. I have observed many errors.

² Even Mr. Blochmann made this particular blunder in *Āin*, vol. i, p. 455.

the active part she took in the machinations which resulted in the downfall and death of Bairām Khān. It owed its inception and completion to the sad, elder lady who had lost both her children, and after her husband's death devoted herself to religious duties and the pious task of perpetuating his memory. She remembered the days of their youthful union and drew the veil of love over his many faults. Inasmuch as we are told that the building of the mausoleum, which was completed in 1570, occupied about eight years, the faithful widow must have arranged for its erection long before she went on pilgrimage in 1564. When the building was finished she was content to spend the eleven remaining years of her life in retirement, guarding her husband's dust.

One more point may be briefly noticed. The title Maryam Makānī bestowed on Akbar's mother and the similar title, Maryam Zamānī, of his Jodhpur queen, the mother of Jahāngīr, have given rise to the legend that Akbar had a Christian consort named Mary (Maryam or Miriam),¹ sometimes alleged to be a Portuguese lady. There is absolutely no foundation for that statement. The Virgin Mary is profoundly honoured by Muslims, and the two titles mentioned merely associate with her the ladies of the royal family after their deaths. No reason exists for believing that any one of Akbar's numerous consorts was a Christian or had the personal name of Mary.

¹ De Laet confuses Maryam Makānī, the mother, with Maryam Zamānī, the wife of Akbar. "Gynaecia, uti unum Mariam Makany uxoris Achabaris et matris Ziangier" (*De Imperio Mogni Mogolis*, 1631, 2nd issue, p. 42). Lethbridge in his translation duly notes the error (*Calc. Review*, 1870: reprint, "The Topography of the Mogul Empire as known to the Dutch in 1631"; Calcutta, City Press, 1871, p. 31, note). The mausoleum of Maryam Zamānī (or more accurately, -uz Zamānī) at Sikandarah (Secundra), near Agra, has recently been cleared of accretions and thoroughly repaired (*Ann. Rep. A. S. India*, 1910-11, pp. 92-6, pl. xlviii-1).

NOTES ON HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS

By A. COWLEY

IN trying to decipher texts of which we know neither the language nor the values of the written characters it is evident that the first steps must be taken by conjecture. It is only when the conjectures corroborate one another that progress can be made. I have tried to restrict my guesses to what is in itself probable, and had not intended to publish them without further investigation. But investigation takes time, and for special reasons it seemed best to print now such of my results as appear to be fairly well justified. It is unnecessary to criticize other attempts at decipherment, as I have tried to start entirely afresh, without a prejudice for or against any previous system. Several of the identifications of Professor Sayce, the pioneer in this as in many other lines of research, have, however, been adopted without discussion, because they appeared on consideration to be certainly right. Much else may be derived unconsciously from him, for we have often discussed the problem together, and but for his encouragement I should long ago have given it up altogether. The notes relate almost entirely to texts in Messerschmidt's *Corpus*, and only to the more legible of those. A valuable addition to the material has been made by the publication of excellent facsimiles of inscriptions at Carchemish (Jerabis) by Hogarth, Lawrence, & Woolley, with which I hope to deal on another occasion.

The only books available at the time of writing are quoted as follows:—

M. = Messerschmidt, "Corpus Inscr. Hettiticarum," in MVAG. 1900 (5), 1902 (3), 1906 (5). References thus: 2¹ = No. 2, line 1.

Delitzsch = "Sumerisch-Akkadisch-Hettitische Vokabularfragmente," in Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. (phil.-hist. Klasse), 1914, No. 8.

CH. = Cuneiform Hittite.

inscr. = inscription.

id. = ideogram.

phon. comp. = phonetic complement.

It is by no means certain that the language of the hieroglyphic inscriptions is the same as that of Cuneiform Hittite. Professor Sayce believes that it is not the same, and prefers to call it Moschian, but there may be words in common. All the inscriptions are not of the same date or place, so that they may differ in language or dialect, and even in the value of the signs. Some signs which are common in one district are wanting in others.




The copies at present available for study are often imperfect or inaccurate — unavoidably so, since the characters are unfamiliar — and signs are sometimes confused.

There are certain reading marks whose use is not quite clear:—




¶ seems to mark the beginning of a word, but is very irregularly used, and in some inscriptions is altogether omitted. In some cases it is written twice above a sign, or once above and once below a sign. It then seems to indicate an ideogram.


se below a sign seems to mark an ideogram, but is often omitted, especially with the commoner ideograms.




A side stroke may be appended to about fifteen of the commoner characters, and also to some which are no doubt ideograms. About twelve very common signs never take it. Its function is very uncertain. It is used with vowels as well as with consonantal signs. It points always

in the direction of the writing, as do also the double lines in  . Perhaps it is only graphic and not phonetic, i.e. merely indicates something as to the arrangement or connexion of the signs. In the Karaburna inser. (M. 46), where  is not used, Messerschmidt has suggested that the side stroke may mark the beginnings of words.

The use of the small top stroke is clear. It marks a personal name (so Campbell Thompson independently). It is often omitted, e.g. in the Hamath insers., which certainly contain names, but this may be due to defective copies.

The signs  for *king* and  for *city* (or *country and city*, as in CH.) were long ago identified by Sayce. They are sometimes confused in the copies. They are probably always ideograms, i.e. to be read as words, not determinatives to be omitted in reading. The sign  is usually not written with the name of a city.

The sign for *god* is  (Sayce), probably always an id. It often precedes the name of a city—*god of Kadesh*, etc., as commonly in CH.

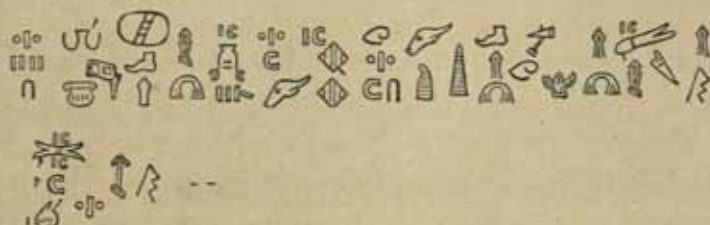
Numerals (units) are usually written by strokes, as  = 9, or by variations of the sign  = 3. The latter generally has the phon. comp. .

The insers. are written *boustrophedon*, the first line beginning usually from the right. They are to be read always against the faces of the signs. In these notes Hittite words are to be read from left to right for typographical convenience.

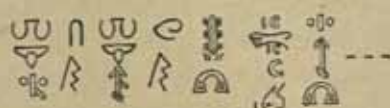
There is great variety in the spelling of words, even in the same inscription, and great freedom in the arrangement of signs, so that it is not always evident in what order they are to be read.

In trying to establish the *values* of signs, since we do not yet know the language of the texts, the only sound

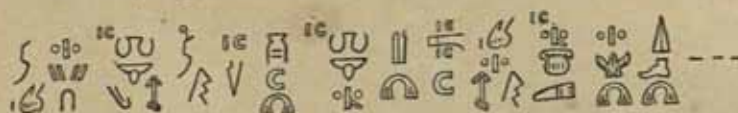
M. 21 (Marash).



M. 31 (Ağrak).



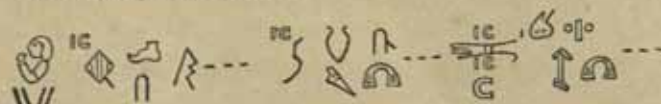
M. 32 (Bulgarmaden).



M. 33 (Bor).





M. 51 (Boghcha-köl).



M. 52 (Marash).






It is quite evident that these phrases, taken from inscriptions at various places, and probably of different dates, must have some very general meaning. I can only imagine that they are to be analysed as follows:—






The inscriptions usually begin with a head (or entire figure) with the hand pointing to the mouth. Then follows the group , which Sayce reads *ame* or *ami* and translates "I (am)". It will be shown presently that  is probably *m*. Now the longer Arzawa letter begins with the Semitic loan-word *umma*, and, as the hand pointing to the mouth suggests speaking, it seems likely that this group is to be so read. Therefore, provisionally let

$$\text{Three vertical bars} = m.$$




$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Head with hand to mouth} = u \\ \text{Hand pointing to mouth} = a \end{array} \right\} \text{probably.}$$



Then follows usually a name, indicated by the top stroke. Then follow certain groups which must be titles or descriptions. These usually end in  (or its equivalent), which Sayce has rightly identified as *s*, and has conjectured to be the termination of the nominative case. In Delitzsch *s* is a common ending of nouns.

After the titles follows the sign of a hand, marked with  above and below it. It is therefore presumably an ideogram. It can hardly be another title, since its phon. comp. is not *s* but . It occurs only in this position, or in similar contexts. I can think of nothing but a verb which would suit all the places, and, in fact, a verb is wanted at this point. If the first word is *umma*, the verb must be in the 1st person singular, and the meaning must be "I erected, or dedicated", or something similar. Note that the hand is turned down in careful inscriptions, in the act of giving or placing?









The verb is followed by   or   .

This might, of course, be taken as part of the same word as the ideogram (a participle?), but as the main part of the word is represented by the ideogram this addition would make a very long word. Moreover, the ideogram is found sometimes without this addition. It is therefore probably a separate word, although it is never marked

with . In the great inser. at Carchemish (A. 7)  

(with additions) is used before the name attached to each of the separate figures, where it can only mean *this (is)*. Then   must be a strengthening demonstrative. Thus the normal type of the introductory formula would be something like: "Says X priest king son of Y king. I dedicated this . . ."

If we have rightly guessed the general sense it will be worth while to examine the particular beginnings in more detail.

M. 2. The name is indicated by the top stroke. The two signs  are perhaps the same as in the name of Carchemish (M. 9), therefore *k* or *g*, but this is not certain. If so, I do not know of any name that they would fit. The sign  is perhaps wrongly copied. It should be phonetic, and therefore one of the commoner signs. It occurs again in line 4, but is not common. It may be a local form. The next group is marked with . Sayce has suggested that  is a priestly apron and the id. for "priest". In an unpublished inser. at Carchemish it is used after a name under a figure evidently representing a priest. The phon. comp. is . In M. 32 and elsewhere it is  . In the inser. from Ördek-burnu in Aramaic characters, but probably in a Hittite language,  is a title which seems to mean "priest" (perhaps the

original of כהן; cf. *kaveiv* in a Greek inscr. from Lydia in the sense of "priestess"). Hence tentatively

$$\text{C} = n.$$

$$\text{III} = \text{C} \cup = n\delta.$$

The next group, $\text{C} \cup$, as it is not marked with C , might be regarded as part of the same word. But the use of C is very irregular; the sign \cup would seem to mark the end of the word $\text{C} \cup$; the words are used elsewhere separately. If they are closely allied in meaning they may have been regarded as forming a sort of compound "priest devotee" or even "priest-king". Elsewhere the word is written $\text{C} \cup$, but C is not used in this inscr. Hence probably

$$\text{C} \cup = \text{C} = n.$$









The next title occurs in several insers. For the first character we have H in M. 21 and H in M. 52. The same word, however, is found as the name of a town, e.g. in M. 21^b, preceded by G , "god of." What combination of letters is there which will fit both uses? There is a Hittite title *kata(s)* found in Egyptian, and there is a town Kadesh closely connected with Hittite history. Here the final *s* is formative, in the name of the town it is radical. The word then means "official", "governor", or something similar. Hence


$$\text{H} = \text{H} = \text{H} = k \text{ or } k.$$



$$\text{J} = t \text{ or } d (t \text{ or } d).$$


The succeeding words are not part of the ordinary formula. The verbal id. has the phon. comp. K , which is elsewhere C . The whole may be translated "(Thus) says KxKš(?), priest, devotee, governor . . . I set up . . ."


M. 3 B. According to analogy the group after "says" ought to be a name. (The top stroke is not used in the




Hamath insers., according to the copies.) Then the following group might be "Hamathite", as has been suggested. But this would be impossible in M. 6, where the word after "says" must be a name, for the text could not begin "says the Hamathite the mighty". Further, if it were "Hamathite" (H-m-t-n-š) the  would be *t* or *th*. But in M. 21² it represents the *k* in Markašu, the Assyrian name of Marash. I therefore take this group as a proper name. The values of the first two signs are not ascertained. Then     must be a title, standing irregularly before the name. The first sign is unusual. If it is an id. it ought to be . As it is very close to the edge of the stone, perhaps the upper  has been broken off. An id. would be natural in a title, but less so in a name, except in some well-known god's name. The sign  is found several times over a head wearing a (priest's?) cap, where Sayce suggests that it means "high(-priest)".



The verbal id. as before, with the usual phon. comp. .








Whether the language has cases, as apparently CH., or not,   here has no accusative termination, and is apparently always indeclinable.

Translate "(Thus) says the prince (or similar title) X-Y-k-l-š, I set up this . . ." [The value of  will be discussed later.]

M. 4 A and B. Beginning as before. Then a group which must mean something like "statue" or "memorial". The sign  corresponds to the ram's head in M. 6, and is no doubt, as Thompson has pointed out, merely a linear form of it. The termination may be that of the accusative, which in CH. ends in *n*. Then follow the ideograms for king and city. Translate: "(Thus) says the prince X-Y-k-l-š, I set up this memorial of the king of the city . . ."

M. 6. The same name, in which I have restored  from the previous insers. The title, elsewhere often   (case form?), i.e. id. with phon. comp., must mean something like "mighty" or "ruler". Note that this common id. is not marked as such.


The sign after the verb must be the equivalent of , but unfortunately it is lost and its form is unknown. This very common sign is not found at Hamath. Is it represented by , which is common at Hamath and nowhere else? (This was the opinion of W. Scott, expressed in a paper read to the Oxford Philological Society some years ago. He considered them both to be debased forms of the calf's head.) If so, the central line may be meant to mark the name instead of the top stroke. Translate: "(Thus) says X-Y-k-l-š the governor, I set up this memorial of the king of the city . . ."


M. 7. Apparently a very late inser. The name and title are lost. After the verb,       

differently written, applied to a man. Translate: "(Thus) says . . . I set up this statue of the great (god) . . ."








M. 9. I have restored the name from the newly published insers. (A. 11) from Carchemish. The first sign = *k* (see on the next word). If the second sign is *t(u)*, as Sayce makes it, we might compare *Kađovias* in Suidas, and *Katova* in the recently published Lydian insers., or the Cassite name *Gaddas*, but see below on M. 33.

The next group is no doubt rightly accepted by Sayce as the name of Carchemish, for it must be a place-name, and occurs frequently in the insers. of Jerabis and not elsewhere. Hence

 = *kar* or *gar*.


 = *k* or *g*.


 = *š*.

The addition  must be an adjectival (gentilic) or genitive termination. The sign  is rare outside this name, and is therefore not likely to be a letter or simple syllable. Its value *kar* is however confirmed by the only other name in which it occurs (and that several times), viz.      in M. 1 (Babylon) and elsewhere, which I take to be "the god of Karduniaš", the Cassite name of Babylon. Hence

 = *d*.

 = *n*.





Then follows the id. of "king". The *š* under it is its phon. comp. of the nominative case. It does not belong to the previous word. Then the double sign for "king", followed by a sign  with the phon. comp. *š*. I thought at first this must be the plural, and the whole title was "king of kings", but this would not suit all the passages,




same as  (in Carchemish, etc.), as it points in the opposite direction. Hence









$$\text{fish pointing left} = k.$$

Then the reading Hamath in M. 3, 4, 6, is impossible.

Translate: "(Thus) says Sanda-x-p the governor, priest, devotee, warrior (?), king of the city, son of X-l-š, I set up this . . ."

M. 31 is irregular in omitting    .


The first two groups must be names, which can only be taken as "X son of Y". If   is San(da), as Sayce suggests,  = *d* will be its phon. comp.


The second name must be in a genitive or patronymic case, so that the construction is the same as in Etruscan, or in the Greek Σακράτης Σαφρονίσκου. As to the value of the sign , if  = *a* and  = *u*, the common sign  (apparently vocalic) is likely to be the remaining vowel *i*. Then what is the value of the two strokes at the bottom? I venture with some hesitation to make the following suggestion: in careful inscrs. the sign  is written in two parts as though it were a double or strengthened form of . In Babylonian there is a close affinity between the sounds *w* and *m*, and perhaps the two strokes here have the sound of *w*. In Delitzsch the combination *uw* is frequent. If, then,  has the value *du*, or is *d* with an affinity for *u*, we should have here such a combination as might be expected. The same explanation ought then to apply to . Hence






$$\text{fish pointing up} = i. \quad \text{fish pointing up} = wi?$$

$$\text{fish pointing up} = wa?$$

This is, of course, not yet proved.




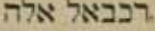









The sign  is very puzzling. If this name is the same as the first name in M. 32, and if that is rightly

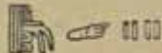
explained,  (and the ram's head) may be *l*, but it is not certain.

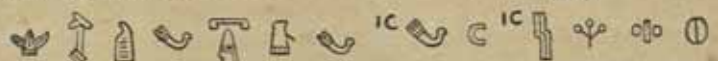





The flamboyant sign following the name *I* for a long time identified with the  on the seal of Tarkondemos, where it has the value *dim* (?), and may be the id. of *son*; cf. Lycian *tediemi* = *son*. But the sign occurs frequently, and the meaning *son* does not always seem suitable. It has a phon. comp.     and Sayce has cited elsewhere a word *aramiš* = *king*. It may be that, or some similar title.


The verb is, as usual, in the 1st person.




Translate: "(I) San-d-u-a-š, (son) of San-d(u)-wi-l(u), the king (?), set up this . . ."

M. 32 is unusual in having two signs before *says*, which I do not understand. The group after *says* must be the name, and is probably to be read San-d(u)-wi-l(u), the nominative of the second name in M. 31. (As mentioned on M. 21, two signs standing under one sign are to be read in reverse order.) The value  = *l* is not ascertained, but the conjecture is based on the following grounds: the name is a compound of Sanda (if Sayce is right as to ) , the second element being very short. I suggest that it is compounded with the Semitic *ilu* and means "Sanda is god", like , etc. In the Ördek-burnu inscr. we have  and I think there is evidence that the Semitic word is also found in these hieroglyphic texts. We frequently find the group   , which for a long time I took to be "god of Ni" (the city). But it is so common that this seems unlikely, and it is never (?) found in a series with other gods (e.g. "god of Kardunias, god of Kadesh, god of Ni"). Moreover, a  is sometimes added (e.g. M. 21^a). Taking the signs in the order     I cannot help thinking that the id.  has the value of the Semitic *ilu*, and



that, with the phon. comp. *a-n-i* or *n-i*, it is to be read *ilāni*, "the gods." If this is accepted, we may go a step farther: in M. 9^{4.5} we have the phrase 




 "of Carchemish king, high-priest of the gods of the three cities", where I take  =  = *l* to stand ideographically for *ilu*, and  to be phon. comp. of the plural. But  in this passage is *n*, and perhaps  is the linear form of both. For these reasons I read this name as Sand(u)-wil(u).























The next sign, a head with a feather (?), corresponds to  in M. 31, and is likely to mean "king" or "prince". Its phon. comp. is *š*, the nominative ending.







The next sign is marked as a new word. It can hardly be a prefix to the succeeding group, which is well known. I suggest that it may be the word for "and". It seems to be so used also in M. 2. After "priest" is a name which appears to be the genitive of the first name in M. 31. The sign  I take to be a ligature for   = *an*. In M. 31 Sanduwilu makes its genitive (or patronymic) case in a simple *š*, but Sanduas, having a vowel-stem, takes an *n* before the *š* of the genitive (*Sanduanis*).

Thus the names here and in M. 31 are in reverse order, and since M. 32 seems to be later than M. 31, Sanduwilu here is probably the son of Sanduas in M. 31 and grandson of Sanduwilu.


In   the rule about the order of signs is not followed.













The next group is a common word, which must mean "monument" or something similar. The  is Messerschmidt's restoration (cf. M. 34²), but as  does not appear elsewhere in this long inscr. the broken sign is




more probably                (accusative ?) in l. 2. The termination   would express the article, which is not used after  . If the copy is to be trusted,  is the same as  and  = *k* or *g*.

In    the last sign is no doubt , as often elsewhere, and the word means "in the city", i.e. id. of city +  phon. comp. of the locative case +  the article.






Translate: "— — says Sanduwilu, prince and (?) priest, (son) of Sanduas, I set up this memorial in the city . . ."

M. 33. The beginning differs from that of the other insers. The first word is "memorial" as in M. 32, but without the  (and so usually). It cannot possibly be a proper name.

The next group is taken by Sayce as a derived form of Tyana (= Bor). This is very attractive, but it would be impossible to begin an inscr. with "memorial of the Tyanian, king of the city". It must be a personal name, and the small stroke at the top is meant to indicate this. The following suggestion is put forward with great hesitation. If  is *l* (see M. 32) the name is *X-u-l-u-n-š*. Taking the first sign to be *p*, this might be the native form of the name which the Greeks later made into *Ἀπολλώνιος*. (The pedigree of Apollonius of Tyana was distinguished.) Cf. the name *Polanida* in a Lycian bilingual, where the Greek has *Ἀπολλωνίδης*. Then  = *p*, which requires corroboration. The difficulty is that our copies seem to confuse various characters similar to this (, , , , and ) and they need to be disentangled. Probably it is the same character as in M. 4 A, B, and 6, and      = *alpun*.







   see on M. 32.

After "priest" is a word which has already been

mentioned on M. 7. If the sign  is a linear form of  (which does not occur in this inser, nor in M. 7, nor in M. 51), the word can hardly be anything but *šarkaš* = "highest", "chief" (Delitzsch *šarkuš*). The sign  might then be taken simply as *š*, though not as a short form of , which occurs in the same insers. But it is probably more than this. It occurs (with the feather added) in M. 32 and elsewhere, evidently as a title. If it has the value *šar*, the title in M. 32 would be the Semitic *šarru* with the Hittite termination *š*, and here the  is added as a phon. comp. Hence

$$\text{ } \{ = \textit{šar}.$$


$$\text{ } \hat{\text{ }} = \textit{r}.$$


Probably it is used here in close connexion with "priest", meaning a higher priestly rank than      .

The word following is broken.

After "this" is a word which in varying forms is common. It must mean something like "monument" or "statue".

Translate: "Memorial of P-u-l-u-n-š (?) , king of (or in) the city, high-priest . . . I set up this statue . . ."









M. 51. "Says" is represented by the head with  only.















The name following will be *Huldaš* if  was rightly identified as *hul*.

The titles are much broken, but *šarkaš* is clear.

Translate: "(Thus) says *Huldaš* (?) . . . high (priest?) . . . I set up this . . ."

M. 52. The name is the same as in M. 21, but the reading of it is not ascertained.

The titles are the same, with instructive differences of writing. Thus  = ,  = ,  =  (so to be restored),  = .

After "city" is the group which I identify as Markas(u), the cuneiform name of Marash. It occurs also in M. 21², but with  for  and without . As the values of five out of the seven signs are already known there cannot be much doubt about the name. What precise kind of guttural or *k* is represented by  =  is uncertain. The final *s* is the Hittite termination of the nominative (or genitive?). The value  = *m* is corroborated by Carchemish inser. A. 6², where         would mean "king of the Mysians (?) and king of the Moschians". Hence







$$\text{fish} = m.$$

$$\text{bird} = r.$$

$$\text{bird} = k \text{ or } k.$$

$$\text{fish} = s.$$



























It is strange that the title "priest", etc., is repeated. Or is Murkasš really a genitive, and should we translate "priest of Marash"? If so, Kadawas will have to be taken, not as "officer", but as genitive of Kadesh, "priest of Kadesh," here and elsewhere.

After the verb the demonstrative is written with the calf's head instead of  the conventionalized linear form of it (so W. Scott). The  is lost.   is written for the usual  .

Translate: "(Thus) says Sanda-x-p the governor,

priest devotee, warrior (?), king of the city of Murkaš, priest devotee, I set up this . . ."


One other text may be further considered here, as it has been quoted above on M. 21.

M. 46 is a late inser. at Karaburna, in S. Cappadocia, where it was found by J. G. C. Anderson in 1900. It deals apparently with the family history of persons with very similar names. The first word is the same as in M. 34, meaning no doubt "this (is)" or "I am". The next group, which occurs also in M. 3², 4², is a gentilic form in , followed by the id. of "ruler". After some further characters, there follows                . . . I suggest that the character , which occurs only in this inser., is *n*, and that the name is Σνένρεας, the Cilician dynastic name. The lost sign, if there was one, was  as in l. 2, though it is not certain whether the order is *Š-wa-n-š* or *Š-n-wa-š*. Then, follows the id. for "king", with phon. comp.  = *š* of the nominative. Then the genitive *Š-n-š-b-u-n-wa-š*, followed by the rabbit (as in M. 21^{1, 2}), the id. of "son", with phon. comp.    =     in M. 21¹. Hence



$$\triangleleft = \text{bird on stand} = k.$$

$$\text{bird on stand} = \text{bird on stand} = š.$$

$$\text{bird on stand} = n?$$

The character  is transliterated *b* (or *p*) for reasons to be given in a future article, in which I hope also to justify the following translations:—

"I am the ruler of Kinza, lord of three cities, *Š-wa-n-š* the king, son of *Š-n-š-b-u*, prince of Kinza, *S-l-s-u-r-d*, S-l- . . ."

Then follows the id.  with phon. comp.  and the

possessive suffix *-maš* = "my". As the name *Š-n-š-b-u* follows, the *id.* can only mean "father". The *o*ff is repeated perhaps by mistake. The *ŋ* is for *ŋ*.

Translate: "... My father *Š-n-š-b-u*, the king, (was son of) *Š-wa-n-š* ... (who was son of) *Š-wa-n-š-b-u* the king, king of X ... by the grace (?) of the god ... and the father of *Š-n-š-b-u* was *Š-wa-n-š*, the king, ... (who was son of) *Š-wa-n-b-u*, king of X ... by the grace (?) of the god ..."

Thus the founder of the dynasty was *Šwanebu*, king of X ... and his grandson *Šwanešbu* united the kingdoms of X ... and *Kinza*, the region of *Hamath*.



To sum up the results. The general meaning of the introductory formula is fairly clear. It turns on the *id.* which I take as a verb, though it is quite possible that the characters which I take as the demonstrative pronoun may really be part of the verbal form.


The values of a certain number of signs are fairly well established (see list below), but I have for the present avoided the question whether the system of writing is syllabic, like the Cypriote (*la, li, lu*), or alphabetic, like most Semitic writing, i.e. a debased or simplified syllabary in which each character may have any vowel implied with it, e.g. *l* = *la* or *li* or *lu*. The number of common characters is small—about thirty—of which some are not found in particular insers. As several of these common signs have similar values (e.g. the various forms of *š* and *n*), the syllabary, if it is such, must be small, and perhaps, like the Cypriote, did not distinguish between *tenues*, *mediae*, and *aspirates*. But it is necessary to identify more signs and to know the nature of the language before this point can be decided. The less common and rare characters are mostly ideographic, though some at any rate are also used as closed syllables.


Grammatical forms found are :


-š as termination of the nominative.



-n as termination of the accusative.



 or  for the locative or oblique case.





 for the gentilic adjective or case.


 perhaps for the genitive case.

 for the patronymic genitive.

 (or  ?) for the genitive case.


 (or ) for the article or demonstrative affix.

  (acc.  ) affix of the 1st personal pronoun,
= "my".





 termination of the 1st person singular past (?) tense of the verb.


The following is a list of the signs discussed :—


VALUES ASCERTAINED

 = *d* (or *t* ?).



 = *d*.

  = *m* and  .




 = *m*.



 = *n*, not at Babylon.


 = *n*.



 = *n* (also *k*) and .



 = *k*.


 = *k* (or *g*) and , .



 = *k* (? same as foregoing) and .

 = *k* (or *k*).



 = *k* (or *k*) and .


 = *k* (or *k*, or Arabic  ?).

 = *k* (or *k*).



 = *r* and .


 = *š*.




 = *š*, not at Babylon (?) and .


 = *š*, not at Bulgarmaden (?).



 = *š*.




 = *š*, not at Babylon, and .



 = *n-š*.


 or  = *šar* and .


 = *kar* (or *gar*).



 id. of god; with phon. comp.  = *ilāni*.






 id. of priest; with phon. comp.  , etc.




 id. of prince, lord; with phon. comp.  = *šarruš*.


 id. of king.


 id. of city.

 id. of father; with phon. comp. .




 id. of son, and  (short form of the rabbit);
with phon. comp.   .


 id. of three; with phon. comp.  .

 id. of placing.



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
VALUES PROBABLE



 or  = *a* and .


 = *wa*, or *ya*? (at Hamath only once).


 = *i*.

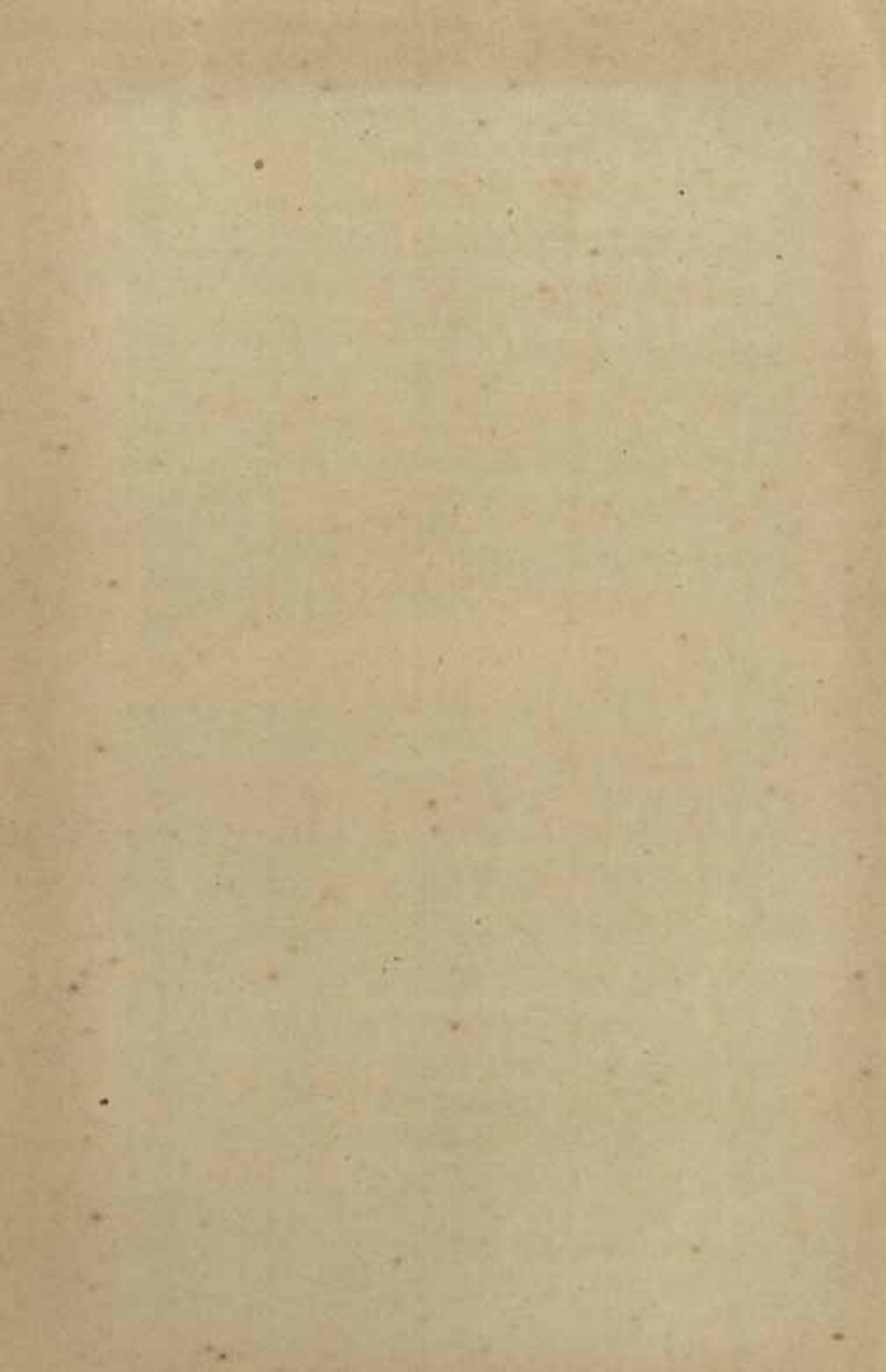
 = *wi* and .

 = *n*? (only at Karaburna).

 = *n* and  (also = "and").

 = *r*.

 = *an*.



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY HINDU ICONOGRAPHY

Professor Macdonell has expressed the opinion (JRAS., 1916, pp. 125-130) that

1. The representation of (Hindu) gods with four arms began in the period 50-100 A.C.

2. The purpose of the innovation was the practical one of supplying a means of displaying the symbols without which the gods could not be adequately identified when represented by themselves apart from the adjunct of a *vāhana*.

The thesis is too important to be criticized in the limits of a short paper. All that could be done here is to place before scholars some considerations which seem to render it difficult to accept the views of the learned writer.

1. Professor Macdonell asserts that "literary evidence indicates that regular images of gods were not made till the latest Vedic period". This statement cannot be accepted without hesitation. How are we to explain such expressions as *Indrāgni śumbhatā narah* (RV. i, 21. 3)? Sāyaṇa takes the passage to refer to images of Indra and Agni. He explains the word *śumbhatā* by *nānāvidhair alaṅkāraiḥ śobhitau kuruta*. It is quite possible that the scholiast may have projected into the Vedic age the ideas and institutions with which he was familiar in his own time. But his interpretation cannot for that reason be dismissed without due consideration, especially where no better explanation is available as an alternative. Another passage of the same kind is *sūrmyaṁ suśirām iva* (RV. viii, 69. 12).

Professor Macdonell could hardly have based his statement on the fact that the *śilpaśāstras* are of a late age.

The basic principles of a system are always much earlier than the system itself.

2. He holds that "the individuality of the Vedic gods being vaguely conceived was differentiated either by the species of animal drawing their cars or by the distinctive weapons held in their hands". Elsewhere he has been more guarded in his statement, for he qualifies "differentiated" by "mainly". The exceptions are both important and numerous: Indra is *susīpra* and *hariśipra* (RV. i, 9. 3 and vi, 29. 6); Rudra is *kapardin* (RV. i, 114. 1) and *tryambaka* (RV. vii, 59. 12); Vāyu is *darśata* (RV. i, 2. 1); the Aśvins are *nāsatyas* (RV. viii, 5. 23); and Varuṇa is spoken of as *bībhrad drāpiṃ hiraṇyayam* (RV. i, 25. 13).

3. Where deities are not represented with more than one head and two arms it is because "their identity is sufficiently established by the animals with which they are associated". "Thus Indra is recognized by his elephant; Sūrya by the seven steeds of his car . . . and Lakṣmī by the two elephants between which she is seated on a lotus." The characteristic mark of Indra or Śakka is his weapon *vajra* and not the elephant, both in Hinduism and in Buddhism. Sūrya's seven steeds are not found in the images. I would merely refer Professor Macdonell to Gangoli's *South Indian Bronzes*, plates 24 and 25, and to the extracts from the *Kāśyapīya* quoted in them. The Lakṣmī referred to by the scholar is Gaja-lakṣmī, only one of the forms of the goddess. We have several forms of Lakṣmī in iconography—Vira-lakṣmī, Vijaya-lakṣmī, Dhana-lakṣmī, etc., besides Gaja-lakṣmī. The mark of the goddess is in every case the lotus in her hand. † Gaurī and Pārvatī have no animals associated with them, but have only two hands. The ancient image of Ardhanaṛiśvara has only two hands, but has no *vāhana*.

4. It is asserted that from the eighth century onwards

Viṣṇu appears with eight arms, Śiva with eight and later sixteen arms, and that Skanda appears in the later sculpture with twelve arms. But there are images with eight hands earlier than the eighth century; for instance, of Trivikrama at Bādāmi, which belongs to the sixth century. So also Varāhamihira describes a Viṣṇu image as one of eight, six, four, or even two hands. This shows that images with more than four arms were known as early as 600 A.C. at the latest. Again, there are several sculptures of an admittedly later age where the image has only two hands and is even without the usual *vāhana*. I may cite as an instance the image of Subrahmaṇya in the Bṛhadiśvara temple at Tanjore. The multiplicity of hands has a significance of its own not noticed by Professor Macdonell. In the sculptures of Ellōra, for instance, Durgā has eight hands, Pārvatī four, and Śrī (Lakṣmī) only two. The last-mentioned goddess is described with only two hands in Hēmadri's *Vratahaṇḍa*, which belongs to the thirteenth century A.C.

5. Professor Macdonell says that "in the course of time the number of arms and heads came to be increased in Hindu iconography". This statement cannot be proved from a chronological arrangement of the Indian sculptures and is distinctly contrary to the data of the Purāṇas. The images of Trivikrama have eight hands at Mahābalipuram and at Bādāmi, but the later ones of Rājim (Central Provinces) and Nuggellaḷi have only four hands. The Vināyaka images of modern times have only two hands, while the ancient ones of Paṭṭiśvaram and Nāgapaṭṇam (Tanjore district) have four. The Gaṇeśa Purāṇa represents Gaṇeśa with eight hands in the Kṛta age, six in the Trēta, four in the Dvāpara, and two in the Kali. The number and disposition of the hands are certainly not actuated by the purpose contemplated by Professor Macdonell, viz. distinctiveness. For the same Purāṇa says that Gaṇeśa had as his *vāhana* the lion in the Kṛta,

the peacock in the Trēta, and the rat in the Kali. This information is found also in the *Śukranītisāra*. Similarly, Sūrya is described in the *Sūryōpaniṣad* as having four arms, but he has two arms in iconography. The *Sūryōpaniṣad* may be later than the ninth century. It has not been commented on by Śaṅkarācārya. But the bronze image of Sūrya in Tanjore is found in a rare temple dedicated to the Sun-god. This temple bears an inscription of Kulottuṅga Chola I (11th cent.). The point of interest is that the two hands of Sūrya in both the image and the Upaniṣad hold only lotuses and no weapons. The other two hands in the Upaniṣad are described as in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. The opinion, therefore, that the additional arms were introduced to wield the characteristic weapons is not substantiated by these instances.

6. I do not know to what date Professor Macdonell would ascribe the *Bhagavad-gītā*. If he agrees that it is anterior to the first century A.C. I need only mention here that Vāsudeva in the *Gītā* has four hands wielding the *cakra* and apparently also the *gadā* and the *śankha*.

7. No one can deny that the ancient stone images of Anantaśayana at Trivandrum, Raṅganātha at Srirangam, Bhōgaśayana of Deogarh, Pralaya Varāha at Mahābalipuram, and Govindarāja at Chidambaram are images of Viṣṇu resting on the characteristic *vāhana*, viz. the serpent Ādiśeṣa, who symbolizes Time. Yet there are four hands in these images. Here, at any rate, the additional hands were not introduced for the sake of distinctiveness as Professor Macdonell would have us believe.

8. Professor Macdonell thinks that such expressions as *viśvatobāhu* and *viśvatōmukha* suggested the representation of Brahmā with four heads and four arms, and that as the Rīgveda contained no suggestion of many heads in the case of the other two leading gods, Viṣṇu

and Śiva, neither of them was represented with more than one head. I wonder if *viśvatōmukha* and *viśvatōbāhu* have any more meaning than *sahasraśīrṣā* and *sahasrapād* in the *Puruṣasūkta*. Do these expressions refer to the multiplication of heads, hands, or feet? Again, does the Veda contain no suggestion of the same kind regarding Śiva? If not in the Rīgveda, at least in the Yajurveda Samhitā we find Rudra spoken of as *sahasrākṣa* and identified with Agni—*Rudro vā īṣa yad agniḥ* (v, 4, 3)—and the Brāhmaṇa has a story how Agni came to be Rudra. Both in the Rīgveda and in the Yajurveda, Agni has three or two heads and seven hands. In the *āgamas* Śiva is *pañcavaktra*. In the *Skandapurāṇa* we have the prayer: *vaktram sadā rakṣatu pañcavaktraḥ* (Brahmottarakhaṇḍa, chap. xii). In one of the *stotras* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya we find *sadānandam īde prabhum pañcavaktram*. It is not true, therefore, that "Śiva never appears either in literature or sculpture with more than one head".

9. The archaic episode of Nala where the gods appear with definite normal human figures is contrasted by Professor Macdonell with the other parts of the Epics and Purāṇas where the deities appear with four arms. His explanation is that the latter works are later, in their present form at least. But it has always been recognized that gods and even *asuras* could assume the normal form whenever they chose (*kāmarūpiṇaḥ*). In the *Mahābhārata* episode of Nala the gods appear in the guise of Nala in order to woo Damayanti, and how else could they appear than in the ordinary human form without being discovered? The very fact that the poet makes the gods appear *like* human beings seems to show that their normal form was superhuman. Similarly in the *Rāmāyaṇa* Rāvaṇa gives up his ten-headed form in order to delude Sītā into thinking that he was a Sannyāsi. This conception of the superhuman form as being alterable at

pleasure only lends weight to the view that the whole thing is symbolical.

Professor Macdonell refutes the assumption that the conception of the gods possessing many arms was simply intended to symbolize the superhuman strength of the divine powers. But his own new theory raises more difficulties than it meets and leaves numerous instances of the superhuman appearances in literature and art—such as multiplicity of eyes, heads, etc.—altogether unaccounted for. The symbolism of Indian art is a wide and difficult subject, and we need not be offended with Western scholars whose views of art may be based on the Greek ideal, if they regard as "monstrosities" those features of Indian art which even modern Indians are but slowly learning to understand. I stop here, as I shall be giving my views *in extenso* with a thorough exploration of detail as far as in me may lie, in my forthcoming work on Indian Iconology.

S. V. VENKATESWARA.

KUMBakonam COLLEGE.

October 25, 1916.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY HINDU ICONOGRAPHY

The preceding paper appears in response to the abstract which was published in this Journal last year, and in which I invited criticisms of my conclusions. It will be simplest to go over the points the writer raises in the order in which they are made.

1. Two passages are quoted as possibly invalidating my statement that images of the gods did not exist in the period of the *Rigveda*. As to the first (*RV.* i, 21. 21), the argument depends on the interpretation of the verb *śumbh*, which in the active means to "adorn". Thus in *RV.* viii, 44. 26: *Agntm śumbhāmi mānmaḥiḥ*, "I adorn Agni with hymns" (Sāyaṇa: *mananīyairiḥ śotrairiḥ śobhayāmi*, "I decorate with estimable praises");

RV. v, 22. 4: *taṃ tvā stómair vardhanty Átrayo, gīrbhīḥ śumbhanty Átrayaḥ*, "so the Atris exalt thee with praises, the Atris adorn thee with songs" (Sāyaṇa: *stotrair vardhayanti, gīrbhir alaṃkurvanti*). The hymn from which Professor Venkateswara quotes begins by invoking Indra and Agni to come to the sacrifice, to receive praise, and to drink the Soma offering. The stanza in question continues: *tā yajñēsu prā śamsata, Indrāgnī śumbhatā, naraḥ, tā gāyatrēsu gāyata*, "these two praise forth at sacrifices, adorn Indra and Agni, O men, to these two sing in Gāyatri measures." As *śumbhata* here comes between two verbs meaning "to praise", there can be no doubt that "with praises" must be supplied. It would be extremely far-fetched to make this word to mean "adorn them (i.e. their images) with ornaments". Even Sāyaṇa cannot be supposed to intend this interpretation. He paraphrases *śumbhata* by *śobhitau kuruta*, "make them adorned," adding *nānāvidhair alaṃkāraḥ*, "with various ornaments," which is parallel to his explanation *gīrbhir alaṃkurvanti* quoted above.

The second passage occurs in a hymn (viii, 69) addressed to Indra, whose powers of drinking Soma are frequently dwelt upon in the *RV.* The rendering of stanza 11 here is: "Indra has drunk, Agni has drunk; all the gods have been exhilarated; let Varuṇa abide here; to him the waters have called aloud, as cows that have young to their calves." Then follows the stanza in question (12): "Thou, O Varuṇa, art a good god, into whose palate (*kākūdam*) the seven rivers flow as into a hollow (*susīrām*) pipe (*sūrmyām*)." This is quite a natural parallel to the drinking powers of Indra, who is elsewhere said to consume three lakes of Soma; and of Varuṇa, as ruler of the waters, it is said (v, 85, 6) that by his occult power (*māyā*) "the rivers swiftly pouring into the ocean do not fill it with water". In the present passage Sāyaṇa himself interprets *kākūdam* by *tālum*

("palate") as equivalent to "ocean" (*samudrākhyam*). I cannot here see any possible reference to images. Perhaps Professor Venkateswara relies on some special meanings attributed to the two words (*sūrmi* and *suśira*) in the simile.¹ Both these words occur in this passage only and consequently have a somewhat doubtful sense. But words with a conjectural meaning must not be used in order to prove a theory of far-reaching importance.

Professor Venkateswara rightly surmises that my view as to the non-existence of images in the early Vedic period is not founded on the lateness of the *Śilpakaṣṭras*. I may add that I do not believe that even the basic principles of those works could possibly go back to a time anterior to the Sūtra period.

2. The writer, I think, misunderstands my real meaning, probably because he knows only my abstract, in which general statements have to be made without the qualifications and explanations accompanying them in the original article. Thus in the latter I say (p. 159): "The outward shape of the gods in the *RV.* thus shows a lack of definiteness and individuality, and references to their form tend to differentiate their personality by the weapons they hold in their hands, or the animals that draw their cars, as tokens of identity." In referring (*ibid.*) to *RV.* viii, 29, where an attempt is made to individualize several gods without mentioning their names, I point out that predominant activities (such as the three strides of Viṣṇu) are used for this purpose as well as distinctive weapons.

There are of course various epithets which are applied in the hymns to one god more than another, or even to one god exclusively, as is fully shown in my *Vedic Mythology*. But those quoted by Professor Venkateswara

¹ I have heard of, though not seen, a contrivance used in India at the present day, by which water is made to drip from a pot through a brass pipe on to the top of a *liṅga* (which is a symbol, not an image). Can he have meant this?

cannot be said to be fortunately chosen. *Dusīprā* is an epithet of Agni, Rudra, and the Rbhus, as well as of Indra. *Hāriṣipra* occurs only twice in the *RV.*, both times, indeed, applied to Indra; but so very rare an epithet as "tawny-lipped" is not distinctive, especially when *hāri*, "tawny," is an attribute of several gods. *Kapardin* describes Pūṣan just as often as Rudra. *Tryāmbaka* is found only once in the *RV.*, and even then is not explicitly applied to Rudra. There are few epithets so little distinctive of any one deity as *darśatā*; it applies to Vāyu only once, but to Agni at least five times, to Uṣas thrice, to Mitra thrice, to Varuṇa twice, and to Sūrya twice. *Nāsatya*, it is true, is peculiar to the Aśvins, but its meaning (as going back to a pre-Vedic age) is obscure, and the term certainly does not suggest any physical appearance to the mind. Varuṇa is only once described as "wearing a golden mantle"; Savitr is also described as putting on his "golden-coloured mantle"; and Soma is twice said to wear a mantle (*drāpī*). It may in fact be said that none of these attributes is distinctive in such a way as to present an individuality to the imagination, or to be of use if it were intended to make any particular god recognizable in the form of an image.

3. What I mean is that the elephant is the characteristic Vāhana of Indra and is quite sufficient in early sculpture to make him recognizable.¹ I have seen such figures in the rock-cut temples, and have photographs of them. Probably no one knows better than I that the *vajra* is the characteristic weapon of Indra.² But I have been unable to quote any example of a figure of Indra distinguished by the *vajra* when he is not seated on his elephant.³ I should be grateful if Professor Venkateswara

¹ In the *Festschrift*, p. 164, n. 4, I point out that even Indra is in quite modern art represented with four arms on his elephant.

² See my *Vedic Mythology*, p. 55.

³ In a ruined temple at Deogarh (Jhansi district) there is a two-armed figure of Indra (c. 700 A.C.) seated on his elephant Airāvata and holding

would give references to such specimens as he knows. In the early Buddhist sculptures Indra is represented as a king, without a *vajra*.¹ The figure of Vajrapāṇi, who holds the bolt in his left hand and is so frequently seen accompanying Buddha in the Gandhāra sculptures, is not Indra.² Professor Venkateswara's statement that "Sūrya's seven steeds are not found in the images" is not correct. Several illustrations of sculptures of the Sun-god with his seven horses have been published in Mr. Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Art in India* (p. 187), in Gopinātha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (plates lxxxviii, lxxxix), and in the *Archaeological Survey of Mayūrabhanja*, vol. i (plate facing p. xiv).³ I myself have five photographs of standing figures of Sūrya with his seven horses, found in different parts of India⁴; and a very early example of the Sun-god driving four horses is to be found on one of the rails at Bodh Gayā. When the figure became stereotyped with a large expanded lotus held in each of his two hands, the horses might easily disappear as they do in the specimens illustrated in Gangoli's *South Indian Bronzes* and in several examples of which I have photographs.⁵

I referred to Gajalakṣmī because that form of the goddess is the earliest represented iconographically, appearing no fewer than ten times on the gateways of Sāncī (c. 150 B.C.). The other forms of Lakṣmī I believe

a *vajra* in his right hand as well; see Gopinātha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, pl. xxxii, pp. 111-12. I possess four photographs of different sculptured figures of Indra seated on his elephant.

¹ See Vincent Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, fig. II, p. 83; fig. 60, p. 109.

² Op. cit., p. 106 f.

³ Op. cit., p. 187; Gopinātha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, pls. lxxxviii, lxxxix; *Archaeological Survey of Mayūrabhanja*, vol. i, plate facing p. xiv.

⁴ At Ellora, Patna, and Konārak.

⁵ One of these, found at Hazaribagh, is even a seated figure, with nothing to identify the god beyond the two lotuses.

to be later developments from this prototype with the elephants left out, when the figure of the goddess, seated on a lotus throne and holding a lotus in her hand, had been sufficiently conventionalized, much in the same way as Sūrya appears without his steeds.

This type of Lakṣmī is constantly found on the reverse of Gupta coins for a period of two centuries (335-530 A.C.).¹ In these she is represented with two arms,² generally seated on a lotus and with a lotus in her left hand. On the coins of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauda (c. 600-625 A.C.), the two elephants, on a very small scale, reappear on each side above the two-armed figure of Lakṣmī seated on a lotus and holding a lotus in her left hand.³ As to Gauri and Pārvatī being represented with two hands even when they have no Vāhana, I have expressly stated that wives of gods appear with only two arms when they are represented beside their spouses,⁴ because their identity is then clear. I have a photograph of a two-armed figure of Pārvatī, represented by herself and seated on a tiger as a Vāhana,⁵ as well as of other goddesses identifiable by the Vāhanas of their respective spouses.⁶ Ardhanārīśvara is so distinctive a figure that both Vāhana and additional hands to hold symbols of identification were quite superfluous.

4. When I spoke of Viṣṇu appearing with eight arms from the eighth century onwards, I had no time to collect evidence beyond what was known to me at the moment

¹ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, London, 1914.

² In the *Festschrift*, p. 162, n. 2, I note that Padmā-Lakṣmī appears with four arms, and p. 164, n. 7, that she is thus depicted by modern Hindu artists.

³ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. 147 f.

⁴ Perhaps this assertion may require modification.

⁵ I have two others from Bodhi Gayā in which a two-armed Pārvatī is seated beside a four-armed Śiva, with Śiva's foot resting on a bull and Pārvatī's on a tiger, represented below.

⁶ Thus, in a photograph I have Indrānī (two-armed) is seated on an elephant (Cuttack district).

of writing. Professor Venkateswara's reference to the eight-armed figure of Trivikrama at Bādāmi and to Varāhamihira's description of an eight-armed image of Viṣṇu now enables us definitely to say that eight-armed figures occur at least as early as 600 A.C.

He next points out that a two-armed image of Subrahmanya at Tanjore has no Vāhana. Having no knowledge of the details of this sculpture (though I probably saw it when I visited Tanjore), I am unable to say anything definite about it. But as it dates from a late period the figure is probably so conventionalized as not to require a means of identification that would have been necessary in early representations of this deity.

I do not know what particular significance Professor Venkateswara attaches to the eight arms of Durgā and the four of Pārvatī at Ellora, but it cannot at least have anything to do with the increase of four arms to eight, because that development had, as his own evidence shows, already been arrived at by 600 A.C. at the latest. The fact that Lakṣmī (presumably not Gaja-lakṣmī) is two-handed at Ellora and is so described by Hemādri (thirteenth century) seems to me only to emphasize the persistence of one of the distinctive features of the original type of this goddess.

5. What I mean is simply that four arms were introduced (in the second half of the first century A.C.) into Hindu iconography later than two, and eight arms (before 600 A.C.) later than four. When the practice of representing gods with many arms had once been established, image-makers had a good deal of latitude in choosing the number, as is indeed shown by the instructions given in the technical treatises. Thus, four-armed or even two-armed images may belong to a later period than those with eight arms, not only in different parts of India but also in the same part.

I am uncertain what value as evidence Professor

Venkateswara attaches to the "information" supplied by the Purāṇas with regard to previous cosmic ages; but the statement of the *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa* that in the Kali (i.e. the present) age Gaṇeśa has two hands is in manifest conflict with the existing images of Gaṇeśa.

When so late and obscure a work as the *Sūrya Upaniṣad* states that *Sūrya* has four arms, that statement can hardly be considered to have any value when it contradicts all the concrete evidence of actual images. As Professor Venkateswara does not quote the words of the *Upaniṣad* I am uncertain whether he means to say that that work also describes the two natural hands as holding the lotuses, while the two added ones exhibit the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. Such a statement would conflict with my assertion that when there are four hands it is the natural ones that are employed in any action or pose, while the added ones then hold the distinctive symbols of the deity. I have adduced as an argument in support of my theory that the additional arms were primarily introduced for the purpose of holding symbols of identification. This view is abundantly illustrated in Gangoly's *South Indian Bronzes* and in Gopinātha Rao's *Elements*. If my generalization is incorrect I hope Professor Venkateswara will bring forward early instances to the contrary.

As to *Sūrya* holding a lotus in each of his two hands and not weapons, my summary was not meant to imply that the symbols of identification must necessarily be weapons, but only something equally suitable for the purpose. There is in the *RV.* no suggestion of any weapon distinctive of *Sūrya*. When this deity came to be represented in sculpture no more graphic symbol could have been chosen than two fully expanded lotuses, which, like sunflowers, resemble the solar disc.

6. The *Bhagavadgītā*, as its date is quite uncertain, cannot be used as evidence of the early existence of the

notion of four-armed gods. Far from being an integral part even of the late form of the *Mahābhārata*, it is not even an archaic narrative episode, but an independent philosophical poem, bearing various signs of lateness, which came to be only loosely connected with the great epic. I certainly do not see any reason to believe that it was composed till some centuries after the introduction of four arms into Hindu iconography.

7. I should say that the normal Vāhana of Viṣṇu is Garuḍa. But the serpent Śeṣa is of course characteristic of him also; and recumbent figures of Viṣṇu with four arms lying on Śeṣa occur several times. But, according to Gopinātha Rao¹ this image should have only two hands, and one of the earliest known examples, that at Mahābalipur,² has only two, and this feature has persisted down to the present day.³ My view is that the motive of distinctiveness in giving an image four arms was present only in the early stage of Hindu iconography, but that when in the course of time Viṣṇu came to be regarded as the characteristically four-armed (*catur-bhuja*) god, this feature was increasingly introduced even when unnecessary. A similar process took place in the case of other gods also. Thus, I have a photograph of a late image of Skanda in which he appears with six heads and twelve arms, though seated on his Vāhana the peacock; while the same deity is represented with two arms only seated on his peacock on coins of Kumāragupta (414-55 A.C.).⁴

8. I certainly take the epithets *viśvāto-mukha* and *viśvāto-bahu*, used in *RV.* x, 81, 3, of Viśvakarmā, to be on the same level as *sahāsra-śīrṣā* and *sahāsra-pād* applied to Puruṣa in x, 90, that is to say, to be figurative expressions. *Viśvāto-mukha* could easily have been applied iconographically to express "looking in all directions",

¹ *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, p. 90.

² *Op. cit.*, pl. xxxi.

³ *Op. cit.*, pl. xxix.

⁴ See Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pp. 84-6.

that is, towards all four points of the compass.¹ But it is obvious that the expressions "thousand-headed" and "thousand-footed," as well as "thousand-eyed",² could not be represented in sculpture.

When in the *RV.* Agni is incidentally said to have three heads, this is a figurative allusion to his burning on three altars.³ I do not know on what evidence Professor Venkateswara bases his statement that Agni is also said to have two heads and seven hands in the *RV.*, as he gives no references.⁴

As to Śiva, I mention in the original article⁵ that some of the Kośas give *pañcānana* and *pañcamukha* among his epithets, and add, "he seems never to be represented thus in actual literature or in sculpture," but "modern Hindu artists sometimes represent him with five heads". I have been unable to find evidence of his appearing thus in early sculpture.⁶ Professor Vogel wrote to me last year to say that he had met with five-headed images of Śiva at Moṇḍi in the Biās Valley, but he did not think they were very ancient. This information and Professor Venkateswara's references to the *Skanda purāṇa*, etc., show that my remark about Śiva seeming never to be represented as "five-faced" in actual literature or in sculpture cannot be upheld.

9. My point about the outward form of the gods when

¹ See *Festschrift*, p. 167, n. 1, where it is pointed out that in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the epithet *catur-mukha* is explained with reference to the points of the compass.

² Applied to Indra and Agni in the *RV.* and to Rudra in the *FS.*

³ Cf. his epithet (vii, 3. 1) *tāpur-mūrdhan*, "having a burning head."

⁴ When Agni is said in the *RV.* to have two births (*dvijānman*) and two mother-parents (*dvimātṛ*), the allusion is to his production from the two kindling sticks (*arāṇis*), and his epithet "seven-rayed" (*septadrāśmi*) refers to the conventional number of his tongues or flames; cf. *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 89, 93.

⁵ *Festschrift*, p. 163, n. 2.

⁶ In the earliest inscribed statue (A.D. 458) of Śiva, found at Kosam, Allahabad, that god (as well as Pārvatī who stands beside him) has one head and two arms.

Nala meets them is that they evidently have the normal human shape because they are not recognized by him as gods till they explain who they are. There is no question here of their changing their appearance before he sees them; they are said to use their power of assuming any shape only when they make themselves exactly like Nala in order to prevent Damayanti from recognizing him. When they resume their own shapes in answer to her prayer, they appear before her with the six characteristic marks of the gods which are enumerated. But not a word is said about their having more than two arms or any other physical feature not to be found in the normal human shape.

From the above remarks it is clear that Professor Venkateswara's criticism corrects some of my statements on points of detail. But it has not, in my opinion, invalidated any of the main conclusions, which are the following:—

1. In the earlier Vedic period the gods were conceived as vaguely anthropomorphic in outward shape, and were not yet iconographically represented.
2. Images of the gods began to be made in the latest Vedic period, from about the fourth century B.C.
3. From about the middle of the first century A.C. gods begin to be represented with four arms on Indian coins.
4. By 600 A.C. the number of arms in some deities is increased to six and eight, and by the eighth century to sixteen.
5. In the earliest period of Hindu iconography an additional pair of arms was introduced to hold symbols for the purpose of differentiating deities when they could not be identified by other means.¹

A. A. MACDONELL.

¹ In a letter dated April 17, 1916, Professor Vogel wrote to me that he agreed with my main conclusions as stated in my article on "The Development of Early Hindu Iconography" in the *Festschrift Ernst Windisch*.

SERAPIS, ISIS, AND MITHRAS

I am sincerely grateful to Mr. Kennedy for his kindly review of my book in the January number of the *Journal* and for the full discussion which appeared in April of some of the points which he says are raised by it.* Yet the evidence as to the worships of the three gods to which he devotes this last article is at once so scanty and so difficult to interpret without long study that it is natural that persons approaching it with different prepossessions should vary a good deal in the conclusions they draw from it. My own view of these worships and their tendencies differs so considerably from that of Mr. Kennedy that it may be convenient to him if I state it now and without waiting for the further contribution he has promised us, so as to give him, if I am wrong, the earliest chance of correcting me.

His main contention, so far as he has gone at present, is that the religions of the Alexandrian divinities and of Mithras did not pave the way for Christianity, a task, he says, reserved for the Roman Empire, which effected it by first making "the ideas of individuality and humanity predominant factors in the social fabric" and then by "inclining the world to accept a new religion from the East". The first of these aims the Empire achieved, according to him, by introducing "order and fixed laws and a universal peace"; but it would be interesting to know at what period of the Empire he thinks this millennial state of things was brought about. Augustus, like Cromwell, Napoleon, and other usurpers of despotic power, was hailed as a saviour of society, and the poets of his time were ready enough to flatter him as the inaugurator of a golden age. Yet, although his assumption of empire closed for a time the era of wholesale proscriptions, because like the dying Spaniard he had killed all his enemies, the pause was but brief, and the reigns of the other Julian Cæsars were as rich in

conspiracies, assassinations, and arbitrary acts of power as the later days of the Republic. Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero all died by violence, and what order there was in the capital was mainly due to the growing power of the Prætorian Guards and the distribution among the mob of doles of wheat. As for law, the Roman Law can hardly be called fixed before Hadrian's reign, did not begin to be codified until that of Diocletian, and can never have affected the greater part of the Roman world until Caracalla placed the Roman citizenship, until then practically confined to Italians, within the reach of all his free-born subjects. Nor, in spite of much that has been written on the Pax Romana, was the empire ever really at peace. Apart altogether from civil wars and rebellions, Rome was constantly fighting the Parthians and their successors the Persians from Augustus to Heraclius, and it would be difficult to fix a time during the first three centuries of our era when the Imperial armies were not on active service either within or without its borders.¹

It is often said, however, that although disorder rather than order thus reigned in the capital, the provinces were throughout Imperial times well governed. Even this is doubtful, for taxation always pressed hardly upon them, and the proconsular system was open to grave abuse. But it must not be forgotten that the first Christians were Jews, and that if the establishment of the Empire indeed paved the way for Christianity, it is to the Primitive Church that we should expect its supposed benefits to have appealed. Yet we find among the Jews from the reign of Augustus onwards a steadily increasing hatred of Rome and its rule, culminating in the savage

¹ Some admirers of Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* have asserted that the human race was never so happy as under the peaceful government of the Antonines. They forget the terrible war against the German Marcomanni and Quadi, the fighting on the Persian frontier, and the rebellion of Avidius Cassius.

revolts which led to the destruction of the Temple by Titus and the yet more dreadful war of extermination under Hadrian. That the Christians, although they had much to complain of in the Jews' treatment of themselves, fully shared their fellow-countrymen's views in this respect, is now coming to be admitted, and Professor Gilbert Murray has lately told us that to understand the attitude of the Primitive Church towards the Roman Empire we have only to read the Book of Revelation with its denunciation of Rome as Babylon, her emperor as the Beast, and its exultant description of the "plagues" that are coming upon her.

Mr. Kennedy's second point need not detain us long, for it seems to me open to the same reproach of anachronism as his first. The Imperial form of government can hardly be said to have been thoroughly established until long after Christianity had made its way among the Gentiles¹; but still less can it be said that it was needed to induce the world to accept a new religion from the East. In 204 B.C. during the stress and strain of the Second Punic War the Roman Republic imported from Phrygia the worship of the Mother of the gods, and it remained a state institution on the Palatine until involved in the ruin of all Pagan cults. About the same time a temple to the Greek Isis, whose worship had spread to Athens soon after its institution, was raised at Puteoli, and the cult of Mithras reached Rome some hundred years later. What need, then, to attribute to a change of government the acceptance of a new religion from the East, when at least three others had preceded it into the West several centuries earlier?

This is all that I wish to say with regard to Mr. Kennedy's conclusions; but in the premises on which he bases them there are a few points in which

¹ A desire to return to a republican form of government was much in evidence after the murder of Caligula.

his readings of the facts seem to differ from mine. He says that "the Semitic god"—it is plain from the context that he is referring to the Syrian Baal known to the Romans as Jupiter Dolichenus, Heliopolitanus, and the like—"was able and willing to help, a very real god, *omnipotens* and *aeternus* were his common epithets, but his commonest was θεὸς ἐπήκοος, the hearer of prayer." It may be so, for our only information about the Roman worship of these Syrian deities is derived from a few statues and votive inscriptions; but ἐπήκοος, so far from being, as Mr. Kennedy's words suggest, specially applied to the Baals, is used by Pindar with regard to the Homeric gods¹ who were, as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* show in nearly every line, quite as much "hearers of prayer" as any outlandish divinities. The epithet *omnipotens* also, as M. Graillet has conclusively shown, was identified with Attis and Cybele,² who were certainly not Semitic gods, and *aeternus* was shared by them with a great many divinities, including Jupiter. In like manner Mr. Kennedy implies that Tiberius "crucified the priests of Isis" as such, whereas Saturninus only reports him to have condemned to the cross a few who were concerned in the imposition practised on Paulina.³ Nor does it seem accurate to say that "the native Egyptians refused to admit Serapis within their city walls". In the Serapeum at Memphis the Greek chapel, as one may call it, is indeed divided from the Egyptian temple of Serapis by a long avenue of sphinxes, but there

¹ *Olymp.* 14, 21. So Plato, *Phileb.* 25b, *Legg.* 931b. Cf. O. Weinreich in *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1912, pp. 1-68, where the epithet is discussed with reference to the ex voto representation of an ear to which it is often appended.

² "Les Dieux Tout Puissants Cybèle et Attis": *Rev. Arch.*, 1904, pp. 324, 325.

³ Tacitus, *Ann.* ii, 85, probably reduces the affair to its true proportions when he says that an attempt was made to suppress the Egyptian and Jewish superstitions by transporting those addicted to them to Sardinia.

is no reason to suppose that in this as in other Egyptian cities the Greek worshippers of Isis had not temples of their own when sufficiently numerous. Nor can it be said that the "Fathers seldom refer to Isis or Serapis". Clement of Alexandria may only mention Serapis eleven times, but as head of a catechetical school this especial Father was preaching to the converted and had no occasion to mention heathen gods at all. Tertullian found it necessary to account for Serapis' popularity by declaring that he was the patriarch Joseph; Origen uses it as an argument against the Greek theory that people should honour only the gods of their own country; the whole discussion in Minucius Felix arises from the typical but subsequently converted Pagan Cæcilius saluting the image of Serapis which is passing; Arnobius rejoices over the burning of Serapis' temple in Rome as a proof of the inefficiency of the gods whom Rome had adopted from Egypt; and the Church historians all hail the sacking of the Alexandrian Serapeum by Theophilus as the greatest blow till then struck at Paganism.¹

With regard to Mithras also, I do not agree with Mr. Kennedy's reading of his sources. M. Cumont and M. Graillot agree that the *taurobolium* was not a baptism imposed, as Mr. Kennedy implies, on every initiate into the Mithraic rites, but was on the contrary a ceremony originally belonging to the worship of Cybele and only practised by a few favoured persons.² The legend of severe trials or "tortures" for Mithraic initiates, which goes back, I think, to Moore's *Epicurean*, is equally

¹ The measure of the Christians' fear of the rivalry of the Isiac and Mithraic religions is given by their savage destruction of the temples of Mithras under Gratian and of Serapis under Theodosius and their jubilation over the results. *Oderint dum metuant*.

² Cumont, *Myst. de Mithra*, 1913, p. 86; Graillot, *op. cit.*, pp. 343, 344. Yet the Mithraists had a baptism of water for the remission of sins which was apparently given to every initiate. See *Forerunners*, ii, p. 269, n. 5, for authorities.

baseless, and I have said elsewhere that the Mithræa yet discovered are all too tiny for any such tests of courage not as purely symbolical or "make-believe" as the Masonic to have been used therein. There is no reason for thinking that the priests of Mithras delivered "discourses" in their caves, the passage which Mr. Kennedy quotes from Justin Martyr merely saying that those who handed down the mysteries "contrived to use the words of righteousness", the allusion being to some words of Isaiah to which Justin probably thought he saw a likeness in some lost work on Mithras worship such as the writings of Eubulus and Pallas.¹ Nor can it be said with Mr. Kennedy that Mithras was "only one of the various sun-gods who were striving for supremacy". Small as is our written evidence for the real nature of the Mithraic teaching, the scenes in which Mithras is represented as driving in the chariot with Helios or Sol, receiving his homage, and ascending with him to the celestial light, shows that he was not identified with any classical sun-god by his worshippers.²

Not less unconsciously misleading, I think, is Mr. Kennedy when he treats the religions of Serapis, Isis, and Mithras as having the same characteristics and assigns the tenets of one to the other. Thus, he attributes the doctrine of metempsychosis to the Alexandrian religion as well as to the Mithraic, although there is no trace of it in either Apuleius or Ælius Aristides. He says, too, that I lay what he seems to consider unwarranted stress on the monotheism of both faiths. Of the monotheism of the Alexandrian I have no doubt whatever, and I have in a special study sought to show that Serapis, Isis, and Horus were to their worshippers

¹ Not the "Mithræa mysteriorum antistites", but *οἱ τὰ τοῦ Μίθραος μυστήρια παραδιδόντες*. Justin's text is given in Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, ii, p. 20.

² See *Forerunners*, ii, pp. 240, 241, 244, 247.

"three persons and one god" in a very real sense.¹ But the Mithraic belief is in a perfectly different category. Circumstantial as the evidence is, the many altar-pieces in which the Tauroctony figures below an arch filled with the Græco-Roman pantheon headed by Jupiter show conclusively to my mind that Mithras was never looked upon as the Supreme Deity, but as the vicegerent of a higher power who after the fashion of the time was considered to manifest himself in nature under various forms. The parallel between this and the system of the *Pistis Sophia*, where the Ineffable One reigns supreme over all that is, but exercises his sway through the First Mystery with whom Jesus identifies Himself, is exact.

This brings me back to Mr. Kennedy's contention that the worship of Serapis, Isis, and Mithras did not pave the way for Christianity. I have elsewhere said that to my mind Christianity in its inception neither borrowed nor wanted any help from earlier religions. But it seems to me useless to deny that many of its practices—monachism and the tonsure, for instance—were adopted from the Alexandrian worship and perhaps others from that of Mithras also. What I have been concerned to show is that these faiths exercised a very cogent influence on the Gnostic sects whose relics I have studied, and that in particular it is impossible to understand the language of writings like the *Pistis Sophia*, the Bruce Papyrus, and the Manichæan treatises without a knowledge of those pre-Christian faiths. This is my reason for having given some account of them in my book.

Finally, may I say that I cannot share Mr. Kennedy's admiration for what he calls generically Gnosticism, or think with him that it expressed ideas which the world

¹ "The Greek Worship of Serapis and Isis": PSBA. 1914, pp. 68-79. One need hardly, however, go beyond the votive inscription of Arrius Balbinus, "Thou the one who art all things," quoted by Mr. Kennedy.

will not willingly let die?¹ It seems to me that it was founded on a conception of the universe and man's place in it which we now know to be erroneous, and if followed to its logical conclusion would have led to the negation of all religion whatever. Few human institutions are entirely evil, but it is probable that the only beneficent work of Gnosticism was fulfilled when it became a stepping-stone for the ancient world on its way from Paganism to the Christianity which not only provided a much-needed bond of unity to the Western world, but preserved for it in a form capable of revival the most valuable features of the Greek culture. Yet I am now, as always, open to be convinced.

F. LEGGE.

MANUSCRIPT REMAINS OF BUDDHIST LITERATURE

The following note, communicated to me by Professor Sylvain Lévi, may be of general interest.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

Le texte 9 des "Miscellaneous Fragments edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas" (*Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, vol. i, pp. 121-5) est un fragment du Sūryagarbha sūtra. Averti par le nom du ṛṣi Kharuṣṭa qui s'y trouve mentionné, M. Thomas avait eu la bonté de rappeler à ce propos un article que j'avais publié dans le Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, vol. iv, pp. 543-79, "especially p. 565." J'y signalais un véritable cours d'astronomie professé par le ṛṣi Kharoṣṭra à l'usage des dieux. Le fragment 9 fait partie de cet exposé; mais la version chinoise due à Narendrayaśas ne suit pas le même ordre que l'original sanscrit. Le recto de la page et la première ligne du verso correspondent dans la version chinoise (*Ta fang teng ta tsi king*, ch. 42; éd. Tōkyō, iii, 3) aux colonnes 15-20 de p. 40^b et aux

¹ JRAS. 1917, p. 166.

colonnes 1-3 de p. 41^a. Les lignes 2-9 du verso correspondent aux colonnes 15-20 de p. 42^a, et aux colonnes 1-3 de p. 42^b. La version chinoise introduit donc entre ces deux portions du texte un long développement, près de 3,000 caractères.

La similarité avec le fragment 6 signalée par M. Thomas s'explique aisément. L'un (*Candragarbha*) et l'autre (*Sūryagarbha*) proviennent d'un manuscrit du Mahāsaṃnipāta où ces deux sūtra se trouvent incorporés. Me sera-t-il permis de rappeler que j'avais attiré l'attention sur la popularité de la collection Mahāsaṃnipāta dans l'Asie Centrale? (Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, vol. v, pp. 253 sqq.).

THE MAQAMAT OF BADI' AZ ZAMAN AL-HAMADANI

Professor Hirschfeld in his recension of the translation by Mr. Prendergast states that only a few of the Maqāmāt had been translated into German before the present complete version, referring to Amthor's rather poor rendering of eight pieces published in 1841. However, all the remaining Maqāmāt have also been translated into German by Dr. O. Rescher, which translation appeared in book form of only 100 copies (Leonberg) in 1913. This translation, which is in rhymed prose, is based in addition to the available printed editions (Teherān 1296, Stambul 1298 A.H., and Beirouth 1889 A.D.) upon manuscripts in Constantinople which Rescher was able to consult there, and which gave some improved readings of text. At Dr. Rescher's request I looked through the proof-sheets of his translation as they were printed off, and I expressed to him my opinion that the interest in this class of Arabic literature was hardly worth the amount of labour bestowed upon it, as Hamadānī's taste would hardly appeal to European readers; but opinions may differ in this respect. Hamadānī is more natural in his style than

his imitator al-Hariri, but after all gives an overdrawn picture of the life in his times. The best biographies of Hamadāni are found in Yāqūt's *Irshād*, i, 97-118, and Tha'ābibi *Yatima*, iv, 167-204. As the translation of Dr. Rescher may not be obtainable, I shall be pleased to place my copy at the disposal of scholars who wish to pursue this class of literature further.

F. KREMKOW.

THE MINOR FRIARS IN CHINA

It is only since the publication of the January Journal that I have been able to see the modern text of Marignolli in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, of which I first learnt the existence from M. Cordier's note on p. 202 of *Cathay*, vol. iii. The text occupies pp. 492-604 of tom. iii of *Fontes Rer. Boh.*, Prag, 1882, and is edited by Jos. Emler with introduction (pp. 487-490) and brief footnotes. It appears to be a literal transcript of the MS. (which the editor seems to date from the 15th century), with modern punctuation.

In the passages printed in the January Journal Emler's text differs from that of Dobner in some small points of spelling (e for æ, c for t, etc.), in the use of capitals (imperator, papa, etc.; but Francia for *francia*, etc.), in the very frequent omission of the comma before &, in printing et for &, in the disuse of italics except in the words *Credo . . . deum* and *De . . . hystoria*, and in the following instances:—

DOENER	EMLER
p. 26. inseramus. Nos	inseramus, nos
27. <i>Bysinianensis</i>	Bisynianensis
<i>Jaunensium</i>	Januensium
LXXII.	72
dona Pape,	dona pape;
missas, baptizavimus	missas et baptizavimus

DÖBNER	ENLIER
28. <i>Cyollos Kagon</i> psalmo nobis, eramus Habent etiam	Cyolloskagan psalmis nobis. Eramus Habent enim
29. Impe[ra]tor <i>Mauzi</i>	imperator Manzi
(and so below)	
30. <i>Ethiope</i> <i>latina,</i> M. & unquam. Ubi armatorum, incred depositorium, habent ebdomade terram <i>Nimbar</i>	<i>Ethiopie</i> <i>latina;</i> mille et unquam; ubi armatorum. Incred depositorium. Habent ebdomadis Terram Mimbar

The passages in question are found in *Fontes Rer. Boh.*, tom. iii, pp. 494-497, 499, 500. Sir H. Yule would have been specially interested to learn that the Prag MS. really reads Manzi and Mimbar, if not (as one may still suspect) Minibar.

In my own transcript of Dobner's text the following corrections should be made:—p. 1. Cronicam; p. 27. quadragesimæ; p. 30. inferiori. And on p. 19 the version of the Pope's letter should begin: "Amongst the other anxieties which are laid on us from the duty of the pastoral office committed to us *etc.*"

A. C. M.

PINHEY MEMORIAL MEDAL OF THE HYDERABAD ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Hyderabad Archæological Society, on April 21, 1916, decided that a Gold Medal be instituted to commemorate the memory of Sir Alexander Pinhey, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the Founder and first President of the Society.

Regulations

1. The Pinhey Memorial Gold Medal shall be awarded triennially for the best work on Deccan Archaeology or History, in accordance with the subjoined conditions.

2. The competition shall be open to scholars in any part of the world.

3. Competitors shall submit a thesis on any subject chosen by themselves relating to Deccan Archaeology or History. The thesis should be an unpublished work, or, if published, it should not have been published more than two years before its submission for the Pinhey Medal.

4. Theses for the first competition will be received up to the end of October, 1918, and subsequently in the October of every third year, i.e. in October, 1921, 1924, and so on.

5. If the selected thesis is an unpublished work, the Society, at the recommendation of the Council, shall have the right to publish it in the Society's Journal.

6. If in the opinion of the Council none of the theses submitted in any year are of special value, the Medal shall not be awarded in that year.

7. If a thesis is written in any language other than English, the competitor shall furnish an English translation thereof.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

JATAKA TALES, selected and edited with Introduction and Notes. By H. T. FRANCIS and E. J. THOMAS. pp. xiv, 488. Cambridge, 1916.

The present collection is extremely interesting from more than one point of view, especially in being a selection of Oriental tales of a definite literary origin. For out of the sea of Buddhist tales called the Jataka the authors have fished up some of the numerous pearls, have polished them a little, separated them from the mass in which they have been embedded, and have strung them together and presented them to the Western reader. We find among these tales, some well known, others less well known, fables of animals, apologues, stories of monks, as they have been told many centuries ago. It may be that by this process of elimination the original form of the fables and tales may have been recovered. It is not unlikely that the primitive form was very much akin to this latest presentation before the tale or fable had been used for a didactic purpose, to inculcate a moral or to explain an act in the life of the Holy One. They were then adapted to a specific purpose. Now they have been freed from these external encumbrances. They had been invented for that very purpose, and have afterwards by a process of elimination and modification become simple tales, told independently for their own sakes. Herein lies one of the drawbacks of the collection from the wider point of view. The tales have been taken out of their setting. One single incident and no more which such a tale is in the little drama of the Jataka, becomes now self-contained. It is no longer an apt illustration of an old *çloka*, not the solution of an eschatological riddle, but a mere play of fancy, the child of poetic imagination.

The whole scene has vanished. We see no longer that dainty picture of the Master lovingly surrounded by faithful disciples; the personal touch, the human outlook, are no longer there. But the tale, bare as it is, has still a claim upon our attention, and it receives it in this well-considered and carefully selected collection. Each tale, moreover, has a life of its own, and it is not the least fascinating chapter in the modern study of folklore to follow up the life-story of a fable or a tale. Either earlier than the Jataka or becoming detached from it—and it is a moot question not easy to be solved—this selfsame tale occurs often elsewhere, either independently in the modern collections of folktales gathered comparatively recently from the mouth of the people or in other collections of a more ancient literary origin. They are also found among the European folktales with noteworthy and significant variations and modifications. The authors have not lost sight of this important aspect in the evolution of the fables and tales. In the notes appended numerous parallels have been adduced. They have, of course, not exhausted the number, and were the book one only dedicated to the comparative study of folktales more would have been demanded of them. But one must be thankful for as much as has already been given.

There is now one side issue upon which I cannot forbear from touching. Here we have an unintentional proof for the migration of tales from East to West. The interest in such tales has always been keen. If not for it, this book may possibly also not have been published. This is a mere repetition of the history of the spread of the Panchatantra and other Eastern stories in the Middle Ages, also favoured by the discovery of printing. Before that time it travelled either in a written form or by way of mouth as an orally recounted tale or apologue. They always found their way from country to country. But then such books were "cheap books", the ware of the

cheapman. This collection, however, is so expensively and so well printed that it cannot easily get into the cheapman's sack, and from his into that of the folk. I sincerely trust that the authors and publishers will consider favourably the advisability of issuing a cheap reprint of a book which has so much to recommend it to a larger public as has this collection of old Indian tales.

M. G.

THE IDEAS OF THE WESTERN SEMITES CONCERNING THE
NAVEI OF THE EARTH. By A. J. WENSINCK. pp. xii,
65. Amsterdam, October, 1916.

When the pious monk at Athos or some ascetic recluse in the Buddhist monasteries in the East was lost in the contemplation of his navel, he reached this ecstatic state not by this concentration of mind and will on one portion of his own body. He contemplated symbolically and figuratively the navel of the earth, the centre of the Universe. In his cosmogonic conceptions the earth was a flat salver with some uneven protuberances covered by the cup of the heaven. The centre of the earth, a prominent mountain peak, was as it were the starting-point from which the creation proceeded. It was the place first touched by the hand of the creative power, and thus endowed with special pre-eminence far above that enjoyed by any other portion of this earth. It became then the centre of worship, the place nearest to heaven. It stood under divine direct protection, which was extended to those who lived near it or under its shadow. For it was believed to be a prominent hill or mountain, a peak upon which the heavens rest, or a rock of extraordinary shape and virtue. The mountain, for in most cases it is a mountain, is also the source of fertility, and in its caves the entrance to the nether world was to be found. The studies initiated by Roscher in his *Omphalos* are now taken up by Professor Wensinck, who wisely limits his

investigations to the North-West Semites, notably Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic traditions. He follows up in a systematic and painstaking manner all the traces of these traditions found in the literatures of these peoples. He arranges them in groups, and discusses the details with the aid and at the hands of the original sources. The author displays great ingenuity in the conclusions which he draws from philological deductions as well as from the comparisons of local written and oral traditions. Much of the old Pagan law, especially the pre-Islamic, appears now in a different light. Of no mean importance is the conclusion to which Professor Wensinck comes as to the dependence of Islamic beliefs and traditions on Jewish lore and on the transfer of Jerusalem legends to Mecca and the Kaaba.

I should like to add that Professor Wensinck might have referred more fully (pp. 11 ff.) to the Samaritan traditions which cluster round Mount Garazim and show close parallels to those connected with Mount Zion. It is to be regretted that Professor Wensinck should quote the *Midrash Rabbah* by folios, which vary in every edition, instead of the constant chapters and paragraphs.

The book is sure to prove very stimulating to the student of Semitic traditions as well as to the folklorist. The author deserves the thanks of scholars for this excellent and exhaustive monograph.

M. G.

SISSIYANU SISSA PARAMPARAWA, and other Laws relating to Buddhist Priests in Ceylon, being a Dissertation for the Degree of Master of Laws of the University of Cambridge. By GEORGE WILLIAM WOODHOUSE. American Ceylon Mission Press, 1916.

The author of this valuable essay observes in his preface that Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law has, so far as Ceylon is concerned, not engaged the attention of writers.

We can understand a certain backwardness in writers when we find that the study of law as administered in the island in general has to cover Roman-Dutch Law, different local laws for different sections (e.g. Tamils) of the community, the code of Mohammedan Law, portions of English Law and Ordinances passed by the local legislature, for instance, the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance of 1905, which defines the status of the Buddhist Church. Mr. Woodhouse defines the limits of his dissertation at the beginning, explaining that it deals only with Laws and Customs "relating to the priests of the Orthodox Buddhist Church". In this connexion it is curious to hear that the King of England is head of the Buddhist Church, as the Kandyan King was before the old native kingdom of Kandy came under British rule in 1815.

Nevertheless, the Civil Courts do not exercise jurisdiction over the religious community except where abuses occur in regard to property and civil rights. They do not interfere with purely ecclesiastical matters. These are left to be settled by the ecclesiastical authorities. In the eye of the Law, we are told, the constitution of the Buddhist Church is based in some measure upon statute law, but mostly upon usage which has acquired the force of law, and upon judicial decisions. The whole subject is illustrated by numerous decisions, from 1835 onwards, which will have particular interest for legal readers.

In the section entitled "The Priesthood" we have another view of the constitution of the Buddhist order of monks. Here the author gives a concise account of the traditional constitution of the Sangha as laid down in the Pali canonical and mediaeval writings. There are, of course, references to the works of Pali and Sinhalese scholars (Gogerly, S. Hardy, Wijesinghe).

At this stage students of the old Pali Vinaya may begin to think they are going to keep abreast with the legal expert; but they will soon drop behind. However, they

will be not the less interested in some modern points, such as "[a Buddhist priest] is also privileged from serving as an assessor or juror at Criminal Sessions; and is immune from arrest for civil debt while performing the functions of his office".

The Law of Inheritance or Succession, as treated by Mr. Woodhouse, has to do first with the "earthly possessions" of the Buddhist monk. This phrase would originally only cover the eight requisites (*parikkhāra*) of the wandering recluse bound by a vow of poverty. It now implies property both movable and immovable. The Courts therefore have to judge certain questions, e.g. the rights of temporal representatives of a deceased monk or of his spiritual successor, as the case may be. The monk may dispose of his private property by deed or will, but not of temple property, for which he may be trustee. Next we come to the rules regulating "spiritual succession", that is, succession to incumbency of a *vihāra*; the general and old rule being that the pupil (*sissia*) is the heir. Mr. Woodhouse has come to the conclusion that the Buddhist rules regulating the spiritual succession "are based on the old Hindu law regulating religious endowments". Without venturing to question his conclusion, reached after long and close study of the subject, we must remark that though the rules of succession may have been formulated in the Buddhist community about "the 1st century B.C." this was not the date of "the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon". The archæological evidence for an earlier date, even if there were no other, would satisfy Mr. Woodhouse in his most judicial mood, if he had given attention to it.

The essay is very short and crammed with knowledge. The author speaks of an intention to produce a bigger work (his own word is "pretentious") on the same subject. It is to be hoped that he will carry out his plan.

M. H. B.

NICHIREN, THE BUDDHIST PROPHET. By MASAHARU ANESAKI, M.A., Litt.D. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1916.

When the learned author of *Nichiren* was Professor of Japanese Literature and Life at Harvard, he was urged by Professor Royce to write something on the subject of the present work. The request arose from a reference to the Prophet of Japan occurring in Dr. Anesaki's essay on the *Buddhist Conception of Life*, which had been designed as a counterpart to the Harvard Professor's treatment of the Christian doctrines of life (in his book *The Problem of Christianity*). The life of Nichiren, as told in this instructive book, is more than the record of one man's days; it is a summary of spiritual events in Japanese life centuries ago. How these have had their later effect, in the Nichirenite revival of the present time, is shown by the author in a very interesting passage of his Introduction.

Nichiren, the fisherman's son, was an outstanding figure in the thirteenth century. He was a Buddhist of the troubled "Latter Days", an ardent reformer, a man of faith and proud self-confidence. Moreover, he was one without fear of speaking bitter truths and defying authority. A spiritual leader he was also a patriot, and, to the end, a lover of his native village by the sea. Nichiren was born in 1222 and died in 1282. His monastic training began at the age of 11. Of his sixty years of life many were spent in study, and his works show wide learning and experience of the teaching and practice of many schools of Buddhism besides Shinto and Confucianism. He was not the less a man of one idea and one resolve. His own teaching centred on the exclusive worship and study of the Saddharma-puṇḍarika, of which he favoured Kumārajīva's Chinese translation (A.D. 407).

This text, "The Lotus of the Perfect Law," was Nichiren's inspiration from early manhood to the end of his life. The revelation borne in on his mind by his own reading, spiritual and intensely personal at the same time, of the discourses and prophecies of the text, was for him the one and absolute Truth, and by it he set himself to live. He never wavered in his conviction that he was the re-incarnation of the saint Viśiṣṭacaritra, primeval disciple of Sakyamuni, and that he, Nichiren, was predestined to establish the only true religion of the Buddha in the days of the Latter Law, when all other forms of Buddhism should have arisen successively and come to an end. Nichiren was a reformer in many senses. As a Buddhist teacher he would not have any compromise with the enervating mysticism and superstition that he encountered in all classes in Japan. As a patriot he was revolted by Hindu influences in religion, degeneracy in official Buddhism, corruption and disloyalty in secular government, and general falling away from faith and virtue in the people. He foresaw and warned his fellow-countrymen of the peril of the Mongol invasion, which did, in fact, come to pass in his own time. Nichiren, indeed, thought that his people deserved the scourge, yet, with a characteristic loftiness of feeling, he wrote when the news of invasion came: "The *Little Mongols* have come to attack *Great Japan*." His mind went forward to the hope of a Japan purged by suffering, renewed and won to the true faith.

For a great part of his life as a teacher, Nichiren suffered persecution and exile. His sufferings are known to us by passages of his writings which reflect another side of this strenuous reformer. He had the experiences that come to natures gifted for human relations and framed no less for communion with nature. He gives us glimpses of life in a forest hermitage, delicate pictures of moonlight and rain and meditation in a lovely peace.

And there are letters to disciples that reveal very touchingly a great devotion given and returned. The last eight years of Nichiren's life were spent in the tranquil spot called by him the "earthly paradise". He was not a man to neglect at any time the necessary, practical life of humanity. As he had never ceased, in a life of religious renunciation, to strive for his country's betterment and care for its safety, so in the seclusion of his later years he dwelt much on the thought of establishing a definite centre on earth for the Buddhist religion. His plan united the ideal and the practical. He aimed at founding what his biographer calls the Holy See of Buddhism. The Japanese teacher could conceive only Japan as the visible centre of the faith; but yet to Nichiren the mystic Japan meant "the whole world". "The individual, the nation, the world, and the kingdom of Buddha—these terms stand for different aspects of the one ideal." "The Holy Catholic Church of Buddhism is to have the world, the whole Cosmos, as its stage; while the Cosmos is not to be conceived as a mere universe in space, but essentially exists in the heart of every true Buddhist." In these phrases his conception of the Holy See is summed up.

Professor Anesaki's brief treatment of Nichiren's life and doctrine is admirable in style, in clearness of arrangement, and choice of essential points. His analysis of the *Saddharmapundarika* will help readers unfamiliar with the text itself to grasp the tradition to which Nichiren adhered, and the study of his personality conveys without effort or even much colouring a deep impression of the power, vision, and faith of the prophet of Japan from the first inward revelation of his mission until, worn out with hardship and struggle, he died surrounded by his disciples, peacefully joining with them in the "Stanzas of Eternity".

Professor Anesaki has added as Appendix a lucid

chapter on the "Buddhist Conception of Reality" and the Orthodox Middle Path of Mahāyāna Doctrine. Even with the Appendix he has compressed his substantial little book into 160 pages. The reader who likes to skip will be puzzled where to begin; the student will reap a reward of knowledge very happily imparted.

M. H. B.

MEMORIES OF SIR WILLIAM MARKBY, K.C.I.E. By his Wife. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1917.

In this book Lady Markby has written briefly a life of her husband. Born in 1829 he went up to Oxford, entering at Merton College in 1846, and took his degree with first class honours in Mathematics in 1850. Soon afterwards he studied law and was called to the Bar in 1856. Before that, and also in after years, he paid frequent visits to the Continent, making the acquaintance of many distinguished men; and he gave valuable help too to Mrs. Austin, who was editing her husband's lectures on Jurisprudence. In 1863 he was appointed Recorder of Buckingham, and in 1866 a Judge of the High Court at Calcutta. He then married Mrs. Austin's grand-niece and the next twelve years were spent in India, where he established a distinguished reputation as a Judge. In 1871 he published his well-known work, the *Elements of Law*. He retired in 1878 and took up the newly created position of Reader in Indian Law in Oxford under the scheme for training Indian Civil Service probationers there, and helped greatly to the success of the scheme. The Colleges and University bestowed honours on him, and he received a knighthood in 1889. He took a prominent part in the University, in the County Council, in political affairs, and in many branches of social amelioration for some thirty years, but was then obliged

gradually to restrict his activities and passed away quietly in October, 1914.

The two spheres of his life that touch the scope of this Journal were his judicial service in India and his subsequent connexion with India, though in retirement, when his influence over the probationers was real and appreciated. He was always a liberal, advanced and independent, yet ever judicially-minded, and his advice was constantly sought upon important questions. While in India he chafed at much of its officialism, and insisted on the need for higher training in law for all persons connected with the law, whether judges or advocates. On this matter his views are stated plainly yet briefly, in which he maintained the essential importance of legal attainments in judicial appointments, even apart from knowledge and experience of India and its peoples; and much has since been done to remedy the defects he pointed out. In politics he desired reforms and looked with favour on the Indian Congress movement.

These *Memories* are charmingly written. All the main events of Sir William's long and distinguished life, whether private or public, are narrated, not at length or elaborately, yet with sufficient touch to set them happily in clear and fair perspective.

F. E. P.

BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA, SIKKIM. By L. S. S. O'MALLEY, Indian Civil Service. Cambridge : University Press. 1917.

This is one of the series of Provincial Geographies of India, published under the general editorship of Professor Sir T. H. Holland. Bengal itself forms a true geographical area, to which the small border state of Sikkim may naturally be attached. The Province of Bihar and Orissa is a mere political expedient combining two areas

with no geographical unity. All these territories, however have been so long linked together administratively, that a moderate-sized geography could hardly deal with them otherwise than conjointly.

This account deals first with the physical conditions, the mountains and hills, rivers, estuaries and ports, islands, climates, geology and minerals; next with the natural history, the flora and forests and zoology; it then reviews the human conditions, the various peoples, their religions and languages in past times and at present, agriculture, industries and trade; and concludes with notices of those who have been distinguished in history, science, literature, etc., and of the chief towns. All these subjects, with one qualification, have been well surveyed and ascertained, and are here described succinctly and clearly in their general aspects, diversified with many notices of interesting special or local peculiarities, and clearly presented to the eye by well-executed illustrations. That one qualification comprises the subjects of ethnology, ancient history and religion. On the two former of these subjects Mr. O'Malley has summarized our knowledge so far as it is accepted at present; but it is doubtful whether sound ethnological conclusions can safely be formed according to such ready formulæ as have been framed in the past. The subject of religion is the most complicated and difficult of all that he has discussed, because of the extraordinary differences in the religious and social culture among the heterogeneous peoples treated of, and certain general remarks that he has quoted from the *Round Table* are smart rather than accurate. Still, taken all in all, his descriptions are a fair attempt to set out concisely what rather baffles being summarized.

The book is clearly and attractively written, and contains a large amount of information well selected and co-ordinated.

THE MIRROR OF GESTURE: being the Abhinaya Darpaṇa of Nandikēśvara. Translated into English by ANANDA COOMARASWAMY and GOPALA KRISTNAYYA DUGGIRALA. With Introduction and Illustrations. 8vo; pp. i, 52, with 14 plates. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press. 1917.

The Abhinaya-darpaṇa is a little Sanskrit manual of the art of gesticulation as practised in the drama and mimetic dances of India, and was originally published with a Telugu interpretation by Māḍabhūṣi Tiruvēṅkatāchārlu from the Vyavahāra-taraṅgiṇi Press at Madras in 1874. The volume now before us is a translation of that work in its second edition (1887), with a preface by Dr. Coomaraswamy. The Abhinaya-darpaṇa is ascribed by itself to the legendary Nandikēśvara. The author, evidently a person with a gentle sense of humour, preludes it with a little dialogue in which the god Indra entertains Nandikēśvara to favour him with a recitation of the Bharatārṇava, an exposition of the art of dancing, but on learning that this work contains 4,000 ślokaś he hastily changes his mind and prays for a more concise discourse, whereupon Nandikēśvara obliges him with the Abhinaya-darpaṇa, which, he assures him, is an abridgment of the formidable Bharatārṇava.

The author then proceeds to define *nāṭya*, the dances performed in drama combined with the plot, *nṛtya*, the mimetic dance inspired with the æsthetic qualities (*rasa*, *bhāva*, etc.), and *nṛtta*, mere dancing without expression of theme and æsthetic quality, and therefore outside the scope of our work. He then describes the audience, the stage, and the male and female dancers of *nāṭya* and *nṛtya*. This brings him to his main theme, gesture as an expression of the theme of the actor-dancer's rhythmic motion; and he analyses it according as it is performed by the head, glances, neck, and hands, with extremely elaborate subdivision.

The use of gesture as a means of interpreting ideas—either alone or in combination with the spoken word—is one of the most important conventions of Indian art, and extends beyond the stage into the domains of plastic art, statuary, and painting. In every picture and statue the posture of the body and the *mudrās* assumed by the hands are of the deepest significance in interpreting the artist's intention. Of the elaborate gesture-technique of the actor which forms a branch of this system, Dr. Coomaraswamy truly remarks in his thoughtful preface: "It is the action, not the actor, which is essential to dramatic art. Under these conditions, of course, there is no room for any amateur upon the stage; in fact, the amateur does not exist in Oriental art." And naturally the capacity to understand and appreciate the beauty of such artistic conventions, like the capacity to feel the charm of the written or spoken word refined by centuries of literary tradition and labour, depends upon the æsthetic endowment and training of the spectator. The present book is of real value in throwing light upon this field of dainty art and thus enabling the Western student to understand the point of view of the Oriental, though he may be unable to share his æsthetic sentiments.

L. D. BARNETT.

OBITUARY NOTICES

SIR GASTON MASPERO, K.C.M.G.

WE regret to record the death, on June 30 last year, of our distinguished Honorary Member, Sir Gaston Maspero, who had long been regarded as the foremost Egyptologist of his generation. Among students of Egyptian antiquity he was the last of the great scholars who were able to include within the range of their activity the various branches of inquiry which tend more and more to become subjects of specialized study. In any survey of his career one is most struck by this extraordinary versatility. To most people his name will be familiar as that of one of the few great historians of the ancient world, his *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique* (which also appeared in an English form) surveying the ancient history of Egypt and Western Asia in the light of modern excavation and research. By Egyptian philologists he will always be remembered as the first editor and translator of the "Pyramid Texts", the earlier form assumed by those magical compositions for the benefit of the dead which were known by the Egyptians themselves as the "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day" and are conveniently referred to by modern writers as the "Book of the Dead". He wrote much on art, mythology, and religion, and everything he published bore the impress of his keen insight and attractive style. As editor of the *Recueil de travaux* and as Director of the Egyptian Service des Antiquités he exerted a wide influence on others' work. In the latter capacity he came into close relations with British official life in Egypt, and his success in this difficult administrative post won him the English title he was proud to bear. It is strange that, in spite of his large circle of English

friends, he should only once have visited this country, when in 1887 he was given by Oxford the honorary degree of D.C.L. It may be added that at Oxford he was also elected to an honorary fellowship at Queen's College.

The main facts of his career may be briefly recorded. Maspero was born at Milan on June 23, 1846, and, though of Italian parentage, he was a Frenchman by both training and sympathies, having been naturalized at an early age. Already as a boy he was keenly interested in Egyptology, and it was in consequence of these extraneous studies that he fell under the influence of the French Egyptologist E. de Rougé, whose assistant he became, in 1869, at the *École des Hautes Études*; on the latter's death five years later he succeeded him as Professor at the *Collège de France*. The foundation in Cairo of the *Institut français d'archéologie orientale* was the occasion of Maspero's first connexion with Egypt. At the beginning of 1881 he went out as its first director and, on Mariette's death a few weeks later, he became head of the Bulaq Museum and director of excavations. In the following year his work was interrupted for a time, when with the other European residents he had to leave the country in consequence of Arabi's revolt. It was during Maspero's first directorship that the discovery was made of the famous hiding-place at Deir el-Bahari, where the mummies of Egyptian kings had been stored away at the time of the Twenty-first Dynasty. Maspero himself was mainly occupied at this period in continuing Mariette's work of excavating the smaller pyramids at Saqqarah and in collecting and editing the mural texts from the tomb-chambers. These were published after his return to Paris in 1886, his other principal work during the next thirteen years being his great history of antiquity to which also reference has already been made.

In 1899 he was invited by Lord Cromer to return to

Egypt as first director of the new Cairo Museum. In addition to reorganizing the Service des Antiquités, the departmental importance of which had considerably increased in the interval, he devoted himself to the arrangement and classification of the collections in the new Museum, and he inaugurated the great Catalogue on international lines. Although Maspero did not conduct excavations himself during his second directorship, he superintended the work of his assistants and gave considerable time to the preservation and strengthening of existing temples. It also fell to him to arrange the archaeological survey of Nubia, the monuments of which were threatened through the rise of water on the construction of the Aswan Dam. He resigned the directorship in 1914, owing to questions of health, and, on his return to Paris a few days before the War, was elected Secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. But his health did not improve, and the loss of his son at the Front early in 1915 was a severe blow to him. Though he had passed his seventieth year, the news of his sudden death, while in the act of addressing the Academy, came as a great shock to his many friends.

It has only been possible here to touch lightly on the principal achievements of an extraordinarily active and distinguished career. Any reader desiring a more detailed estimate of Maspero's great influence on Egyptological studies and a statement of his attitude towards the vexed problems of Egyptian philology, may be referred to the intimate account of his life by Monsieur Edouard Naville in the third volume of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, published by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

L. W. KING.

H. F. AMEDROZ

By the death of Mr. H. F. Amedroz in March of this year the country loses one of its most industrious workers in the fields of Islamic history and law. Sprung from a Huguenot family, Mr. Amedroz was born in 1854, and educated at Winchester, where he gained a scholarship in 1866. He passed 1st the examination for Turkish Dragomans in 1877, but was rejected on medical grounds. He was called to the Bar in 1882, and for several years was one of the Bar Reporters in the Chancery Courts. At this time he took up the study of Arabic with great keenness, and afterwards spent much of his life in research at libraries, both English and foreign, containing Arabic MSS., thereby becoming intimately acquainted with most of the contemporary representatives of the same study. In 1904 he published the literary remains of Hilāl al-Šābi, consisting of a large fragment of his *Lives of the Viziers* and a smaller fragment of his *History*. The first of these is one of the most interesting and instructive books in the Arabic language; in the main it is devoted to political biographies of the two most notable figures among the viziers of the 'Abbasids, Ibn al-Furāt and 'Alī b. 'Isā, whose efforts to maintain the empire which had Muqtadir for its head were brave, but necessarily unavailing. The author himself belonged to a family which produced one of the most famous Secretaries of State, whence, though removed from the great viziers by a couple of generations, he had opportunities of hearing first-hand or nearly first-hand reminiscences of them. If the history of Baghdad, which has so recently become a British possession, were as familiar as that of Athens or Rome, Hilāl's work on the viziers would be a favourite with a large circle of readers. Mr. Amedroz, who as an editor was among the most conscientious, instead of providing his texts with translations, furnished summaries of their contents in English; this plan has its merits for

those who can read Arabic, but it is not calculated to render a work sufficiently accessible to those who are ignorant of its original tongue.

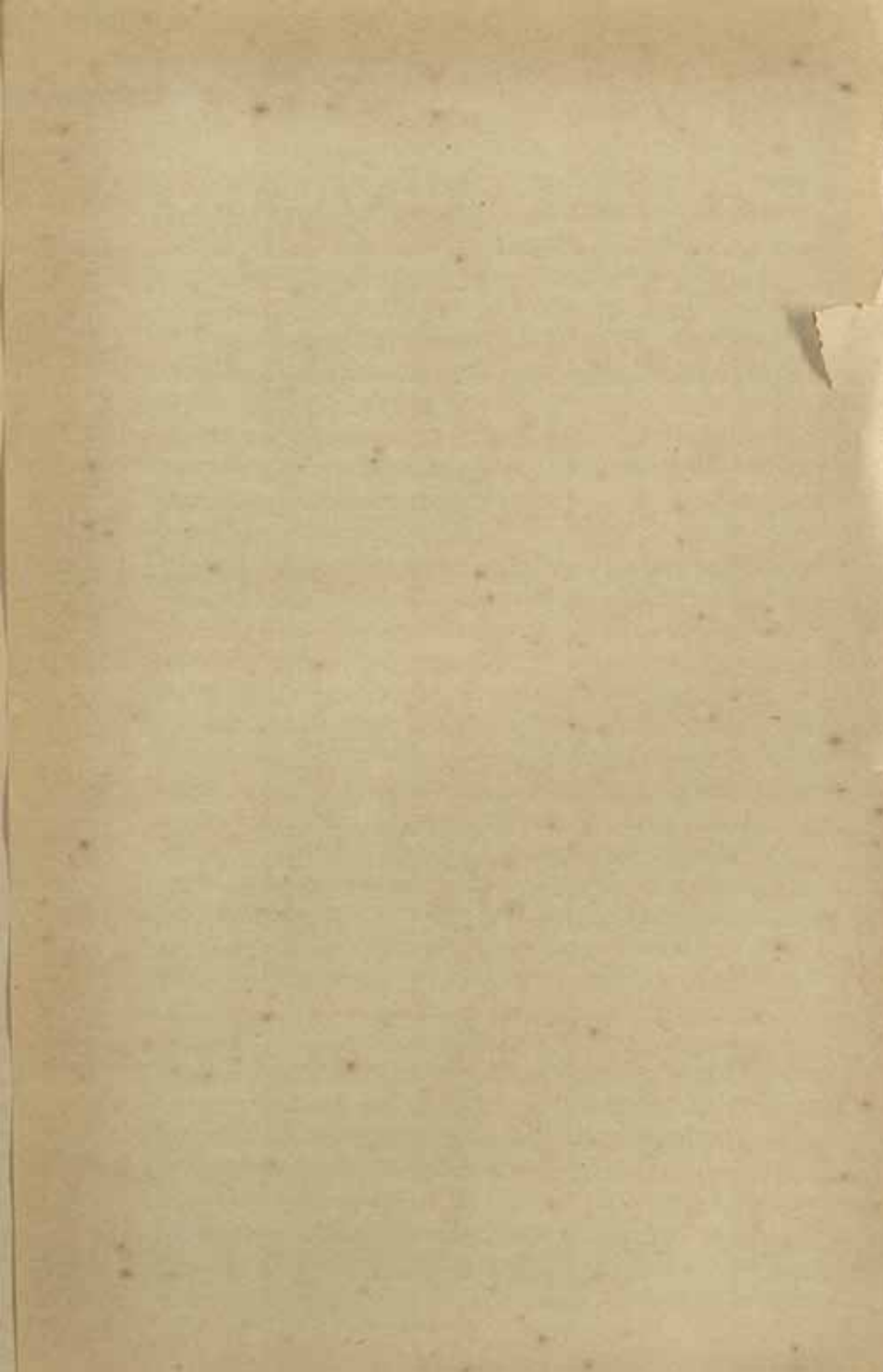
His second work on a considerable scale was his edition of Abū Ya'la Hamzah's *Appendix to the History of Damascus*, Leyden, 1908. This text starts with the events which led to the transference of Syria from the Eastern Caliphate to the Western, and treats of the Crusades up to 557 A.H. Mr. Amedroz introduced into the notes and appendices extracts from other unpublished chronicles illustrating and supplementing the statements of the text. The author, known as Ibn al-Qalānisi, is less attentive to detail than Hilāl, but is nevertheless highly instructive.

Mr. Amedroz's monographs on various topics appeared largely in this Journal, while others were printed in the German magazine *Der Islam* and the Italian *Bolletino*, etc. These are all characterized by thoroughness, and his legal training was evidently of help in the composition of those which dealt with questions of law. He was also a numismatist, and sent contributions to the journals which are concerned with that branch of learning.

The work which mainly occupied his time during his last years was a collection of unpublished chronicles dealing with the decline of the Caliphate under Muqtadir and his successors, and the rise of the Buwaihid dynasty. It is the hope of the present writer that he may be able to complete this task, which runs into many volumes.

Mr. Amedroz served on the Council of this Society from 1912 to 1915, and was one of the Gibb Trustees, taking a keen interest in the works issued by the Trust, as will be seen from the prefaces to Mr. Guest's edition of Kindi and the present writer's edition of Yāqūt. His wide and accurate knowledge was readily placed at the disposal of any, whether here or abroad, who consulted him.

D. S. M.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(May-July, 1917)

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 8, 1917, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Rajvaid Sri Bhawan Dasji.
Mr. Narayan Sitaram Adhi Kari.
Mr. Radhika Nath Saha.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

The Secretary then read the Annual Report.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1916-17

1. The Council regret to report the loss by death of ten members, including two distinguished Honorary Members. They are :—

Professor Barth (Hon.).	Colonel Holroyd.
Sir John Blunt.	Professor Maspero (Hon.).
Dr. Burgess.	Sir A. Houtum Schindler.
Mr. Dewashraye.	Mr. P. Lowell.
Mr. J. F. Fleet.	Mr. Rashad.

In Mr. Fleet the Society has lost one who for the last forty years has been a distinguished and honoured member. He was elected in 1877, and joined the Council in 1884 for one year when home on leave, and again in 1888, since when he served continuously; being elected Honorary Secretary in 1906, he held that office up to the time of his death. His work on Indian epigraphy was unequalled, and his loss to scholarship and the Society will be keenly felt. An account of his career and achievements will be found in the April number of the Journal.

Another and even older member of the Society has passed away in Dr. Burgess, who joined the Society as far back as 1866. One of the pioneers of archaeological work in India, he was appointed Archaeological Surveyor of Western India in 1873, and later became Director-General of the Archaeological Surveys of India. An appreciative notice of his life and work by a contemporary Archaeological Surveyor in Southern India, Mr. R. Sewell, will be found in the January number of our Journal. Mrs. Burgess has kindly presented to our Library valuable collections of her late husband's manuscript notes and photographs relating to the cave temples of Western India.

The deaths are also recorded of three more old members. Sir John Blunt joined the Society in 1861 in the early days of his career as British Consul in various places in the Near East. His knowledge and experience were wide and deep, and his advice was much sought after. General Sir A. Houtum Schindler, well known to all whose interests lie in Persia, was a man of considerable attainments, and his knowledge of Persia and its language was remarkable. This knowledge he gained during his long career in that country, first in the Telegraph Service, then as first manager of the Bank of Persia, and finally as general adviser to the Persian Government. Colonel Holroyd was a good Urdu and Persian scholar, and as Director of the Education Department in the Panjab did excellent work. His textbooks and manuals in both Urdu and Persian are well known.

2. The resignations are ten in number—

Lieutenant S. Dorisamy.
Professor A. B. Keith.
Mr. R. H. Macleod.
Mr. W. F. Noyce.
Mr. E. T. Richmond.

Dr. E. J. Long Scott.
Major J. Stephenson.
Mr. F. Tabor.
Mr. W. F. Warren.
Mr. Maung Tun Win.

Under Rule 25 (d) the following thirty-four cease to be members of the Society:—

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali.	Mr. Maung Ba Oh.
Mr. Mirza Badruddin.	Mr. C. P. Govinda Pillai.
Mr. H. C. P. Bell.	Mr. C. P. Paramesvaram Pillai.
Dr. Paul Brönnle.	Mr. P. Narayana Pillai.
Babu Basanta Kumar	Rai Debi Prasad.
Chatterjee.	Mr. Ghulam Rasul.
Mr. J. D. Deane.	Mr. W. Sheldon Ridge.
Mr. D. D. Dickson.	Mr. V. C. Seshacharri.
Mr. A. W. Domingo.	Mr. Muhammad Shahidullah.
Mr. J. R. Egan.	Pandit Goswami B. Sharma.
Moulvi Wahid Hosain.	Babu Lal Sud.
Mr. N. P. Subramania Iyer.	Mr. Tajuddin Pir.
Mr. Ghulam Hyder Khan.	Mr. Maung Ba U.
Mr. M. B. Kolasker.	Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu.
Mr. Sailesh Ch. Majumdar.	Dr. Alfred Westharp.
Dr. C. O. S. Mawson.	Mr. F. G. Whittick.
Mr. M. T. Narasimhiengar.	Ahmed Zeki Pasha.
Mr. L. L. Narayan.	

Five persons who were elected as members have not taken up election:—

Mr. Nirmal Chandra Banerji.
Mr. Gajendra Lal Chowdhury.
Mr. Mahendra Kumar Ghosh.
Mr. J. N. Mahant.
Pandit K. Bhaskara Sastri.

The Council is glad to be able to announce the accession as Honorary Members of the two distinguished French scholars, Professor E. Chavannes and Professor Sylvain Lévi.

The following eighty-one ordinary members have also been elected:—

Mr. Chintamani Acharyya.	Mr. C. F. Argyll-Saxby.
Mr. A. V. Venkatrama Aiyar.	Mr. Anilanganath Banerjee.
Mr. M. T. Ramaswami Aiyar.	Babu Kedareswar Banerjee.
Mr. Abdul Qadir Akhtar Sahib.	Mr. Lala Sardharam Berry.
Mr. Syed Zahur Ali.	Mr. Thomas Brown.

- The Right Hon. Sir Robert Chalmers, G.C.B.
 Mr. Umes Chandra Sinha Chaudhuri.
 Mr. Md. Narul Huq Chaudhury.
 Mr. Sih Gunj Cheng.
 H.H. Rama Varma, the Elaya Raja of Chirakkal.
 Mr. Gajendra Lal Chowdhury.
 Dr. C. Everett Conant.
 Mr. Wilayat Hossein Cossar.
 Mr. Nibaranchandra Das-Gupta.
 Mr. J. Dass.
 Mr. S. A. Durai.
 Babu Dharanidhar Dutt.
 Mr. Lalita Prasad Dutt.
 Dr. J. N. Farquhar.
 Sir J. G. Frazer.
 Mr. O. C. Gangooly.
 Sahib Bahadur Md. Abdul Ghani.
 Srijukta Satishchandra Ghosh.
 The Rev. W. G. Goddard.
 The Rev. G. Buchanan Gray.
 Mr. Maung Gyi.
 Major L. A. Howarth.
 Mr. A. B. Duraisami Iyengar.
 Mr. K. Ramaswami Iyer.
 Mr. Jagmandalal Jaini.
 Mr. Raghuliu Singh Jaspal.
 Professor Lachmidar Kalla.
 Mr. Kanshi Ram Kapur.
 The Hon. Chowdhuri Md. Ismail Khan.
 Professor Leonard W. King.
 Mr. D. R. Kocho.
 Dr. Sten Konow.
 Mr. Gokalechand Kohli.
 Mr. A. Masters Macdonell.
 Mr. Suryya Prasad Mahajan.
 Mr. J. N. Mahant.
 The Rev. N. Jatila Mahathera.
 Mr. Harendranath Maitra.
 Mr. Abdul Majid.
 Mr. Gunendra Ch. Mallick.
 The Rev. H. I. Marshall.
 Mr. C. J. Marzetti.
 Mr. P. N. Mitter.
 Babu Phanindra Lal Moitra.
 Mr. Santosh Kumar Mukherjee.
 Babu Provas Ch. Mukhopadhyaya.
 Mr. R. Padmanabhaiyar.
 Mr. H. Panday.
 Mr. Jogesh Ch. Patranavis.
 Miss Ethel Pope.
 The Hon. Rai Bahadur M. Asthbhuja Prasad.
 Mr. Sydney Wilbur Radden.
 Mr. Seth Padamraj Ramwala.
 Mr. K. Birindra Nath Ray.
 Babu Jitendranath Ray.
 Babu Dwijendra Nath Roy.
 Mr. Sateendranarayan Roy.
 Srijut Jaimini Kishore Roy.
 Professor Mufti Md. Sadiq.
 Mr. Jitendranath Sanyal.
 Mr. Madan Mohun Seth.
 Pandit Parshu Rama Shastri.
 Lieutenant E. S. Sowerby.
 Professor R. Srinivasan.
 Mr. Satalur Sundara Sunyanarayam.
 Mr. Nutu Gopal Tantraratna.
 Mr. E. J. Thomas.
 Mr. Ramani Ranjan Sen Gupta Vidyabinode.
 The Rev. H. A. Walter.
 Mr. Oliver Wardrop.
 Captain H. Wilberforce-Bell.

5. At the commencement of the War the Assistant Secretary, Mr. H. A. Good, joined up with his Territorial Regiment and with it went to the Front, where he served continuously till September last, when, having attained the rank of Acting Sergeant-Major, he was killed on September 15 leading his men into action in the battle of the Somme. He had held his post of Assistant Secretary and Librarian for ten years, having been appointed in 1905, and his courtesy and attention were greatly appreciated by the members generally. The Council much regret his loss. During his absence his place was temporarily filled by Miss Frazer, and in November, 1916, the Council appointed her to the vacant post.

6. It is with great pleasure that the Council presents the Society's accounts for the year. Subscriptions, instead of, as was feared, being even less than in 1915, were £23 10s. more. The receipts from the Journal show a diminution of £17, but the total of £299 is far from unsatisfactory, and the amount received from sales of back numbers of the Journal stands at £79, quite above the average. On the expenditure side, the house account is very nearly the same as last year; the expenditure on the Journal a little more. The real saving this year, which leaves the Society a balance of £78 of receipts over expenditure, is on the Library. This economy was practised in the uncertain prospects of the year 1916, but with so good a balance now in hand the Library need not be starved this year, and a good deal of very necessary binding and repair of books may be done.

7. In the separate publications of the Society two works are in progress. One, a volume for the Oriental Translation Fund, is on the *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, translated with introduction and notes by Professor Ui. The work is nearly ready, but there is difficulty with regard to paper which may materially retard its publication. The second book will be published in the Monograph

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS				888	19	8
Resident Members—						
60 at £3 3s.	189	0	0			
Advance Subscriptions—2 at £3 3s.	6	6	0			
Arrears received—1 at £3 3s.	3	3	0			
Non-Resident Members—						
3 at £1 1s.	3	3	0			
383 at £1 10s.	574	10	0			
Part Subscriptions	2	16	8			
Advance Subscriptions	17	10	0			
Arrears received	40	10	0			
1 Library subscription	1	10	0			
Non-Resident Compounders—2 at £23 12s. 6d.	47	5	0			
Ditto—Part Subscription	3	6	0			
	888	19	8			
RENTS RECEIVED					202	18 6
GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE					105	0 0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT					299	13 3
Subscriptions	204	0	0			
Additional copies sold	79	4	6			
Sale of Pamphlets	3	11	0			
Advertisements	12	8	9			
Sale of Index	0	9	0			
	299	13	3			
DIVIDENDS					101	18 7
New South Wales 4 per cent Stock	32	2	0			
Midland Railway 2½ per cent Debenture Stock...	4	6	11			
South Australian Government 3½ per cent						
Inscribed Stock, 1939 ..	24	9	11			
New Zealand 4 per cent Consolidated Stock, 1927	11	17	10			
New Zealand 4 per cent Stock, 1943-63	8	1	2			
Exchequer Bonds	7	8	1			
Local Loans Stock...	13	12	8			
	101	18	7			
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS					20	10 8
Lloyds Bank, Limited	18	15	2			
Post Office Savings Bank	1	15	6			
	20	10	8			
SUNDRY RECEIPTS					1	10 0
					1	11 6 9
Balance as at January 1, 1916					600	7 7
					£2,232	15 0

FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock.
 £212 8s. Midland Railway 2½ per cent Debenture Stock.
 £888 16s. 9d. South Australian Government 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock, 1939.
 £454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.
 £297 7s. New Zealand Government 4 per cent Consolidated Stock, 1927.
 £261 9s. 3d. New Zealand 4 per cent Stock, 1943-63.

Purchased during year—

£300 5 per cent Exchequer Bonds.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1916

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT				587	2	8
Rent	465	0	0			
Insurance	39	10	1			
Repairs	8	11	3			
Lighting, Heating, and Water	45	16	9			
Telephone	6	9	8			
Other expenditure	21	14	11			
	587	2	8			
SALARIES AND WAGES				406	7	8
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				19	13	5
LIBRARY				11	13	0
New Books	3	10	6			
Binding	8	2	6			
	11	13	0			
JOURNAL ACCOUNT				419	5	6
Printing	373	14	2			
Illustrations	10	18	11			
Postage	34	12	5			
	419	5	6			
POSTAGE				28	7	5
AUDITOR'S FEE				5	5	0
SUNDRY PAYMENTS				7	18	3
PURCHASE OF 5 PER CENT EXCHEQUER BONDS				300	0	0
BALANCE as at December 31, 1916, being cash at				447	2	1
Bankers and in hand						
Lloyds Bank, Limited	378	7	10			
Post Office Savings Bank	59	1	10			
Petty Cash	2	16	9			
Postage	6	15	8			
	447	2	1			

£2,232 15 0

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

J. KENNEDY, *Hon. Treasurer.*

WILSON CREWDSON,
for the Council.
L. C. HOPKINS,
for the Society.
N.E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
Professional Auditor.

March 21, 1917.

SPECIAL FUNDS

RECEIPTS.

PAYMENTS.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

1916. Jan. 1.	RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Balance	Binding, Vols. I, V, VIII ...	6 5 0
Sales	Postage ...	4 4 0
Interest	Insurance of Quire Stock at Printers ...	3 6 0
				<u>13 15 0</u>
			Balance carried to Summary ...	394 5 6
				<u>£408 0 6</u>

PRIZE PARTICIPATION FUND.

Jan. 1.	RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Balance	Postage ...	1 10 0
Sales	Balance carried to Summary ...	165 11 7
Dividends		
Interest		
				<u>£167 1 7</u>

MONOGRAPH FUND.

Jan. 1.	RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Balance	Printing Vol. XV ...	81 2 0
Sales	Postage ...	2 2 0
R. Behrens, Esq., part payment of Vol. XVI	Balance carried to Summary ...	83 4 0
Forlong Bequest		<u>105 18 4</u>
Interest		
				<u>£189 2 4</u>

Medal. Fond.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.				Dec. 31.			
Balance ...	...	...	...	Balance carried to Summary	...	...	...
Dividends	...	9	15 0				
Interest ...	...	1	2 0				
					<u>£50</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>

Public School, Medial Fund,

[illegible]

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	...	394	5	6
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	...	165	11	7
MONOGRAPH FUND	...	165	18	4
MEDAL FUND	...	50	8	1
PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND	...	24	19	3
		£741	2	9

Foster.

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable B Stock
(Price, Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable A Stock
(Medal Fund).
£645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable
B Stock (Public School Medal Fund).

T. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

We have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock investments

(WILSON CREWSDON, for the Council,
L. C. HOPKINS, for the Society,
N. E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
Professional Auditor

March 21, 1917.

FORLONG BEQUEST

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1916

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
1916.	£ s. d.	Transferred to Royal Asiatic Society, Monograph Fund	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. Balance	275 11 9	Cash at Bankers, December 31, 1916—	120 0 0
Dividends and Interest	166 2 6	On Deposit Account	292 17 0
		On Current Account	28 17 3
			<u>£441 14 3</u>

FUNDS.

£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock,
 £1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed
 Stock, 1940-60.
 £45 East Indian Railway Company Annuity, Class "B."
 £1,005 3 4s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942-62.
 £1,143 6s. 3d. India 3½ per cent Stock.

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers, and
 have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true
 and correct.

March 21, 1917.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

WILSON CREWDSON, for the Council.
 L. C. HOPKINS, for the Society.
 N. E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
 Professional Auditor.

Series, and is the work mentioned in the last Report as being on *Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas* by the Rev. T. Grahame Bailey. This also has been delayed owing to the War. The Council has further undertaken for the Prize Publication Fund a volume by Sir George Grierson entitled *Iskāsmī, Zēbakī, and Yāz-pulāmī*, an account of three members of the Pāmīr group of Eranian languages, two of which have hitherto been quite unknown. Part of the materials was collected by Sir Aurel Stein on his journey across the ranges west of the Pāmīrs and in the valleys of the Oxus in 1915, and part was collected by Sir George Grierson himself. It will form an interesting and important addition to the publications of the Society.

8. The Council is glad to report that with the balance of the Indian Exploration Fund the work of excavation on the Nalanda Site undertaken by the Government of Bihar and Orissa, and entrusted to the able care of Dr. D. B. Spooner, was successfully carried on during the year 1916. In the Journal for January, 1917, p. 154, a brief *résumé* of the preliminary report was given. A further report showing good progress has been lately received. The collection of photographs has been placed in an album and is now in the Library.

9. The Public School Gold Medal for 1915-16 was won by J. R. Hassell, of Denstone College, for his essay on the Emperor Babur, and the Medal was presented on June 6 by Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., late Under-Secretary of State for India. An account of the meeting appeared in the Journal for July last, p. 660.

10. (a) Under Rule 29 Lord Reay retires from the office of President and Sir Mortimer Durand from that of Director. The Council recommend their re-election.

(b) Under Rule 31 Mr. Kennedy and Dr. Codrington retire respectively from the offices of Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Librarian, and the office of Hon. Secretary is vacant

owing to the death of Mr. Fleet. The Council recommend the re-election of Dr. Codrington, the election of Sir George Grierson to the office of Hon. Secretary, and of Mr. Wilson Crewdson to that of Hon. Treasurer. To the post of Vice-President thus left vacant by Sir George Grierson they would recommend the election of Mr. Kennedy.

(c) Under Rule 32 the following members retire :—
Mr. Crewdson and Mr. Foster.

The three vacancies left open in 1916 leave therefore five places to be filled. The recommendations of the Council are :—

Mr. J. D. Anderson.
Professor Barnett.
Mr. A. G. Ellis.
Mr. L. C. Hopkins.
Colonel Phillott.

(d) Under Rule 81

Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Enthoven, and Mr. Waterhouse are nominated Auditors for the ensuing year.

PROFESSOR L. W. KING, in moving the adoption of the Report, said that they were indebted to the officers of the Society for the way in which its finances had been looked after during the past year. Other learned societies in this country had suffered very considerably from the effects of the War. They themselves at the last annual meeting were faced with a deficit, though a small one, by an excess of expenditure over income of £5, and the Council expressed the fear that it might become very much greater in the future. Fortunately that anticipation had not been realized, and he believed that this was due in great measure to the wise but rigid economy that the Secretary had practised during the past year. The main test of the Society's condition was that of the membership. Last year they were £50 down in subscriptions received from members, but this year they had made up about

half the previous loss, and as they had a net increase of twenty-two members, they had good reason to anticipate a gradual recovery of their earlier position. But while fate had treated them very favourably in the material sense, they had suffered considerably in the loss they had sustained by the death of their Honorary Secretary, Mr. Fleet, a loss to Indian scholarship as well as to the Society, which had been so ably expressed in the notice of him by Professor Barnett in the *Journal*. A further loss, that of Mr. Good, the late Assistant Secretary, was one of those that the War had brought and was bringing to numberless households. He wished to express the Society's appreciation of Mr. Good's work in the past and their pride at the very gallant manner of his death in the battle of the Somme. His work since the beginning of the War had been carried out very efficiently by Miss Frazer, and her appointment to the vacancy would meet, he was sure, with very general approval. With regard to their scientific work during the year, the activities of the Society always had centred and always must centre mainly in the languages and literatures of India. On that side of the work he felt he was hardly qualified to speak, except as in so far as a very keen interest in and study of the *Journal* during many years could confer such qualification. When he was asked to propose that resolution, he suggested that the choice should fall upon some member who had been more intimately associated with the publications of the Society; but he was reminded that the Society had not only a past but a future, and it was suggested he should speak on that subject. Without this mandate he would have hesitated to play the rôle of prophet, especially in the case of a learned body with a record and traditions based on nearly a century of work. But the existence of the tradition made the task easier, since any changes of the future must necessarily advance on well-established lines.

Some effects of the War they were already feeling; but while they had lost some of their members they had gained the co-operation and help of others. He would only refer to the presence in this country and on their Council of Major Perceval Yetts, whose able paper on the Eight Immortals of Chinese artistic tradition they had read in their Journal with interest and appreciation. Again, Indian loyalty had been one of the factors of the War of which they were all most proud, and Indian participation in the field was bound to be reflected amongst those classes who by education were fitted to appreciate the scientific work of the Society. He had no hesitation in prophesying a large increase in Indian membership after the War. A further increase of membership was likely to take place in this country amongst those whose interests were concerned with the Near East. Even before the War there was a tendency to break down the watertight compartments into which the various subjects of Asiatic study had tended to crystallize. Like the *Société Asiatique*, the Society had always been catholic in its patronage, and any contribution to its discussions has been welcomed so long as it was Asiatic in character and scientific in spirit. Attention to the countries of the Near East was likely to increase in consequence of the War, and he hoped this would mean an increased membership to meet the enhancement of the expenses of publication. After remarking on the very satisfactory nature of the progress of excavations on the Nalanda site, Professor King said that generally the work of the Society had advanced on far more normal lines than any of them could have thought likely or possible a year ago.

MRS. BODE, seconding the adoption of the Report, welcomed the opportunity of saying how greatly ordinary members appreciated the fact that none of the privileges of membership had been allowed to suffer in consequence

of War difficulties. An event of interest in the past year was the opening of the new School of Oriental Studies. In bringing it into existence Lord Reay, our President, had played a great part, of which the Society did not need to be reminded. Referring, in conclusion, to the work and particularly the learned publications mentioned in the Report, Mrs. Bode dwelt on the satisfaction felt at this fine proof, even if there were no others, that no "economy had been practised" in the efforts of those who are most responsible for our activity and our good name as a Society.

THE CHAIRMAN: I regret very much that Lord Reay is unfortunately unable to be present this afternoon, as he is still confined to his house. I think that all we have heard from Professor King and Mrs. Bode makes us feel that the state of the Society's affairs during the past year may be regarded as entirely satisfactory.

We all very deeply deplore the loss of Colonel Holroyd, Mr. Fleet, and Dr. Burgess, who have done good work for this Society. We have also lost two distinguished honorary members, Professors Barth and Maspero. The work of the former has been already touched upon in the Journal, and that of Professor Maspero will be noticed in a future number. There is one other member whose death has been specially brought to your notice in the Report, General Sir Houtum Schindler. I knew him personally, as we were together in Persia for five or six years. I am not able to judge of his scholarship, but he certainly knew more about Persia than almost anybody I have met. He was associated with me on the occasion of the murder of the last autocratic Shah, Nasir-ud-Din. I was sitting in the garden of Legation in Teheran on a day something like this when Schindler rushed in and told me that the Shah had been assassinated. He was very deeply agitated and distressed at the loss of a master whom he had served for many years. I think he was a man whose value was

hardly enough appreciated, except perhaps by those of us who had to work in Persia. He was most useful there, and I am very sorry indeed to hear of his death. Since the Report was written we have had news of the death of a late member of the Council, Mr. Amedroz, well known as an Arabic scholar. A notice of his work is to be written for the Journal by Professor Margoliouth.

We are sorry to learn that Mr. Kennedy is retiring from the Treasurership after fourteen years service. He has given the Society of his best, and we all very much regret to lose him. He is to be succeeded by Mr. Crewdson, who has been one of our auditors for several years, and is therefore thoroughly acquainted with the finances. I am glad to think that Mr. Kennedy remains on the Council as a Vice-President.

Mrs. Bode mentioned the establishment of the Oriental School. I am very glad that Lord Reay, who has given so much time and attention to that subject, has seen his labours come to fruition. I hope, with Mrs. Bode, that the school will be a source of great advantage to this country, and incidentally to the Society.

Among the publications of the Society, I see mentioned a volume by Sir George Grierson on languages spoken in the Pamirs. This is partly based upon materials collected by Sir Aurel Stein on his last journey in Central Asia. I am glad that the Society has thus been able to profit by the travels and studies of that indefatigable explorer.

The increased membership of the Society this year is very satisfactory. I hope that what has been suggested with regard to the Oriental School may turn out to be correct, and that the membership from Asia generally may be considerably increased as an effect of the establishment of the school.

Professor King has referred to the participation of India in the War. Nothing has given greater satisfaction in England, and nothing has given greater surprise to our

enemies, than the attitude of India in this great struggle. To me personally, as to everyone here who has served in India, it is a matter of the very greatest pleasure. Lecturing at Cambridge some four or five years ago on the subject of India, I took occasion to touch upon what would be the attitude of India in the event of a European conflict. I said that we were able to look forward with confidence to what India would do; that there was not the slightest doubt she would come to our aid, as she had done on previous occasions. I did not then contemplate our being drawn into one so rapidly and on so vast a scale, but the confidence I expressed has been very fully justified, and all of us whose affection for the country is deep and strong must rejoice to find that our faith was well founded.

I fully agree with what has been said with respect to the services of Miss Hughes and her assistant. We owe to her a very great deal of any success which the Society has had in the past year. We all deplore the loss of our Assistant Secretary, Mr. Good, about which all we can say is that no man could have died better. Miss Frazer has taken his place, doing the work thoroughly well. No remarks that I can make upon the Report would be complete unless I expressed on behalf of you all our continued indebtedness to Miss Hughes. I wish all good success to the Society, and I should like to see larger attendances at the Anniversary Meetings. But this is not the fault of those of you who are present.

The Report was adopted, and the recommendations of the Council for the election of officers were confirmed.

June 12, 1917.—Mr. M. Longworth Dames, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Professor S. V. Rangasamy Ayengar.

Mr. D. Dutt.

Mr. Haulat Ram Kalia.

Mr. Rajendra Kumar Mazumdar.

Maulvi Mahdi Husain Nasiri.

Mr. T. Suryanarayana Rao.

Eight nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Sir John Hewett, G.C.S.I., presented the Public Schools Gold Medal to Mr. Mervyn Davies, of Bishop's Stortford College, and prizes to the other competitors. A full account of the proceedings will appear in the October Journal.

July 3, 1917.—Mr. M. Longworth Dames, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Antar Singh Bhatia.

Mr. Kapur Chand Bhandari.

Mr. Bewa Hali Dass Bedi.

Mr. Chaman Lal.

Mr. A. G. McClay.

Mr. Madhava Panikar.

Professor Indra Vidya Vāchaspati.

Mr. Syed Nazirullah Shah.

Eleven nominations were approved for election as members of the Society.

Mr. F. Legge read a paper entitled "The Most Ancient Goddess Cybele".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Kennedy, Dr. Pinches, Professor Hagopian, Mr. Penny, Dr. Greenup, and Mr. Dames took part.

II. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

I. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série XI, Tome VIII, Nos. i-ii.

Lévi (S.) et Éd. Chavannes. Les seize Arhats, protecteurs de la loi.

Hari Chand. Les Citations de Kālidāsa, dans les traités d'Alamkāra.

Bloch (E.). Inventaire de la Collection de Manuscrits musulmans de M. Decourdemanche.

II. CEYLON ANTIQUARY AND LITERARY REGISTER.

Vol. II, Pt. iii.

De Silva (Simon). The Inscription at Kit Siri Mevan Kelani Vihara.

Codrington (H. W.). The Date of Kirttisiri's Accession.

Perera (Rev. S. G.). The "Conquista de Ceylao" by Fernao al Queyroz.

Gnana Prakaśar (Rev. S.), S. Sabaratna, J. P. Lewis, and B. Horsburgh. Sinhalese Place Names in the Jaffna Peninsula.

Wickremasinghe (D. M. de Z.). The Gal-Pota Inscription at Polonnaruwa.

Lewis (J. P.). Folk-lore from the Northern Province.

Bell (H. C. P.). Kit-Seri-Mevan Vihare Inscription.

Pt. iv.

Ryan (J.). Who was the first Portuguese in Ceylon?

Perera (Rev. S. G.). Jesuits in Ceylon.

Lewis (J. P.). Folk-lore of Animals among Sinhalese and Tamils.

Arumgam (C.), the late. Customs and Ceremonies in the Jaffna District.

Senevaratne (J. M.). Ceylon MSS. in the India Office Library.

C. A. G. The Moladanda Rebellion.

III. BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT.
Tome XVI, No. iii.

Petithuguenin (P.). Notes critiques pour servir à l'histoire du Siam.

Finot (L.). Les dates de l'Inscription de Nāgara Jum.

Maspero (H.). De quelques interdits en relation avec les noms de famille chez les Tāi-Noirs.

— Quelques mots annamites d'origine chinoise.

Peri (N.). Le dieu Wei-T'o.

Marchal (H.). Dégagement du Phimānakās.

Parmentier (H.). Carte de l'Empire Khmèr d'après la situation des Inscriptions datées.

IV. JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. Vol. VII, No. iv.

Mann (Jacob). The Responsa of the Babylonian Geonim as a source of Jewish History.

Margolis (Max L.). Ai or the City.

Zeitlin (S.). The Semikah Controversy between the Zugoth.

Mishcon (Rev. A.). Disputed Phrasings in the Siddur.

V. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY.
Vol. XXXIX, Pt. iii.

Pinches (T. G.). Some Texts of the Relph Collection.

Gaster (M.). A Codex of the Bible according to the Massora of Ben Naphtali and the Oriental Tradition.

Pt. iv.

Jéquier (G.). The most Ancient Representation of the sign $\frac{a}{t}$.

Pilster (Rev. W. T.). Index of the S. Arabian Proper Names in the Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.

VI. THE MUSEUM JOURNAL, PHILADELPHIA. Vol. VII, No. iii.

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XVI

THE PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LATE
SIR ALBERT HOUTUM-SCHINDLER, K.C.I.E.

BY EDWARD G. BROWNE

IT is doubtful whether there has existed in our time any European who possessed so extensive and so profound a knowledge of Persia as the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, who died at his house at Fenstanton, Hunts, in his 70th year, on June 16, 1916. And he was one of those generous scholars who, while seemingly taking more pleasure in the acquisition than in the publication of knowledge, was ever ready to place at the disposal of all students the rich stores of his learning. To this generosity Lord Curzon, in the Preface to his valuable work on *Persia* (London, 1892, vol. i, pp. xii-xiii), bears eloquent testimony in the following words:—

"Of these coadjutors the first, alike in authority and in the extent of his assistance, has been General A. Houtum-Schindler, a gentleman who, after filling many important posts in the Persian Service, is now acting as adviser to the Imperial Bank of Persia in Teheran. To the advantage of long residence in the country he adds the erudition of a scholar and the zeal of a pioneer. He has personally

revised nearly every page of these volumes, besides supplying me with much of my original information; and I tremble to think how many errors they might have contained but for his generous and never-failing co-operation. Few men so excellently qualified to write a first-rate book themselves would have lent such unselfish exertion to improve the quality of another man's work."

To myself, as to almost every traveller who visited Tihrán during his long residence there, Sir A. Houtum-Schindler showed much kindness and hospitality, and it was a source of great joy to me when, on finally leaving Persia in 1911, he took up his residence at Fenstanton, only 10 miles from Cambridge, where I was able to visit him (for the state of his health did not allow him to leave his house) at frequent intervals during the final period of his life. His generosity was not confined to his knowledge, but extended even to that wherein a scholar finds it hardest to be generous, his books. In the *JRAS.* for 1901 (vol. xxxiii, pp. 411-46 and 661-704) I published an "Account of a rare, if not unique, Manuscript History of Isfahán, presented to the Royal Asiatic Society on May 19, 1827, by Sir John Malcolm". This, as I showed, was based on an Arabic original by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Sa'īd al-Māfarrúkhi, composed in 421/1030,¹ some 300 years before the Persian translation was made. On the occasion of one of my visits to Sir A. Houtum-Schindler he not only showed me another MS. of the Persian translation in his possession, but also a good modern copy of the original Arabic work (hitherto, I believe, unknown) of al-Māfarrúkhi, at the sight of which I was very much delighted. A few days afterwards, on June 18, 1913, I received this precious volume from him with the following note:—

¹ Throughout this article, whenever the corresponding Muhammadan and Christian dates are given together they are expressed thus, with an oblique dividing line between them, to avoid the more cumbersome "A.H. 421 (= A.D. 1030)" which I formerly employed.

"Dear Professor Browne,—I beg you to accept this little book as a souvenir.—Yours very sincerely, A. Houtum-Schindler."

Every scholar and lover of books will appreciate the generosity of this action, which I shall never forget.

Of himself and his life Sir A. Houtum-Schindler seldom cared to speak, and the following scanty biographical particulars were all that his son, Mr. L. Houtum-Schindler, was able to communicate to me.

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF THE LATE SIR ALBERT HOUTUM-SCHINDLER, BY HIS SON, MR. L. HOUTUM-SCHINDLER

"General Sir A. Houtum-Schindler was born on September 24, 1846, and in 1868 joined the Indo-European Telegraph Service in Persia, where he did excellent work under Colonel Sir John Bateman Champain, R.E., and other heads of the Department. He resigned in 1876 and accepted an appointment as telegraph adviser to the *Mukhbiru'd-Dawla*, then Persian Minister of Telegraphs. He erected several lines for the Persian Government, and travelled through the least known parts of the Shâh's Dominions to report on possible telegraph projects, mines, and roads. He thus acquired a wide knowledge of Persia, from its geography to its various dialects.

"In 1893 he became the first Manager of the newly-established Imperial Bank of Persia and of the Persian Mining Rights Corporation after having opened it, and after a few months became Inspector-General of the Bank, where he remained for about five years. He then entered the Persian service and became a sort of general adviser to the Persian Government, besides having charge of the Passport Office in Teherân. As a linguist he excelled, and possessed a unique knowledge of Persian. For his services to the Indian Government at various stages of

his life he was given the C.I.E. in 1900, and the K.C.I.E. in 1911, in which year he retired and took up his abode in England.

"He was a member of the Geographical Societies of England, Holland, Germany, and Austria, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Geological and Zoological Societies of Austria, to the *Journal* of which last he contributed a paper on the various antelopes of South Persia, including a new species named after him, *Tragelapus Houtum-Schindleri*. His numerous other publications are in various languages, and include the following:—

- Notes on Persian Baluchistan*, 1877.
Reisen in unbekannten Gegenden Chorasans in 1876-77.
Reisen im südwestlichen Persien (with 2 maps), 1877-8.
Reisen im nördlichen Persien (with 1 map), 1878.
Reisen im südlichen Persien (with 1 map), 1879.
Reisen im nordwestlichen Persien (with 3 maps), 1880-2.
Eastern Persian 'Irak' (with 1 map), 1896.
Marco Polo's Itinerary in Southern Persia, 1881.
Marco Polo's Camadi, 1898.
Marco Polo's Arbre Sol, and Notes on Alamut, 1909.
Notes on some Antiquities found near Dámghán, 1876.
Notes on Damdand, 1888.
Notes on the Kur River in Fars, 1891.
Notes on the Saboans, 1892.
Historical Notes on South-Western Persia, 1878.
On the New Lake between Kum and Teherán (with map), 1888.
On the Length of the Parsakh, 1888.
Die Parsen in Persien, ihre Sprache, u. s. w.,¹ 1881.
Beiträge zum Kurd. Wortschatze, 1882.
Weitere Beiträge zum Kurd. Wortschatze, 1886.
Neue Angaben über die Mineralreichthümer Persiens, 1881.
Geologie d. nordwestlichen Persiens, 1882.
Geologie d. Gegend zwischen Sabzwár und Mesched, 1886.
Eine Hebräisch-Persische Handschrift, 1909.
Klimatafeln aus Persien, 1909.
Coinage of the Decline of the Mongols in Persia, 1880.
Curiosities in the Imperial Persian Treasury, 1897.
The Shah's Second Journey to Europe in 1878, London, 1879.
Der Semnânische Dialect, 1877.
The Word 'Scarlet', 1910.

¹ This is by far the best account that I know of the Zoroastrians of Persia at the present day.

"Other publications have appeared in the *Academy* and other papers, and also various Reports, such as that on the Turquoise Mines, besides official publications for the Foreign Office, the Indian Government, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*."

Soon after Sir A. Houtum-Schindler's death I ascertained that Lady Schindler was willing to sell his library, and, eager to secure so great a treasure, I made an offer for it which was finally accepted on January 5, 1917, when all his Oriental MSS. and such of his Persian books as were printed or lithographed in the East passed into my possession. The remainder of his books were bought by Messrs. W. Heffer, of Cambridge. I must here express my gratitude for the facilities granted to me by Lady Schindler for examining and estimating the value of these precious volumes, of which, so far as the MSS. are concerned, I now offer to students of Persian a brief description. Of the Persian lithographed and printed books (some seventy-five in number) I hope to give a short description in a subsequent article.

That most of the MSS. had been carefully read by their former owner is proved by copious notes in many of them, in some cases in the margin, but more often on loose sheets of paper (which I have carefully preserved) lying between the leaves. I understand that before his death Sir A. Houtum-Schindler destroyed a great many of his papers, and all that he left in a form at all ready for publication was a translation of the several rare works on precious stones included in his library and described below under the appropriate headings, besides fairly full abstracts of the histories of Qum and Kāshān, and the letters of the great minister Rashīdu'd-Dīn Fazlu'llāh.

Before proceeding to the detailed description of the manuscripts, attention should be called to the peculiar character of the collection. In most libraries of Persian

books or MSS. it will be found that at least half the volumes, and often a much larger proportion, are works of poetry or *belles lettres*. In this collection there is hardly a volume belonging to either of these classes. Historical, biographical, and geographical works enormously preponderate; the remaining volumes represent lexicography, anecdotes, biographies, or sayings of holy men, and various scientific subjects, viz., medicine, astronomy, music, and notably mineralogy and the natural history of precious stones. The library is, in short, a working library, containing many very rare books, carefully selected during a long period of time from the point of view of a fine scholar who was at the same time deeply interested not only in the history, archæology, geography, and language of Persia, but also in such practical matters as topography, local dialects, mining, and materia medica. Personally I have never met with so comparatively small a library (some fifty-six volumes) of manuscripts so well chosen for a definite purpose of study, or so clearly reflecting the outlook of him who formed it. Sir A. Houtum-Schindler's interests were essentially objective, and religious and philosophical questions, mysticism, and *belles lettres* did not greatly interest him. I remember once asking him when I was in Persia whether he had paid much attention to the doctrines of the Sûfis. "No," he replied, "what is the use of trying to understand the meaning of people who do not themselves know what they mean?" It must be added that a considerable number of these MSS. come from the libraries of two somewhat notable Princes of the Royal Family, Farhâd Mirzâ *Mwtamadu'd-Dawla* and Bahman Mirzâ *Bahâ'u'd-Dawla*, both equally celebrated as harsh governors and enthusiastic bibliophiles.

In the following catalogue the manuscripts are arranged, so far as possible, according to subjects, and under each heading in chronological order. The order of subjects is based on that adopted by the late Dr. Ch. Rieu in his

British Museum Persian Catalogue, of which the older one in three volumes (1879-83) is usually cited as *B.M.P.C.*, and the Supplement (1895) as *B.M.P.S.* In the case of any book described in either of these invaluable works I have, to save space, referred, as a rule, to it only, to the exclusion of other catalogues.

CATALOGUE OF THE SCHINDLER MSS.

I. RELIGION

(1)

روضة الأبرار (ترجمة نهج البلاغة)

The *Rawṣatu'l-Abrār* ("Garden of the Righteous"), a Persian translation made by 'Alī ibn Ḥasan az-Zuwārī in 647/1249-50 of the celebrated Arabic work entitled *Nahju'l-Balāgha*, ascribed to the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, and compiled about 400/1009-10, by Sayyid Rāziyyu'd-Dīn-Muḥammad, a descendant in the sixth degree of the Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim.

A similar, but apparently not identical, Persian version of this work is described in *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 18-19. Concerning the Arabic original, see Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. i, p. 405.

Ff. 497 of 24·2 × 16·9 c. and 23 ll.; the Arabic text is written in clear *naskh*, pointed, the Persian translation in *nasta'liq*, with rubrications and some marginal notes. No colophon or date of transcription. The MS. belonged to Sultān Muḥammad of Kashmīr in 1019/1610-11; to Shamsu'd-Dawla Munīru'l-Mulk in 1198/1784; to Sir Charles Boddam in 1787; and to Kayūmarth Mīrzā in 1270/1854.

(2)

مقالات شيخ ركن الدين علاء الدولة سمعاني

The Discourses (*Maqālat*) of Shaykh Ruknu'd-Dīn 'Alā'u'd-Dawla of Simnān (d. 736/1335-6), beginning abruptly after a brief doxology:—

وبعدہ بدانکہ این فواید چندست کہ شیخ رکن الحق والدین
علاء الدولہ سمنانی قدس اللہ سرہ میفرمود و امیر اقبال
می نوشته اند و بعضی از آن اینست والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی

Ff. 98 of 14·7 × 8 c. and 14 ll.; written in good *ta'liq* with rubrications; no date or colophon. Formerly belonged to Prince Farhād Mīrzā *Mu'tamad-u'd-Dawla*, whose seal and autograph it bears, and who gave it in Rabī ii, 1286/July–August, 1869, to one Āqā 'Abdī. It is divided into a number of sections called *majlis*.

II. GENERAL HISTORY

(3)

روضه اولی الالباب (تاریخ بناکتی)

The well-known historical manual of Fakhru'd-Dīn Banākātī, properly entitled *Rawzat-u'Ulūl Albāb*. See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 79–80, etc.

This MS., which is defective both at beginning and end, belonged formerly to Prince Bahman Mīrzā *Bahā'u'd-Dawla*, and afterwards to Prince Farhād Mīrzā *Mu'tamad-u'd-Dawla* (in 1242/1826–7). It comprises ff. 185 of 23 × 15 c. and 21 ll., and is written for the most part in an ugly but fairly legible *tā'liq*.

(4)

طبقات محمود شاهى گجرات

A general history from the earliest times down to 838/1434–5, defective at beginning and end, wrongly described in a note on the fly-leaf at the beginning as the *Ta'rikh-i-Tabarī*, and apparently correctly in another note as the *Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd-shāhī*, composed in Gujerat.

The work concludes with sections on the biographies of famous poets, saints, ministers, and women, etc.

Ff. 550 of 27×17 c. and 21 ll.; written in legible *ta'liq* with rubrications; no colophon or date.

(5)

مجل فصیحی خوافی

A good modern MS. of the rare *Mujmal*, or historical and biographical compendium of Faṣihī of Khwāf, from the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad to 845/1441-2. This manuscript, as well as another formerly belonging to Colonel Raverty, bought after his death by the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial", I have described very fully, with copious extracts, in the special number of the *Muséon* (pp. 48-78) published in 1915 by some of the Belgian Professors who took refuge in Cambridge soon after the outbreak of the War, and printed at the Cambridge University Press.

Ff. 511 of 22×14 c. and 20 ll., written in a clear, legible modern hand with rubrications and marginal references to the context. It was copied by Āqā Bābā Shāh-mirzā'i for Prince Bahman Mirzā Bahā'u'd-Dawla, and completed on Muḥarram 17, 1273 (= September, 17, 1856).

(6)

نسخ جهان آرا

An incomplete copy (ending with the year 927/1521) of the *Nusakh-i-Jahān-ārā*, a general history from the earliest times to 972/1564-5, by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qāḍī (the Judge) al-Ghaffārī, author of the better-known *Nigāristān*, who flourished in the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp I, the Ṣafawī. The contents of the book are fully stated in *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 111-16, etc.

Ff. 113 of 31·8 × 19 c. and 25 ll.; written in a fairly legible but ungraceful *nasta'liq* with rubrications; not dated.

(7)

خلد برین

An enormous general history in five volumes entitled *Khuld-i-Barīn* ("Highest Heaven"), composed in the reign of Shāh Sulaymān the Šafawī in 1078/1667-8. See *B.M.P.S.*, Nos. 34 and 35 (both incomplete), pp. 22-4.

The first four volumes of this MS. were copied by Mullā Muḥammad Mahdī Aqā Bābā Shāhmīrzādī for Bahman Mīrzā *Bahā'u'd-Dawla* in 1270-2 (1854-6); the last was transcribed in 1236 (1820-1). The leaves are not numbered, but the number of leaves in each volume is thus given by Sir A. Houtum-Schindler in his manuscript catalogue.

Vol. i, comprising *Rawzas* i and ii, contains the pre-Islamic history and the history of the Prophet Muḥammad and the twelve Imāms. "Ff. 563 of 12½ × 8 inches and 31 lines of 6," dated Rabī' ii and Muḥarram, 1271 (= September, 1854-January, 1855).

Vol. ii, comprising *Rawzas* iii and iv, covers the period from A.H. 46 to 656 (A.D. 666-1258), viz. that of the Caliphate and of the quasi-independent dynasties of Persia from the Āl-i-Tāhir to the Sarbadāris, A.H. 205-747 (A.D. 820-1347). Ff. 285, same size as above, dated Ramazān-Shawwāl, 1270 (June-July, 1854).

Vol. iii, comprising *Rawzas* v and vi, contains the history of the Mongols from Chingiz Khān and his ancestors to the fall of their dynasty in Persia, and of Timūr and his ancestors and descendants down to the destruction of their power in Persia by the Uzbeks. Ff. 309, same size as above, dated Rajab, 1270 and 1271 (April, A.D. 1854, and 1854-5).

Vol. iv contains the history of the Šafawī dynasty

down to the death of Sháh 'Abbás I ("the Great") in 1037/1627-8. Ff. 498, same size as above, dated Rabí ii, 1272 (December, 1855).

Vol. v contains the remaining history of the Šafawís to 1071/1660-1. It is written by a different scribe in a poor cursive *ta'liq*, and is dated Jumáda ii, 1236 (= March, 1821). Ff. 173.

(8)

تاریخ سلطانی

The *Tārīkh-i-Sultānī* ("Royal History") by Sayyid Hasan ibn Sayyid Murtazá al-Husaynī, composed for Sháh Sultán Husayn the Šafawí, in 1115/1703-4. It comprises three chapters, viz.:—

1. On Angels, Devils, and the *Jinn*, the creation of the world, and the history of the Prophets and Imáms from Adam to the Islamic period (ff. 5b-247a).

2. History of the pre-Islamic and post-Islamic kings down to the Šafawí period (ff. 247a-290b).

3. History of the Šafawí dynasty of Persia to the reign of Sháh Šafi (ff. 290b-435b), beginning with an account of their ancestors and continuing with a detailed chronicle of events from A.H. 906-1051 (A.D. 1500-1641). Ff. 436 of 36.5 × 23.7 c. and 21 ll.; written in a large, clear *naskh* with rubrications. Defective at end, and lacking colophon and date.

(9)

زبدة التواريخ در انساب و احوال

انبیا و اولیا و پادشاهان و سلاطین زمان از حضرت خیر البشر
آدم عمّ الی یومنا هذا،

Zubdatu't-Tawārīkh, a general history of kings and prophets from Adam until the time of the author,

Muhammad Muhsin-i-*Mustawfi*, who was *‘Amil-i-Diwan* in Isfahán at the time of its siege by the Afgháns in 1134/1722. The history extends to 1148/1736. See *B.M.P.S.*, pp. 24-5, No. 36, where a MS. (probably an autograph) belonging to the British Museum (*Or. 3498*) is fully described.

Ff. 259 of 30·5 × 21 c. and 24 ll.; written in fair *ta’liq* with an admixture of *raqam*.

(10)

زبدة التواريخ سیندجی

A general history, sacred and profane, from the earliest times to 1215/1800-1, compiled for Khusraw Khán, Governor of Ardalán, in the year above-mentioned, by Muhammad Sharif, Qázi of Ardalán, son of Mullá Mustafá Shaykhu’l-Islám. The book comprises twelve sections (*fásl*), of which the last (ff. 239b-51b) deals with the reigning Qájár dynasty.

Ff. 251 of 21·3 × 13·8 c. and 12 ll.; written in clear *ta’liq* with rubrications, and transcribed by Áqá Bábá Shahmirzádi for Prince Bahman Mirzá *Bahá’u’d-Dawla*. It was completed on Sunday, Ramazán 27, 1275 (= April 30, 1859).

(11)

زينة التواريخ

A copy in two not quite uniform volumes of the *Zinatu’t-Tawárikh* ("Ornament of Histories") compiled about 1222/1807-8 for and by order of Fath-‘Alí Sháh Qájár by Mirzá Muhammad Rizá of Shaháwar. See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 135-6, and Aumer’s *Münich Cat.*, p. 79.

Vol. i comprises ff. 412 of 31·2 × 19·5 c. and 29 ll., and is written in a very neat and legible modern *naskh*. The date 1289/1872-3 is given in a colophon on f. 331 as the date of transcription. This volume comprises the

Āghāz (Introduction) and first *Pirāya*, as described by Rieu. This ends on f. 311a, and after it is intercalated (ff. 333b-411b) an extract from another historical work, the *Zīnatu'l-Majālis* of Mīrzā Rīzā of Tabriz, containing the history of the Šafawī dynasty from the accession of Shāh Šafī I (1038/1629) to its extinction, and of the Qājār dynasty down to the accession of Fath-'Alī Shāh (1211/1797).

Vol. ii comprises ff. 453 (incomplete at end) of 34×21.5 c. and 27 ll., and is written in a fair *ta'liq* with rubrications. It contains the second *Pirāya*, as described by Rieu (*loc. cit.*) down to 1222/1807-8.

(12)

احسن القصص ودافع النصص

لاحمد بن ابن الفتح الشريف الاصفهاني

Aḥsanu'l-Qiṣaṣ wa Dāfi'u'l-ghuṣaṣ, an abridgement of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Alfi* by Aḥmad ibn Abī'l-Fath ash-Sharīf al-Iṣfahānī, compiled in 1248/1832-3. Concerning the *Ta'rīkh-i-Alfi*, or history of 1,000 years since the *hijra*, composed for Akbar, Emperor of Dihlī, see *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 117 et seqq., *Ethé's India Office Pers. Cat.*, Nos. 110-18 (cols. 39-42), etc.

Pp. 534 of 28.4×17 c. and 19 ll.; fair *ta'liq* with rubrications; last few pages much discoloured by damp; no date or colophon. The year 994/1586 appears to be the last mentioned.

(13)

شمس التواريخ

A general history of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks in pre-Islamic and Islamic times down to the present Qājār dynasty in Persia, entitled *Shamsu't-Tawārīkh* ("The Sun of Histories"), by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, poetically surnamed

Qatra, of Chahār Mahāll near Isfahān. The author, according to a note by Sir A. H. Schindler, "was a *Mustawfī* (State Accountant) during Muḥammad Shāh's reign (A.D. 1834-41). 'Alī-qulī Khān *Mukhbirū'd-Dawla* (d. 1897) knew him."

The history comprises an Introduction, forty chapters, and two Conclusions, the first treating of the Qājār dynasty and the second of the Ottoman Sultāns.

Ff. 210 of 22×17.4 c. and 16 ll.; written in fair *nasta'liq* with rubrications; many marginal notes and additions; no colophon, but has the appearance of an autograph. A note of ownership by the author's son, Luṭfū'llāh, is dated Ramazān, 1256 (= November, 1840).

III. HISTORY OF SPECIAL PERIODS

(i) *Conquest of Kirmān by the Ghuzz Turks*

(14)

عقد العلی للموقف الاعلی

'Iqdu'l-'Ulā li'l-Mawqifi'l-a'lā, a history of the conquest of Kirmān by the Ghuzz chieftain Malik Dīnār in 581-3 (1185-7), by Afzalu'd-Dīn Aḥmad b. Hāmid of Kirmān. See *B.M.P.S.*, Nos. 90-1, pp. 62-3. This MS. seems to have been copied from the same original, dated Rabī' i, 649 (May-June, 1251), as the two British Museum MSS. The text was lithographed at Tih-rān in 1293/1876.

This MS., written in a neat and legible modern *naskh*, was completed in Dhu'l-Qa'da, 1269 (Aug.-Sept., 1853). It comprises ff. 77 of 15.4×9.6 c. and 17 ll.

(ii) *Muzaffarī Dynasty*

(15)

مواهب الی (تاریخ آل مظفر)

Two MSS. of the *Mawāhib-i-Ilāhī*, a well-known history of the Muzaffarī dynasty by Mu'īnu'd-Dīn of Yazd

(d. 789/1387). See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 168-9; *B.M.P.S.*, No. 50, p. 33; *Ethé's Bodl. Pers. Cat.*, No. 286. There is also a MS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

Of these two MSS. the older, dated 779/1377-8, was transcribed in the author's lifetime, and was formerly in the library of Prince Farhād Mirzā *Mu'tamadū'd-Dawla*. It comprises 216 ff. of 21.3×14.5 c. and 21 ll., and is written in a fine old *nasta'liq*, very legible, with rubrications.

(16)

The second MS., undated but much more modern, formerly belonged to Prince Bahman Mirzā *Bahā'ū'd-Dawla*, whose seal and autograph (dated 1269/1852-3) it bears. It comprises 264 ff. of 24.4×13 c. and 19 ll., and is written in a clear *ta'liq* with rubrications.

(iii) *Mongols and Timūrids*

(17)

مطلع السعدين وجمع البحرين

The *Matla'u's-Sa'dayn wa Majma'u'l-Bahrayn*, a well-known and valuable history covering the period from the accession of Abū Sa'id the Mongol to the death of Abū Sa'id the Timūrid and the beginning of the reign of his successor Sultān Abū'l-Ghāzī Husayn, A.H. 727-865 (A.D. 1326-7-1460-1). See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 181-3, etc. The author, 'Abdu'r-Razzāq ibn Ishāq as-Samarqandī, was born in 816/1413-14, and died in 887/1482.

The work consists of two volumes, which in this MS. are bound in one volume of 441 ff. of 36.8×28.7 c. and 31 ll., vol. i comprising ff. 1-180 and vol. ii ff. 181-441. Written in legible *ta'liq* with rubrications. Vol. i is dated 22 Jumāda ii, 1019 (September 12, 1610). Vol. ii is undated, but a former owner's note is dated 1095/1684.

(18)

ظفرنامه شرف الدین علی یزدی

The well-known history of *Timūr* (Tamerlane) by Sharafu'd-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, complete in one thick volume, except for a page missing at the beginning and another at the end. See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 173-5, etc.

Ff. 366 of 24.2×16.5 c. and 21 ll.; written in an excellent and oldish *ta'liq* with rubrications; colophon and date missing. The beginning corresponds with the *Bibl. Indica* ed., vol. i, p. 2, l. 14, and the end with vol. ii, p. 743, l. i.

(iv) *Safawis*

(19)

سلسلة النسب صفویة

Silsilatu'n-Nasab-i-Safawiyya, a history of the Safawi dynasty and their genealogy, by Shaykh Hasan ibn Shaykh Abdāl-i-Zāhidī. The last date mentioned in the book is Jumāda ii, 1010 (= December, 1601). According to a note by Sir A. H. Schindler the work was composed and this manuscript copied in the reign of Sulaymān (A.D. 1077-1105 = A.D. 1667-1694).

Ff. 88 of 26.3×16.5 c. and 15 ll.; written in fair *ta'liq* with rubrications; no date or colophon.

(20)

تاریخ عالم آرای عباسی تألیف اسکندر منشی

Two volumes, not uniform, of the *Ta'rikh-i-'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsi* of Iskandar Munshi, a history of the life and reign of Shāh 'Abbās I and his predecessors, composed in 1025/1616. See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 185-8, etc.

Vol. i, which contains twelve preliminary *Maqālāt*, or Discourses, and the first *Shahīfa*, extending to the date of

Sháh 'Abbás's coronation, was copied in 1095/1684, and was formerly in the library of Muhammad Hasan Khán *Šanī'u'd-Dawla*. It comprises ff. 279 of 27.2×16.5 c. and 19 ll., and is written in a small, neat *ta'liq*.

Vol. ii, much larger in size, contains the reign of Sháh 'Abbás the Great (996-1038 = 1588-1628) down to his death. This volume comprises ff. 338 of 32×19 c. and 23 ll., and is written in a small, neat *ta'liq*. The first part of this second *Sahifa* ends on f. 255a, and is dated 1055/1645. The last leaf is torn at the bottom, and the colophon and date, if they ever existed, are lost.

(v) *Qájárs*

(21)

تاریخ آل قاجار

Tārīkh-i-Āl-i-Qájár, a history of the Qájárs, the present dynasty in Persia, down to 1220/1805, by Muṣṭafá-qulī ibn Muḥammad Hasan al-Músawī as-Sarawī (of Saráw or Saráb) as-Sabalání, who wrote it in 1269/1852-3, at the request of Qahramán Mírzá, Governor of Ázarbáyján.

Ff. 74 of 22.7×13.8 c. and 13 ll.; good, clear *ta'liq* with gold-ruled margins. Dated Muḥarram, 1274 (= August-September, 1857).

(22)

تاریخ ذو القرنین

Tārīkh-i-Dhu'l-Qarnayn, a history of Fath-'Alī Sháh Qájár, by Mírzá Faḡlu'lláh, poetically surnamed *Kháwari*. It is divided into two volumes and a Conclusion (*Khátima*).

Vol. i, concluded on the 6th of Rabi' ii, 1249 (= August 23, 1833), contains the first thirty years of the reign (A.H. 1212-41 = A.D. 1798-1826), and occupies ff. 2b-185a. The transcription of this was completed on the 10th of Sha'bán, 1257 (= September 27, 1841).

Vol. ii contains the remaining eight years of the reign (A.H. 1242-50 = A.D. 1826-35) and occupies ff. 185b-272b.

The Conclusion contains a list of Fath-'Alī Shāh's descendants (ff. 273b-321a). Prince Farhād Mirzā, who formerly owned this MS., gave a copy of this last portion to the Hon. C. A. Murray in 1855. From this the British Museum MS. **Or. 1361** (*B.M.P.C.*, p. 201) was copied. Another complete MS., sent from Persia by Sidney Churchill, and numbered **Or. 3527**, is fully described by Rieu in his *Pers. Suppl.*, No. 71, pp. 47-8.

This MS., an autograph, formerly belonged to Prince Farhād Mirzā, whose seal and writing it bears. It comprises ff. 322 of 24.6 × 17.8 c. and 25 ll., and is written in fairly legible *nīm-shikasta* with rubrications. The transcription of vol. i was completed on the 10th of Sha'bān, 1257 (= September 27, 1841).

The author was secretary, or *munshī*, to the Prime Minister (*Sadr-i-A'zam*) Muḥammad Shafī'.

(23)

تاریخ میرزا مسعود و غیره

A volume of ff. 176 of 20.4 × 16.6 c. and 11 ll., undated, but written in a modern Persian *ta'liq* (except in the last part, ff. 145b-73b, which is in the cipher called *raqam* and *siyāq*), and containing:—

1. Curious events foretold by the stars in 582/1186-7 (ff. 9a-18a).
2. A history of the Ottoman Sultans down to the accession of Sultān Selīm in 918/1512, by a certain Asadu'llāh (ff. 19b-57a).
3. Curious events foretold by the stars in 1242/1826-7 (ff. 65b-6b).
4. The history of 'Abbās Mirzā *Nā'ib-i-Saltana*, by Mirzā Mas'ūd, Minister for Foreign Affairs (under

Muhammad Sháh), including especially the years 1242-4 (= A.D. 1826-8).

5. An inventory of the movable property, especially the books, belonging to the shrine at 'Ardabil in the year 1272/1855-6, compiled and sealed by Muhammad Qásim-i-Sáfawí (ff. 145b-73b).

(vi) *Indian Dynasties*

(24)

گلدسته گلشن راز در تعریف
سلطان محمد عادل شاه،

A history of Muhammad 'Adil Sháh, entitled *Guldasta-i-Gulshan-i-Ráz dar Taríf-i-Sultán Muhammad 'Adil Sháh*, by Abu'l-Qásim al-Husayní.

Begins:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، بس بود این سكه بنام كريم،
حمد و سپاس بی قیاس مر ذات مستجمع جمیع صفات الخ

The author's name occurs on f. 2a, l. 2, but the title only in a former owner's hand on the blank page at the beginning.

Ff. 223 of 29.2 × 17 c. and 15 ll.; poor but legible Indian *ta'liq* with rubrications; defective at end and undated.

(25)

منتخب الالباب (جلد سوم)

Part of the third volume of the *Muntakhabu'l-Lubáb* of Muhammad Hášim Khán, better known as Kháfi Khán. See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 232-6, and the references there given, especially pp. 235b-236a, where a MS. (Add. 26265) of this volume is described. The author died in 1144/1731-2.

Ff. 106 of 31.1 × 18.5 c. and 17 ll.; written in clear but ugly Indian *ta'liq*; no date or colophon; ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence.

IV. LOCAL HISTORIES

(i) *Isfahān*

(26)

رسالة في محاسن اصفهان للمافروخی

A treatise in Arabic on the charms of Isfahān (*Mahasin-i-Isfahān*) by al-Mufaḍḍal b. Sa'īd al-Māfarrūkhi, composed in 421/1030. This is the original of the Persian History of Isfahān fully described by me in the JRAS. for 1901 (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 411-46 and 661-704), of which another manuscript will be described immediately.

Ff. 88 of 21.8 × 14.2 c. and 18 ll.; written in a clear and excellent modern *naskh*, fully pointed, with rubrications; copied by Ḥabību'd-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Aṣghar al-Jurbādhaqānī (of Gulpāyagān), and completed on Friday, the 5th of Rabī' ii, 1277 (October-November, 1860). From the library of Prince Bahman Mīrzā Bahā'u'd-Dawla (who died in the Caucasus in 1883), from one of whose sons it was bought by Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler. The Prince's seal and a note (apparently in his hand) dated 1277/1860 occupy the blank page (f. 5a) preceding the text.

(27)

تاریخ اصفهان

The Persian version by al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi'r-Rizā al-Ḥusaynī al-'Alawī of the above-described treatise of al-Māfarrūkhi on the charms of Isfahān. Of this Persian version I published a full account in the JRAS. for 1901 (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 411-46 and 661-704), based on the Royal Asiatic Society's MS. (No. 180), with

a note on the Schefer MS. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. persan, 1573).

Ff. 108 of 22×14.8 c. and 15 ll., written in good *ta'liq*, with rubrications, between red and gold borders. No date or colophon. Formerly in the library of *Ihtishāmu'd-Dawla*.

(28)

نصف جهان فی تاریخ اصفهان

An account of Isfahān, partly topographical, partly historical, entitled *Nisf-i-Jahān fi ta'rikh-i-Isfahān*, composed by Muḥammad Mahdī b. Muḥammad Rīzā of Isfahān in 1303/1885-6, and transcribed in Rajab, 1308 (February-March, 1891).

The historical portion of this work begins with section v on f. 90a. There is a fairly detailed account of the Afghān invasion and the overthrow of the Ṣafawī dynasty beginning on f. 123a, followed by a narrative of the rise of Nādir Shāh and final extinction of the dynasty.

Ff. 242 of 21.7×14.5 c. and 18 ll. Written in a very clear and good modern *naskh* with rubrications.

(29)

تاریخ دارالامان قم

Part of the Persian History of Qum (*Kitāb- or Ta'rikh-i-Qum* or *Qum-nāma*) described by Rien (*B.M.P.S.*, No. 88, pp. 59-60) and mentioned by C. Brockelmann (*Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. i, p. 516).

The original work was written in Arabic in 378/988-9, and dedicated to the celebrated Ṣāhib Isma'īl ibn 'Abbād by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Qummi. The Persian translation was made in 806/1403-4 by Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. 'Abdu'l-Malik of Qum. The work should comprise 20 chapters (*Bāb*) subdivided into 50 sections (*Faṣl*). Of these the British Museum MS. contains only

the first 5 chapters, while this MS. contains only part (6 out of 8 sections) of the first chapter.

Ff. 65 of 34×21.2 c. and 17 ll.; large modern *nīm-shikasta* hand. The date 17 Dhu'l-Hijja, 837 (July 25, 1434) on f. 65a presumably refers to the original from which this modern copy was made.

Prefixed to the above is a smaller tract (*Kitābcha-i-tafṣīl-i-aḥwālāt . . . -i-Qum*) on the same subject, written for a certain physician named Mirzā 'Alī Akbar Khān. It comprises ff. 36 of 22.4×17 c. and 16 ll., and was transcribed on Safar 6, 1305 (October 24, 1887) in a fair modern *nīm-shikasta*.

(30)

تاریخ دارالامان قم

Another more complete and carefully written copy of the Persian History of Qum, containing the first four or five chapters out of the twenty which constitute the whole work.

Ff. 115 of 28.2×17 c. and 25 ll.; written throughout in a clear, neat, modern *naskh* with rubrications. Ends abruptly without colophon at the account of the conquest of Tustar (Shūshtar) by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. It formerly belonged to Prince *Ihtishāmū'l-Mulk*, and was copied for him when he was governor of Kāshān in 1286/1869-70, and has a few marginal corrections in his hand.

(31)

تاریخ طبرستان ابن اسفندیار

Ta'rikh-i-Tabaristān, a history of Tabaristān, by Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Isfandiyār. Concerning this work, of which an abridged English translation by myself, published in 1905, constitutes the second volume of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, see the Bibliography and

list of MSS. there given (p. 1), and especially Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 222-3.

Ff. 173 of 25×15.5 c. and 21 ll.; written in fair *ta'liq* with rubrications, and dated Jumádá i, 1268 (= February-March, 1852). From the library of Prince Farhád Mírzá Mu'tamad'u'd-Dawla, in whose handwriting are some notes on Herát on the last blank page at the end. On the fly-leaf at the beginning are some quatrains in the Mázandarání dialect in the handwriting of Rizá-qulí Khán Lálá-báshí, poetically surnamed *Hidáyat*.

(32)

تاریخ مازندران ظہیر الدین

Ta'rikh-i-Mázandarán, a history of the province of Mázandarán by Zahiru'd-Din ibn Sayyid Naşiru'd-Din-i-Mar'ashí, composed in 881/1476-7. The text was edited by Dorn (St. Petersburg, 1850). See Rieu's *B.M.P.S.*, pp. 63-4, No. 93. The same author's *History of Gilán*, composed in 894/1489, and described by Ethé (*Bodleian Cat.*, No. 309), was published by Mr. H. L. Rabino at Rasht ('*Urwatu'l-Wuthqá* Press) in 1330/1912.

Ff. 131 of 28.5×18.8 c. and 25 ll.; written in clear *naskh* with rubrications, and dated Şafar 14, 1271 (= November 6, 1854). Copyist, Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn 'Abdulláh al-Kátib.

(33)

شرف نامه شرف الدین بتلیسی

The *Sharaf-náma*, a well-known history of the Kurds by Sharafu'd-Din of Bitlis. The text was published by Veliaminof and a French translation by F. B. Charmoy, both in St. Petersburg, the latter in 1868-75. See *B.M.P.S.*, Nos. 95, 96, pp. 64-5. This MS. appears to agree with the second of these two MSS., and hence with

Veliaminof's edition. The chronicle comes down to 1005/1593-4, and this MS. was copied in 1027/1618.

V. BIOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS

(i) *Prophets and Saints*

(34)

ترجمة سيرة النبي

A Persian translation by Uways ibn Fakhru'd-Din ibn Hasan ibn Isma'il al-Mu'minabadi of the Arabic biography of the Prophet Muhammad (*Siyaru'n-Nabi*) of Sa'id ibn Mas'ud ibn Muhammad ibn Mas'ud of Kazarun, who died in 758/1357. The translation was completed on the 27th of Rabi' i, 896 (= February 7, 1491). A colophon dated rather less than three years later (12th of Rabi' ii, 899 = January 20, 1494) states that this manuscript (apparently the translator's autograph) was at that time in the possession of Mawlana Qutbu'd-Din ibn Husayn ibn Umar of Tayabad, a place near Bushanj in the district of Herat. Concerning Mu'minabad, the author's native place, Sir A. H. Schindler has the following note: "Mu'minabad, a district in the Qayin province, Khurasan, with ruins of the old castle Mu'minabad of the Assassins."

The book is divided into four *Qisms*, each of which is divided into numerous chapters (*Bab*), which are further subdivided into sections (*Fasl*).

Ff. 275 of 24·8 × 17·5 c. and 20 ll.; written in a large clear *naskh* with rubrications.

(35)

نفحات الانس

An excellent and ancient copy of Jami's well-known biographies of Sufi saints entitled *Nafahatu'l-Uns*. This work was composed, as stated in a chronogram at the end, in 883/1478-9, and this manuscript was transcribed less

than twenty years later, in Rajab, 902 (= March, 1497). It was formerly in the library of Prince Farhād Mīrzā *Mu'tamadū'd-Dawla*. The text was published by W. Nassau Lees in 1859 at Calcutta. See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 349-51, etc.

Ff. 312 of 24.4 × 16.3 c. and 21 ll.; good clear *naskh* with rubrications.

(ii) *Poets*

(36)

تذکرۃ الشعراء دولتشاه

The well-known "Memoirs of the Poets" (*Tadhkiratu 'sh-Shu'arā*) of Dawlatshāh of Samarqand. See the Preface to my edition of the text, published by Brill of Leyden and Luzac of London in 1901, which contains an account of the author and his work, and an enumeration of the principal manuscripts.

Ff. 185 of 22.3 × 16 c. and 21 ll.; clear *nast'liq*; transcribed in "۹۸", presumably 908/1502-3 or 980/1572-3.

(37)

تذکرۃ دلکشا

Tadhkira-i-Dil-gushā, biographies of modern Persian poets, with extracts from their works, to which is prefixed an account of Shirāz and its most notable buildings, mosques and gardens, and somewhat lengthy notices of Sa'di (ff. 12b-24b) and Hāfiz (ff. 24b-8a). This work was compiled by 'Alī Akbar of Shirāz, poetically surnamed *Bismil*, by order of Husayn 'Alī Mīrzā, son of Fath-'Alī Shāh, in A.H. 1237-40 (A.D. 1822-5), and, according to a note of Sir A. H. Schindler's, was much used by Sayyid Hasan in the compilation of his *Fārs-nāma*, or "Book of Fārs".

Ff. 126 of 33.5×21.3 c. and 20 ll.; written in a clear, good, modern *naskh* with rubrications. There is no colophon, and the manuscript would seem to have been copied by or for the author. The notices of poets occupy ff. 41a-116b and, after the mention of Fath-'Alī Shāh and certain other royal and noble personages, are arranged alphabetically according to the final letter of the *takhalluṣ* or *nom de guerre* (ff. 48a-116b). The author concludes the work with a notice of himself.

(iii) *Travel*

(38)

مخزن الاسفار

An account of the mission of Farrukh Khān *Aminu'l-Mulk* to Europe in 1857-8, in connexion with the negotiations which followed and concluded the Anglo-Persian War, composed by Mirzā Husayn ibn 'Abdu'llāh (attached to the Mission), and entitled *Makhzanu'l-Asfār* ("The Treasury of Travels"). The book is divided into two parts, of which the first contains a narrative of the journey to Paris and London and an account of the work done, while the second part (f. 216a) contains a description of the French Departments of State and Public Institutions.

Ff. 275 of 21.4×14 c. and 19 ll.; clear *naskh* with rubrications; transcribed for Prince Bahman Mirzā *Bahā'u'd-Dawla* by Mullā Muḥammad Mahdī Āqā Bābā Shāh-Mirzā'i, and concluded on 18 Rajab, 1276 (Feb. 10, 1860).

VI. GEOGRAPHY AND COSMOGRAPHY

(39)

هفت اقلیم امین احمد رازی

A fine and complete MS. of the well-known *Haft Iqlīm* ("Seven Climes") of Amin Aḥmad-i-Rāzī, completed in

1002/1593-4. See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 335 *et seqq.*; Ethé's *India Office Pers. Cat.*, cols. 380-499, etc.

Ff. 562 of 29×17 c. and 21 ll.; written in good clear *ta'liq* with rubrications; copied at Ahinadábád, but undated. Each *Iqlim* has an illuminated *'unwán* or title-page.

(40)

نزهة القلوب

Two manuscripts of the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb*, a well-known geographical work (of which the portion relating to Persia has been published by Mr. G. le Strange in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series", vol. xxiii), by Hamdu'lláh Mustawfi of Qazwin, who also wrote the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*, or "Select History", and the very rare continuation of the *Sháh-náma* known as the *Zafar-náma*. See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 418-19, for the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb*, and for an account of the author, pp. 80-2 of the same *s.v. Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*. The one known copy of his third work, the *Zafar-náma*, is described in *B.M.P.S.*, pp. 172-4.

The first copy (A) comprises ff. 235 of 22.8×17.5 c. and 20 ll.; small, neat *nasta'liq* with rubrications; no colophon or date; bought in Dámghán in 1876.

(41)

The second copy (B) comprises ff. 273 of 28.3×20.4 c. and 19 ll.; clear *ta'liq* with rubrications; dated 9th of Safar, but year omitted; copied by Suhráb ibn Hájji Alláh Karam of Sinandaj.

(42)

(١) خاتمة روضة الصفاء، (٢) عجایب الاشياء

A MS. of 72 ff. of 27.4×19.2 c. and 25 ll., written in a clear modern *naskh*, with rubrications, and containing:—

1. The *Khâtima*, or Conclusion (book viii) of Mir-khwând's famous general history the *Rawzatü's-Safâ*, treating of geography and biography (ff. 3b-44a).

2. The '*Ajâ'ibu'l-Ashyâ* (or -*u'd-Dunyâ*), "Wonderful Things," or "Wonders of the World", by Abu'l-Mu'ayyad Abû Mutî' of Balkh, who wrote it, as stated in the opening lines, for the Sâmânî ruler Abu'l-Qâsim Nûh ibn Mansûr (reigned in Khurâsân 366-87/976-97). This must refer to a (presumably) Arabic original, for on f. 46b, l. 9, an anecdote is related which begins, "In the year 613/1216-7, when I, this humble servant, was travelling to the Hijâz, I reached the shore of the Egyptian Sea." This must be presumed to be an addition by the translator into Persian.

The MS. is undated but modern.

(43)

شهرستان و عجایب المخلوقات و غیره

A volume containing four separate treatises on geography and kindred subjects, viz. :—

1. *Shahristân* (ff. 1b-57b), a poem in the *mutaqârib* metre, written in Sha'bân, 977 (= Jan. 1570), describing in some detail the cities and lands of Persia, with brief notices of other lands. The end is missing, and the author's name does not appear in the text, but is given on the blank leaf at the beginning as Hikmatî of Turkistân.

2. '*Ajâ'ibu'l-Makhlûqat* ("Wonders of Creation"), a work similar in scope to the well-known homonymous work of Qazwînî, by Muḥammad ibn Maḥmûd ibn Aḥmad at-Tîrî (? -Ṭabarî) as-Salmânî (ff. 58a-207a).

3. A treatise on astronomy and geography (ff. 207b-40b), written for Ghiyâthu'd-Dîn Ḥabîbu'llâh, who was governor of Khurâsân in 909/1503-4.

4. The *Khâtima*, or concluding geographical section, of Mirkhwând's well-known general history the *Rawzatü's-Safâ* (ff. 241b-305b).

The volume contains ff. 305 of 34×23 c. and 21 ll.; fair *ta'liq* with rubrications. The third and fourth sections of the volume are both dated 1085/1674-5.

(44)

عدد خانه‌ها و سایر بناهای دار الخلافه

باهره طهران

A List of the houses and other buildings of the glorious metropolis of Tihrán . . . compiled in 1269/1852-3 by command of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh Qājār.

This valuable manuscript, probably the original copy prepared for the late Shāh, gives a complete account of all the houses in the Persian capital sixty-five years ago, street by street and quarter by quarter. Except for the explanatory title of four lines at the beginning, there is no connected text, merely long lists of the buildings and houses and their owners, all numbers being expressed in the cipher called *siyāq* or *raqam*.

Ff. 188 of 21.6×15.1 c. and from 12 to 15 double entries (each of one or two lines); written in a moderately good *shikasta*; no colophon or scribe's or author's name.

(45)

A modern Persian Gazetteer of the World, without title, preface, or colophon, containing a list of towns and countries in all parts of the world arranged alphabetically, with brief accounts of each.

Ff. 166 of 33×21 c. and 21 ll.; written in a fair modern *ta'liq*; no date or indication of authorship.

VII. SCIENCE

(i) *Encyclopædia*

(46)

مجل الحکمة (ترجمة رسائل اخوان الصفا)

Mujmalu'l-Hikmat ("Compendium of Philosophy"),

being a simplified and abridged Persian version of the well-known *Rasā'il*, or "Tracts", of the *Ikhwānu's-Safā*, or "Brethren of Purity". The original Arabic text of these tracts has been published in four volumes printed at Bombay in 1305-6/1887-9, and there is also a lithographed Persian version. Dieterici has edited, translated, or abridged a number of them.

This version appears to have been made in the time of Timūr. The translator, whose name does not appear, complains that previous Persian versions of these tracts, such as the *Dānish-nāma*, were either archaic, or redundant, or enigmatical, and that therefore, by request of the Court, he undertook this simple version, which comprises thirty-nine tracts.

This MS. was given by the late Prince Farhād Mirzā *Mu'tamadū'l-Dawla* to his son *Muhtashamū'l-Mulk* in Sha'bān, 1302 (May-June, 1885). It comprises 139 ff. of 14 x 8.8 c. and 17 ll., and is written in a beautiful, small modern *naskh*. The name of the copyist and date of transcription are not given.

(ii) *Medicine*

(47)

(۱) ترجمه ایضاح فی اسرار النکاح،

(۲) رساله در اعزّ اوقات، (۳) فرّخ نامه جمالی،

A manuscript comprising ff. 168 of 22 x 16.8 c. and 17 ll.; written throughout in a legible *ta'liq*, and dated on f. 77b the 25th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 886 (January 15, 1482). Contains:—

1. A Persian translation of a well-known Arabic work on marriage and sexual intercourse entitled *al-Idāh fī Asrārī'n-Nikāh* by Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Rahmān ibn Naṣr ibn 'Abdu'llah of Shīrāz, a physician of Aleppo, who died in 565/1169 (see Brockelmann, vol. i, p. 488, No. 20). The

Persian translation is entitled *Kanz*-[or *Ganj*]-*ul-Asrār*. It is divided into two parts (*Juz'*), of which the first (ff. 1-38a) comprises ten and the second (ff. 38a-73b) nine chapters and a Conclusion (ff. 73b-7b). The transcription was completed on the 25th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 886 (January 15, 1482).

2. *Risāla dar 'aazz-i-awqāt* (ff. 78b-87b), a treatise on the most suitable times for sexual intercourse, in seventeen chapters, without author's name.

3. *Farrukh-nāma-i-Jamālī* (ff. 88b-168b). "A work treating of the properties and uses of natural substances, also of divination and astrology," by Abū Bakr al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Qāsim b. Abī Sa'īd al-Jamāl of Yazd. *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 465-6. Rieu thinks that the correct title is *Farah-nāma*, as given by Hājji Khalīfa. The work is said to have been composed in 560/1165.

(48)

قرا بادین شفائی

A work on *Materia Medica* entitled *Qarābādīn-i-Shifā'i*, by Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad al-Husayni ash-Shifā'i. See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 473-4, where the author is said to have died in 963/1555-6.

Ff. 209 of 18.5 × 11.7 c. and 14 ll.; written in a clear *naskh* with rubrications, and dated in the colophon Shawwāl, 1090 (November, 1679).

(49)

مجموعه رسائل طبیه

A collection of treatises on medicine and *Materia Medica*, mostly translated from a Turkish version of the original by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Mūsawī the physician, for Sulṭān Husayn the Ṣafawī (A.D. 1694-1722).

1. The first treatise (ff. 3b-47b) deals with hygiene, especially in connexion with marriage, and professes to

be a Persian rendering of a Turkish version of a treatise composed by Naṣīru'd-Dīn-i-Tūsī for Ghāzān Khān—an obvious chronological error, since the latter was born about the time (A.D. 1274) when the former died. The Turkish version was made by one 'Abdu'l Laṭīf for Sultān Ya'qūb ibn Dawlat Khān.

2. A treatise on the medicinal qualities of various animals and vegetables (ff. 48b-104b), also translated from the Turkish by the above Muḥammad Bāqir.

3. A treatise on various wounds, injuries, and ailments, and their treatment, also by Muḥammad Bāqir (ff. 105a-182a).

Ff. 183 of 23·6 × 13·3 c. and 14 ll.; good clear *nash* with rubrications. The seal of a former owner is dated 1168/1754-5.

(iii) *Precious Stones*

(50)

Three Treatises on Precious Stones

A MS. of 118 ff. of 21 × 16·5 c. and 18-19 ll., containing:—

1. The *Jawāhir-nāma* (ff. 1b-37b) of Amīn Ṣadru'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Maṣṣūr of Shīrāz, composed for Abu'l-Faṭḥ Khalīl Bāyandārī, copied in 1883 from a *Jung*, or volume of miscellaneous contents, in the Library at Mashhad, and copiously annotated and collated with the British Museum manuscript Add. 23565 by Sir A. Houtum-Schindler. See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 464-5, and *B.M.P.S.*, No. 158, pp. 112-13.

2. *Risāla dar Ma'rīfat-i-Jawāhir* (ff. 40b-94a), composed by Muḥammad ibnu'l-Mubārak of Qazwīn for the great Ottoman Sultān Selīm I (A.D. 1514-20), called "the Grim" (*Yāwūz*). Begins:—

حمد پاک پاکی را سزد که گوهر پنهان جان انسان را الخ

It is divided into an Introduction, two "Mines" (*Ma'dan*), the first containing twenty-one "Caskets" (*Durj*) on the precious stones, and the second eight "Treasures" (*Makhzan*) on the precious metals; but the text breaks off in the middle of the sixteenth "casket" on Lapis Lazuli (*Lájiward*).

3. *Tansúq-náma-i-Ílkhání* (ff. 97b-118b), a treatise on precious stones, etc., composed by the celebrated Naṣíru'd-Dín Túsi for Húlágú Qá'án the Mongol in Arabic, of which this is an abridged Persian translation, comprising four Discourses (*Maqálat*). See *B.M.P.S.*, No. 157, p. 112. This copy contains only the portion dealing with precious stones. A complete type-written translation of this work, on which Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler had evidently spent much labour, is one of the few finished pieces of work left by him.

(51)

تنسوق (تنگسوق) نامه ایلخانی

Another copy of the *Tansúq* (or *Tangsúq*)-*náma-i-Ílkhání*, composed by Naṣíru'd-Dín of Túsi for Húlágú the Mongol, described by Sir A. H. Schindler in a pencil note on the title-page as "very much abridged, and the sequence of chapters different from that of the British Museum MS. The 1st *Maqála* with four *Faṣls*, and the 2nd *Maqála* up to the middle of the Pearl chapter are missing in this".

The MS. in its present acephalous state comprises 142 pp. of 18.8×12.4 c. and 13 ll., and is written in a clear and fairly good *ta'liq*. It is dated in the colophon the end of Jumáda ii, 973 (= January, 1566).

(52)

Three Treatises on Precious Stones

A MS. of 118 ff. of 22.4×14.5 c. and 18 ll., containing:—

1. The *Jawáhir-náma* (ff. 1b-56a) of Muḥammad b. Maṣṣúr of Shiráz, of which one copy (50, 1) has been already described above. Dated Rabí' ii, 1259 (May, 1843).

2. *Mukhtaṣar dar bayán-i-shinákhtan-i-Jawáhir* (ff. 57a-73b), composed for Sháhrukh Bahádur Khán by Zaynu'd-Dín Muḥammad Jámí.

3. A treatise on how to recognize the different kinds of precious stones (ff. 74b-118b), in 42 chapters, 140 sections, and 160 "arts" (*hunar*). This last treatise appears to be entitled *Majmú'atu's-Ṣanáyí*, or "The Compendium of Artifices".

(53)

جواهر نامه

A third copy of the *Jawáhir-náma*, or treatise on precious stones, of Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣúr of Shiráz, already described (50, 1). This MS. is written in a large, clear modern *naskh* with rubrications, and comprises ff. 84 of 20·1 × 12·5 c. and 15 ll. It consists of two Discourses (*Maqála*), of which the first includes an Introduction, twenty chapters, and a Conclusion, and the second seven chapters and a Conclusion. This treatise ends on f. 80a, and is immediately followed (ff. 80b-82a) by a note of the copyist, Shaff'u'd-Dín Hasan ibn Ni'matu'lláh-i-Músawí-i-Shúshtari, who says that he designed it for a present to Minúchihir Khán *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla*, governor of Isfahán for Muḥammad Sháh Qájár. This is dated the 20th of Jumáda ii, 1260 (July 7, 1844).

(54)

(۱) بهجة الرواج (۲) رسالة كرامية دورة سفرچی

(۳) توزكات تيمورى،

A MS. of 70 ff. of 22·7 × 15·4 c. and 11-12 ll., containing:

1. A treatise on music, entitled *Bahjatu'r-Rawáj*

(ff. 1-22), professedly translated from Arabic and Greek sources into easy Persian for Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazna (reigned A.D. 998-1030) by 'Abdu'l-Mú'min b. Safiyyu'd-Dín b. 'Izzu'd-Dín b. Muhiyyu'd-Dín b. Ní'mat b. Qábús b. Washmgír of Gurgán, and comprising ten sections (*Faṣl*).

2. Another treatise on music, entitled *Risála-i-Kirá-miyya-i-Dawra-i-Sufragi* (the two last words apparently representing the name of the author), composed for 'Alí-qulí Khán (ff. 23b-29a) and transcribed in 1280/1863.

3. The *Malfúzáṭ*, *Tázukát*, or "Institutes" of Timúr (ff. 31b-68b), beginning abruptly¹:—

فی تدیرات و کنکاشها و کنکاش امور جهانگیری الخ

Dated 1st of Safar, 1290 (March 31, 1873).

The manuscript is written throughout in a clear, modern *naskh*.

VIII. PHILOLOGY

(55)

مجمع الفرس سروری

The *Majma'u'l-Furs* or *Lughat-i-Surúri*, a Persian-Persian dictionary by Muḥammad Qásim b. Hajjī Muḥammad of Káshán, poetically surnamed Surúri, composed in 1008/1599-1600 and dedicated to Sháh 'Abbás the Great. See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 498-9, etc.

This MS. comprises ff. 258 of 29·2 × 17 c. and 24 ll., and is written in a clear *naskh* hand with rubrications, and dated the 8th of Jumáda i, 1254 (July 30, 1838). The preface, in which the author enumerates the lexicographical works of which he made use, fills both sides of f. 1, and is written in a small, neat *ta'liq*. It was copied from Surúri's

¹ Both the beginning and end correspond to the text published at Oxford in 1783 by Major Davy and Joseph White (pp. 2 and 408), but it would appear that in the MS. much must be missing in the middle of the treatise.

autograph and bears a date two days later than that given above.

(56)

فرهنگ رشیدی

The well-known Persian dictionary entitled *Farhang-i-Rashīdī* compiled in 1064/1653-4 by 'Abdu'r-Rashīd b. 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr al-Husaynī al-Madanī at-Tatawī. See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 500-1; Ethé's *India Office Pers. Cat.*, cols. 1349-51, etc.

This excellent copy, which formerly belonged to Prince Farhād Mīrzā, is dated in the colophon the 6th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 1084 (= February 12, 1674), and is written in a clear *ta'liq* with rubrications.

IX. ANECDOTES

(57)

جوامع الحکایات و لوامع الروایات

A complete MS. of the immense collection of stories and anecdotes compiled by Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Awfī (the author of the oldest extant Persian anthology, entitled *Lubābu'l-Albāb*) in the early part of the thirteenth century of the Christian (seventh of the Muhammadan) era under the title of *Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi'u'r-Riwāyāt*. It is divided into four sections (called *Qism*), each of which comprises twenty-five chapters, each of which in turn contains a number of stories connected with some general topic.

See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 749-51; *B.M.P.S.*, Nos. 391-2, pp. 245-8; Ethé's *India Office Pers. Cat.*, cols. 245-7; and Ross & Browne's *Cat. of Two Collections of Persian and Arabic MSS. . . . in the India Office Library* (1902), pp. 53-4.

Ff. 404 of 38 × 24.5 c. and 25 ll.; written throughout in

a neat and legible *ta'liq*; dated the 27th of Muharram, 1059.

(58)

بستان للعارفين وگلستان للعبادين

Bustānu'l-'Ārifin wa Gulistānu'l-'Ābidin ("The Garden of the Gnostics and Rose-garden of the Devout"). (This hybrid title occurs on f. 12a, l. 13.) A collection of anecdotes of an ethical and religious character, mostly about pious and saintly personages. It is divided into three chapters (*Bāb*), of which the first comprises ten sections (*Faṣl*), the second five, and the third two, the contents of which are stated on f. 13b. The book was compiled for the Timūrid Prince *Nuṣratu's-Saltāna* Sultān Khalīlu'llāh (807-12/1404-9) by an author whose identity I cannot discover.

Ff. 114 of 24·4 × 16·8 c. and 19 ll.; written in a legible and rather archaic *ta'liq*. The colophon is dated Monday, Shawwāl 23, 891 (= October 22, 1486).

X. STATE PAPERS

(59)

منشآت رشیدی

Two manuscripts in Persian and another containing an abstract in English of the letters of the celebrated minister of the Mongol rulers of Persia, Rashidu'd-Dīn Faḡlu'llāh (author of the *Jāmi'u't-Tawārīkh*, put to death by Abū Sa'īd in 718/1318).

The older MS., defective at both beginning and end, is written in a good, clear old *naskh*, and comprises fifty-three letters or despatches, dealing with political and financial matters, addressed by the minister to his sons and others who held various high administrative posts and governments in different parts of Persia and Asia

Minor. These letters, collected and edited by Rashīdu'd-Dīn's secretary, Muḥammad of Abarqūh, are of considerable interest, and calculated to throw much light on Mongol administration in Persia during the latter part of the thirteenth and earlier part of the fourteenth century. This MS. comprises ff. 182 of 17.8×11.8 c. and 15 ll.; headings and quotations from the *Qur'ān*, etc., in red and blue.

(60)

The second MS., which, though not dated, is quite modern, formerly belonged to Bahman Mīrzā *Bahā'u'd-Dawla*, and comprises 138 ff. of 21.6×16.2 c. and 17 ll. The opening words correspond with f. 1b, l. 1 of the older MS. The concluding words of the two MSS. also correspond, and it would appear that the second is merely a modern copy of the first.

(61)

The English summary, bound and labelled "Despatches of Rashīd-ad-Dīn", comprises 93 + 30 written ff. of 19.1×15.7 c. and about 18 ll. Ff. 1-93 contain an abstract of all the fifty-three despatches, "copied from notes supplied by Sir A. H. Schindler, and afterwards corrected by him, December, 1913." Ff. 1*-30* contain a list of these despatches, stating to whom each was addressed, and on which leaf of the older MS. it begins. This volume, as well as the older MS., was given to Mr. G. le Strange (to whom they both belong) by the late Sir A. H. Schindler, in July, 1913.¹ The more modern MS. was bought by me with the remaining MSS. and books.

¹ Since this was written Mr. le Strange has most generously presented to me the two MSS. in question.

XVII

THE MOST ANCIENT GODDESS CYBELE

By F. LEGGE

IN the year 204, exactly two centuries before the date generally accepted as that of the birth of Christ, the Roman State had passed through an experience much like that of our great Ally across the Channel in the autumn of 1914. Hannibal, the lifelong enemy of Rome, had surmounted obstacles thought to be insurmountable, had swept into Italy like a whirlwind, and in a few pitched battles had destroyed six consular armies. After one of these victories, his Moorish cavalry had raided right up to the walls of Rome, then only defended by old men and boys, and the Eternal City seemed to be at his mercy. Yet at the last moment he turned aside, as did von Kluck in our day, and pushed into the rich province which was afterwards Naples, whence it took all the nibbling strategy of Fabius to dislodge him. When Capua at last fell, he still kept his grip on the Calabrian coast, where he waited for reinforcements which never reached him, to again attack Rome. So long as he was on Italian soil, there could be no rest nor peace of mind for those Romans who, like the elder Cato, had seen the fierce African spearmen galloping through the Campagna, firing the thatched huts and driving off the cattle which formed all the wealth of the peasant farmers, then the backbone of the Republic. During all this time, too, the Roman populace had behaved beautifully. Even after Cannæ they had not despaired of the Republic; they had suspended their long quarrel with the patricians; and, after a few very unsuccessful experiments with mob-appointed generals, had left the conduct of the war in the

more capable hands of the Senate. But when a shower of stones—probably *lapilli* from some volcano on the coast—fell upon the city, they were seized with one of the superstitious panics to which they were prone. They cried out that the gods were angry with them, and, as the unknown is sometimes more terrible than the known, there was more fear of their weakening before this menace than before Hannibal.

What a modern government would have done in these conditions, it is difficult to see; but Roman statesmen had a remedy at hand for all such troubles in the Sibylline Books. These were now consulted in due form, and pronounced that if the Mother of the Gods could be brought to Rome, Hannibal would be driven out of Italy. Now the Mother of the Gods, sometimes called merely the "Great Mother", was worshipped all over the Eastern Mediterranean under the names of *Gê*, *Rhea*, or, most often, *Cybele*. At Athens, the *Metrôon*, or House of the Mother, had been built in her honour, and *Phidias* himself had carved her statue. But her most famous image at this time was the *baetyl* or black stone said to have fallen from Heaven at *Pessinus* in *Phrygia*, which it made the centre and Holy City of the religion. All *Phrygia*, or Central Asia Minor, had been tossed about like a tennis-ball during the wars between Alexander's marshals which broke out upon the great conqueror's death; but in 204 was under the rule of *Attalus* of *Pergamum*, the Asiatic king who had earliest foreseen the great future before the Republic and was most anxious for the title of "Friend of Rome". Hence the special embassy that was at once sent to him had little difficulty in persuading him to give up the statue; and as Rome, though defeated on land, was still mistress of the seas, it was announced before long that the Mother of the Gods had arrived at Rome's seaport of *Ostia*.

The reception of the famous stone was stage-managed with a care that shows how real had been the peril it was

expected to conjure. The Oracle of Delphi, which the Roman embassy had consulted on its way to Pergamum, had advised that the goddess should be attended in her new home by her accustomed priests and priestesses and should be received by the most virtuous man among the citizens. The Senate had no difficulty in deciding this to be Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, one of the great patrician house that was later to break the Carthaginian power at Zama, and in the Third Punic War to wipe it off the face of the earth. Nasica therefore went to Ostia: but the passage of the goddess from Ostia to Rome could not be accomplished without a miracle. The barge containing the statue ran upon one of the mudbanks common in the undredged Tiber, and neither sailors nor landmen could get it off until Quinta, a Roman lady of the Claudian House whose virtue had been unjustly suspected, declared that only the girdle of a pure woman would be effective, and fastening her own to the prow of the vessel, drew it off as easily as a child drags after him a toy-boat. Medals have come down to us commemorating this episode, which has been described by Ovid.¹ But other versions of the story seem to show that Claudia Quinta had from the first been appointed by the Senate to help in the reception of the goddess. There was seldom much love lost between the Cornelian and the Claudian Houses, and the lady's association with a Scipio in the affair is therefore some proof that the invitation to the goddess to come to Rome was the result of a transaction amongst the patricians entered into for some political end.²

The scene which followed on the statue's arrival in the city has been described by poets and historians writing centuries after the event, but may perhaps be reconstructed

¹ *Fasti*, iv, 76.

² Probably the transfer of the war to Africa, in which policy the Scipionic party was opposed by Fabius.

with fair probability from what we know about the worship in later times. The procession which the astonished Romans then saw for the first time was probably headed by priestesses playing flutes and pipes, clashing castanets and cymbals, and beating tambourines. Then came the bearers of the sacred emblems, the mystic chest, the pine-cones, and the drum, together with other assistants brandishing snakes.¹ Then the statue of the goddess, represented as a seated matron of majestic beauty, holding in her right hand a sceptre, and on her head a turreted crown in which was set the famous aerolite or black stone,² which in earlier days had itself been worshipped as divine. The statue was probably fashioned in ivory and gold, and was shown in a shrine in which the goddess' chair was flanked by lions, which in later times at all events were of silver. The car bearing it was escorted by the Corybantes or male attendants of the goddess, armed with sword and buckler, which they rhythmically clashed together with a ritual significance.³ Then followed—strangest sight of all to Roman eyes—the eunuch-priests of the East, dressed as women, with long perfumed hair, painted faces, and eyes darkened with kohl. They were led by the high priest or *archigallus*, a man chosen for his tall stature, clothed in royal robes, and wearing a golden crown from which floated a long white veil. The procession was closed by the male novices, who with the eunuchs danced along with wild

¹ Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 259 sqq.

² The pains taken to build a ship on purpose for its transport (see Ovid, *ubi cit.*) shows that the statue and not only the stone, probably a very small affair, was sent. Pergamum had a school of art of its own, and it is probable that its statue gave the type that we find on coins (see Graillet, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, Paris, 1912), pl. x. The still more beautiful one carved by Phidias for the Athens Metron probably lacked the crown of towers and other specially Phrygian attributes. See Farnell, *Culte of the Greek States*, iii, p. 298.

³ Sometimes called Curetes. The noise was said to have been made by the orders of Rhea (another form of Cybele) to prevent Kronos from hearing the cries of the infant Zeus.

yells, tossing themselves about as if in ecstasy, lashing themselves with scourges and cutting themselves on the arms and shoulders like the Biblical priests of Baäl. To such a pitch did the frenzy of these last sometimes reach that now and again one of them would dash away and mutilate himself in memory of the god who, as we shall see, was worshipped together with Cybele. After this, he was given women's clothes and passed the rest of his life as a priest.

All this must have been extremely shocking to the ideas of the Romans, to whom any public display of emotion was repulsive in the highest degree. They had always a very exalted idea of their personal dignity, and to the last were marked with that *gravitas* which may be likened to the *morgue* or *phlegm* with which we English used to be credited on the Continent. Particularly was this the case in religious matters, the ancient State rites being as coldly restrained and as purely symbolical as those of the Chinese worship of Heaven. Hence the Scipios and other patricians responsible for the presentation of this charivari must have felt very much ashamed of themselves. But what were they to do? To send back the Mother of the Gods to her Phrygian home would have been at once to offend Attalus mortally and to imperil the re-establishment of the public *moral* which was the object of her importation. On the other hand, the last thing they wanted was any increase of public hysteria in the very crisis of the war. In face of this dilemma, they took the middle course and wisely compromised. The Mother of the Gods was given a habitation on the Palatine and an establishment maintained for her at the expense of the State; but no Roman was allowed to join in her worship, which was restricted to foreigners. The sacrifice of virility with which it sometimes culminated was made an offence punishable with exile and later with death. Once a year the priests might hold a public

festival, and once a month might beg in the streets like Buddhist monks or mendicant friars. At other times the worship had to be kept to the Palatine. The goddess does not seem to have resented these restrictions, for that year gave Rome the best harvest she had enjoyed for ten years, and the next Hannibal left Italy for ever.

What, now, was this foreign divinity who was thus brought from Asia Minor to save Rome in her hour of need? Every god of classical antiquity had his or her myth or legend, and that of Cybele was so opposed to all our conventional ideas as to show that it must be referred to a very primitive state of society indeed. Cybele or Agdistis—both are names taken from mountains in Phrygia and have no special significance—was said to have sprung by a kind of accident¹ from a rock, and to have been originally an androgyne or man-woman. The terrified gods, on beholding this monster, took from her her manhood, but in doing so gave life to an almond-tree, the fruit of which was plucked by the virgin daughter of the River Sangarios, who thereby became the mother of Attis, the most beautiful of men. Attis, at his birth, was exposed on the bank of the River Gallos, but was rescued, brought up as a goatherd, and was later sent to Pessinus, where he was given as a husband to the king's daughter. But at the marriage feast Cybele, who had conceived a passion for her son—or rather grandson—broke into the town by beating down the walls with her head, and so frightened him that he mutilated himself under a pine-tree and died of the hurt. Then Cybele repented, and after mourning over the body of Attis, prayed to Zeus to restore him to life. The prayer was granted by making him a god, and Attis became the companion and charioteer of Cybele, driving with her in her car drawn by lions over the wooded mountains of the earth, where the noise of its wheels is heard by men as thunder.

¹ A *pollutio nocturna* of Zeus.

This extraordinary story, which we have from both Pagan and Christian sources,¹ is amply confirmed by what we know of the Megalesia or festivals of the Great Goddess, which from her first arrival were celebrated in Rome at the Spring Equinox. They began on March 15 with the *Canna Intrat* or Day of Reeds, when the guild of the Cannophori, mostly children, entered the temple in procession carrying reeds in memory of those among which the infant Attis had been exposed, like Sargon of Akkad or the Hebrew Moses. Then followed a *novena* or fast of nine days, during which the faithful had to observe strict continence and to abstain from bread and everything made from cereals, from roots, pomegranates, dates, quinces, pork, fish, and wine. On the 22nd came the *Arbor Intrat*, when the Dendrophori or guild of tree-bearers cut in the wood sacred to Cybele a young pine-tree, which they wrapped in wool and crowned with violets in memory of those which were fabled to have sprung from the blood of Attis, a small image of whom was attached to the top branches. The procession bearing this on its way to the temple, chanted funeral hymns in Greek with much beating of the breast in sign of grief. The tree, which was considered as the body of Attis himself, was set up outside the temple for three days, and surrounded day and night by a mourning crowd of worshippers, while a priest cried at intervals "Wail for Attis! Smite yourselves for Attis!" On the 24th this mourning reached its height in the *Dies Sanguinis* or Day of Blood, when the priests with yells and dancings lashed themselves with scourges and cut themselves with knives so as to sprinkle the tree with their blood; and the day finished with the solemn burial of the tree within the temple, to be dug up and burnt when its successor

¹ Pausanias, vii, c. 17; Arnobius, *adv. Gentes*, v, cc. 5 sqq. Diodorus Siculus gives a third version and Ovid a fourth, but without essential variation.

arrived the following year. During the night of the Day of Blood, the faithful might eat nothing and drink only milk, while they watched in silence round the darkened temple.

Their reward came the next day, called *Hilaria* or Day of Joy. At midnight a solitary light was seen to shine from the inner sanctuary, and the public were admitted to see Attis, this time in human form, dressed in silk and gems, lying on an ivory bed before the statue of the Great Mother. Something like a modern service followed, with hymns and perhaps prayers in Greek, and the high priest delivered a discourse on the joys reserved for those who believed on Attis. Then he purified all present by anointing them upon the lips with the whispered formula, evidently reserved for those fully initiated: "Be of good cheer, ye mystæ of the god who has been saved; for, for us too there will be salvation from our ills." Then, as dawn broke, the throng of worshippers poured out into the streets, to find them decorated for the triumphal marriage procession of Attis and Cybele, when everyone had either to be dressed in gay colours or to wear a disguise as in a modern carnival. The centre of the procession was the silver car in which the bridal pair were seated, and the faithful who surrounded it were crowned with flowers, carried torches, and cried as they went along: "Attis is risen." But this was not the end. The following day, called *Requies*, was given up to much-needed rest, but on the day after this, called *Lavatio*, the procession set forth again, bearing this time the silver statue of the goddess only. It was taken by the Appian Way to the brook Almo, where it was solemnly bathed, together with the car and the knives used by the *galli*. Then, having been implored to return to Rome by the Quindecimvirs, or Committee of Fifteen whom the State set to look after exotic cults, the goddess was taken back to the Palatine, there to remain till the next spring, while

banquets, games, and performances in the theatres were given in her honour.

These ceremonies were annually celebrated from the first arrival of the Mother down to the last day of the Republic. During this time the faith was evidently making itself slowly known among the citizens; and although no formal sanction was given to the cult, the restrictions imposed by the Senate must have been somehow relaxed. When a Phrygian *archigallus* in his costume of office visited the Forum and was driven out by the tribune Aulus Pompeius for daring to bring emblems of royalty into the Republic's Holy of Holies, it is recorded with some satisfaction that the goddess avenged the insult by a fever which carried the tribune off in the night. Doubtless this increased popularity was in great part due to the other foreign cults which were now beginning to pour into Rome as the result of her Eastern wars, and to many of these the little church on the Palatine acted as a temporary shelter. Particularly was this the case with the worship of Mithras, with which that of Cybele formed such intimate relations as to give rise to the likely theory that the worship of the Mother was considered especially suited to the wives and daughters of Mithraists. At all events, the establishment of the empire removed all bars to its extension. Its privileged position as a State establishment saved it from the dislike with which Augustus regarded all exotic religions; and, under his successors, Roman men and Roman women of good birth began to join the guilds or associations for its practice until then given up to foreign slaves, freedmen, and merchants. The Emperor Claudius greatly extended its public ceremonies and made its clergy more than ever officers of State. Its apogee was probably reached under the Antonines, when Faustina the elder became its devotee, and henceforth the emperors were the official heads of the cult and

Rome took the place of Pessinus as the metropolis of the religion.

It was during this period that a new rite made its appearance in the worship of the Mother. This was the ceremony of the blood-bath or *taurobolium*, in which the votary was placed in a pit covered with a grating of planks pierced with holes, on which a bull and a ram were slaughtered, so that the blood dripped through on to the recipient below. This disgusting rite, which by a natural confusion with the subject of the Tauroctony, or altar-piece of the Mithraic temples, has been thought peculiar to the worship of Mithras, was certainly introduced into the West by the priests of Cybele, and to the last, perhaps, was administered by them alone. It was thought to have a magical effect on the votary, who often records on votive tablets and altars that he or she has been by it "reborn unto eternity". It also seems to have been sometimes performed, like the Catholic Mass, for the benefit of others, since we hear of it being celebrated for the health of the emperor, the success of the Roman arms, and other like purposes. It is fairly certain that its celebration, instead of forming, as has sometimes been suggested, a regular incident in the initiation of a new votary, was always a rarity,¹ and it is said, although it is not easy to see why, that it was so costly that only the rich could afford it.

Beside this there were secret rites, or Mysteries of the Mother, at the nature of which we can only guess. Those who are curious in the matter can read the attempted reconstruction of them by M. Henri Graillot in his great work *Le Culte de Cybèle*, which, had it been written by a German instead of a French scholar, would before now have been hailed with a chorus of admiration

¹ Graillot's theory (*Culte*, p. 232) that it was sometimes substituted for the ritual mutilation is enticing, but has, I am afraid, little evidence to support it.

by every teacher of classics in England and America.¹ Thorough as he is, however, M. Graillot seems to me to arrive at his conclusions on this part of his subject only by throwing together all the hints we have from various sources as to what took place in the Mysteries of the Eleusinian deities, of the Greek Isis, of Mithras and of other gods, and then assuming that those of Cybele proceeded on the same lines. It may be so, and he has the support of Dr. Farnell in thinking that the initiate of Cybele, after many purifications, fastings, and trials, was himself actually married to the goddess, and enthroned with her as "part of the mesmeric process which aimed at producing the impression of deification in the mortal".² I prefer here to confine myself to the two pieces of direct evidence from eye-witnesses that we have as to the secret ceremonies of the Mother of the Gods. Clement of Alexandria,³ who was himself initiated before conversion, tells us that the initiate in the Phrygian rites was taught to say: "I have eaten out of the tambourine, I have drunk from the cymbal, I have carried the Kernos, I have stolen into the bridal-chamber," which seems to point to something like a sacramental feast, and the witnessing of some divine nuptials like those which were performed in pantomime in the Eleusinia. Hippolytus, also, gives us in his *Philosophumena*⁴ some stanzas of what he calls "a song of the great mysteries" (of Cybele), which may be translated—

"Hail, Attis! whether thou art the offspring of Kronos, or of blessed Zeus, or of great Rhea whose sad mutilation thou art.

¹ It forms vol. cvii of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*. Full references to the original authorities for all the statements in the earlier part of this paper are there given.

² *Culte of the Greek States*, iii, 301. On the analogy of the Eleusinian Mysteries, however, it was the hierophant who was married, and it was certainly the archigallus and not the initiate who was called Attis (Graillot, *Culte*, p. 235).

³ *Protrep.* ii, 15. His initiation is vouched for by Eusebius, *Prep. Evang.* ii, 2.

⁴ *Philosophumena*, v, 1, 9, pp. 176, 177, Cruice.

The Syrians call thee the much longed-for Adonis, Egypt names thee Osiris, the Greeks Sophia (Wisdom) or the heavenly horn of Mén, the Samothracians the revered Adamma, the Thessalians Corybas, but the Phrygians sometimes Papas, once dead or a god, at others the unfruitful one, or the goatherd, or the green ear of corn reaped, or he to whom the flowering almond-tree gave birth as a pipe-playing man."¹

This was apparently intended to tell the initiates that the Attis they adored was the same god as Zeus, as Adonis, Osiris, the moon-god Mén, the Cabiric deity whom the poet calls Adamma or Adamas, the Corybas of whom Clement of Alexandria tells a story like that of the Orphic Dionysos, and as the Syrian Papas or the Father. Another hymn, of which Hippolytus gives an extract, runs—

"I will sing Attis, son of Rhea, not with a humming noise or the nasal sound of the Idaean Curetes' flutes; but I will mingle with the song a Phœban strain of lutes, hailing him with *Evohe*, *Evan*, as *Pan*, as *Bacchus*, and as the Shepherd of white stars,"

which adds *Pan*, *Bacchus*, and *Hermes* to the list. No doubt such identifications were often made.² But the third century, in which Hippolytus wrote, was an age of syncretism, or what Max Müller used to call *henotheism*, when every pagan asserted that the god he worshipped by preference included within his own godhead that of all the rest; and no one would then have been shocked had this doctrine been proclaimed upon the housetops.

¹ Schneidewin's reconstruction of the poem is slightly different. All the epithets here attributed to "the Phrygians" can be referred to episodes in the Attis legend, and are dealt with in detail by the "Naassene" or Ophite author whom Hippolytus quotes. For the "reaped ear" see *Philosophumena*, vi, 1, 8, p. 171. Cruice, where it is said to have been copied from the Phrygians by the Eleusinian Mysteries, in which it forms "the great and wonderful and most perfect visible (or epoptic) mystery" shown to the epopts.

² So Isis in Apuleius' romance tells her votary immediately before his initiation that she is the goddess adored in various places as *Hera*, *Athena*, *Cybele*, *Artemis*, *Nemesis*, and so on.

Yet the hymns quoted are evidently very old, and may have come down to us from a time when this fusion of deities could only be whispered about in secret.¹

Everyone, I think, must be struck with the likeness between these spring ceremonies of the Megalesia and what goes on in Catholic churches at the present day during Eastertide. From the Day of Reeds, which is like Palm Sunday, down to the rejoicings on Easter Day, the parallel is fairly close, and even the appearance of the solitary light is found in the office of *Tenebræ*. Hence those who write about "Pagan Christs" and "Dying Gods" have tried to show that the Christian festival is imitated from the heathen. It would not be surprising if there had been some conscious borrowing in the matter, especially in point of date; because it can be shown from other instances that the Catholic Church adopted as her own many heathen festivals, and perhaps a few ceremonies. This has been acknowledged by writers of such different views as Mgr. Duchesne, Père Loisy, Professor Harnack, Count Goblet d'Alviella, and others. It was, indeed, the openly avowed policy of the Church, and it is recorded that Pope Gregory instructed the missionaries to the heathen that if they found among them customs harmless in themselves or which with a little alteration could be given a Christian meaning, they were to adopt them. Hence we ought not to be astonished that the mourning for Attis and the rejoicing over his resurrection so closely resemble the ceremonies of Good Friday, Easter Eve, and Easter Sunday. Spring festivals hailing the awakening of Nature from her winter sleep are common enough all over the world, and it is possible—although there is no record of the fact—that some Christian emperor, or his ecclesiastical advisers, may have decided to turn the

¹ One fairly strong argument in favour of their antiquity is that they nowhere identify Attis with any sun-god, which they would certainly have done if written after (say) the reign of Trajan.

Megalesia, so firmly rooted in the people's affections as not to be abandoned without danger, into a solemn commemoration of the Death and Resurrection of Christ. In like manner, it may be that the prototypes of the paten and chalice are to be found in the *tympanum* and *cymbalum* from which the initiate of Cybele took his sacramental meal, and that the rite of baptism common to both faiths had certain similarities of practice.

The copying tendency probably worked both ways, and if we had more detailed information about the worship of Cybele we might find that, alike in its fasts and in their management of the confraternities, the priests of Cybele were not above taking a hint from the infant Church. But that there was any community of doctrine between the two faiths, or that the Church ever regarded the worship of Cybele as a serious rival, I cannot bring myself to believe. Anything of the kind was made impossible by the extreme crudity of the older faith's legend, which must always have prevented it from appealing to the same order of minds as Christianity. Apart from its promise of the coming of the Kingdom, Christianity seems to have appealed to the masses of the Roman Empire by its insistence on morality, the help which its members rendered to each other, and its entire freedom from those incredible and indecorous stories about the gods of which even the heathen were ashamed. In these respects, many of the new Oriental religions lately introduced into Rome were much nearer to it than the worship of the Great Mother. Osiris, the good king who brought the gentler arts of life to his subjects before succumbing to the forces of disorder and chaos, and Mithras the soldier of Jupiter Best and Greatest against the powers of darkness, might be held up as examples to their votaries; but even Catullus, in his poem on Attis, shudders at the thought of imitating the effeminate divinity, and begs Cybele to take someone else for her service. So,

too, Isis, the faithful wife seeking for her dead spouse and watching over the divine child in which he is reborn, is a true type of the *Mater Dolorosa*; but what mortal would feel sympathy with the imperious deity who thrusts her unlawful love upon her irresponsible descendant and thus terrifies him into suicidal madness?

Nor should I be inclined to see, as some have done, in the whispered words of the *archigallus* any assurance of the immortality of the soul or the deification of the votary. The words might just as easily be taken to mean that death would prove "the popped sleep, the end of all", and would therefore put a term to his sufferings. But I do not think that either construction is the true one. The purpose of all initiations in the ancient world seems to have been to give the initiate a privileged position in the life beyond the tomb. The Homeric Hymn to Demeter and the great Greek poets alike assure the Eleusinian mystæ that after death they will not have the same lot as the common herd, that they will be exempted from the bath of mud in which the uninitiated dead were supposed to lie, and so on. What is probably meant by the comforting assurance to the initiates of Cybele that as the god was saved so will they get salvation from their troubles, is that they, like him, will enjoy the favour of the goddess after as before death. So (the Greek) Isis in Apuleius¹ tells Lucius that if he is initiated,

"Thou shalt live blessed—thou shalt live proud of my protection, and when the term of thy life is spent, and thou at length dost descend to the Shades, there also, even in the subterranean hemisphere, thou, dwelling in Elysian fields, shalt continue to adore me still propitious to thee, and shalt see me shining amidst the darkness of Acheron and ruling over the secret places of Styx."

A perception of the fundamental discrepancy between

¹ *Metamorph.* xi, 6.

Cybele-worship and Christianity seems to have affected the Christian Fathers, who, although they hold the legend of Attis and Cybele up to ridicule as a monstrous and indecorous fable,¹ never appear to have felt towards the priests of the Great Mother the violent hostility which they displayed towards the Isiacists and Mithraists. The downfall of Cybele-worship was marked by none of the scenes of violence that attended the sacking of the Roman Mithræa under Gratian or the destruction of the Alexandrian Serapeum under Theodosius. On the withdrawal of the State subsidy and the confiscation of the funds of the confraternities, the establishment on the Palatine which had endured since the Second Punic War fell into disuse, and the site of the last *taurobolium* is now covered by the Vatican.

The real interest which this outworn faith has for us at the present day is that its origins can be traced to the very earliest civilization of whose existence we have any proof. The Phrygian Cybele whose worship we have seen brought to Rome was herself a Cretan goddess, and as such is called by Livy the Idæan Mother in his account of the transaction with Attalus. Remains of her worship have been found by Sir Arthur Evans at Knóssos, which go back to the fifteenth century B.C. But her pedigree can be traced a long way beyond that. All over Western Asia, from the very dawn of history, there was worshipped a divinity known as the Great Goddess, who combined the gentler attributes of her sex with those of a fierce and arrogant warrior, and of this goddess Cybele was only one form. Known as Mā in Lydia, as Atargatis or the Syrian Goddess of Nero's adoration, as Bellona in Cappadocia, as Adrasteia or Nemesis in Mysia, and under other analogues elsewhere, her earliest name seems to have been Ishtar of Babylon. Her distinguishing mark under all her forms is that her sex is always doubtful, or rather

¹ See Graillot, *op. cit.*, pp. 546, 547.

that when worshipped as a female she usurps all the privileges of a male. Thus, in the legend of Ishtar, it is always the goddess who makes advances to her lovers with disastrous consequences to them, and it is she who, when Thammuz is done to death, ventures into Hades to rescue him. The same feature is visible in all later forms of the myth, including even its most artistic and beautiful one of Aphrodite and Adonis, while the goddess' lover is always represented as a more or less effeminate being, without a will of his own, who is unable to resist the goddess' advances. This inversion of the attitude of the sexes towards each other in classical times—which Swinburne sums up in the words

“The god pursuing, the maiden hid,”

—has been thought to be due to a state of society in which a scarcity of women has produced the practice of polyandry, which Mr. Kipling describes in the “Woman of Shumleigh” episode in *Kim*. It is significant in this respect, that the widespread story of an Amazonian nation somewhere in Asia has always had its scene in those countries where the worship of the Great Goddess was prevalent, and that these female warriors were generally represented in classic art with the double axe and bilobed shield associated with the worship of Cybele in Crete and Asia Minor. The tradition, too, of the matriarchate or descent through the mother only which polyandry implies, is to be found chiefly in Lydia, Lycia, and other prominent seats of the cult. Not less marked is the way in which the Great Goddess or the lover who is really her male counterpart is represented as having once possessed both sexes at the same time. This, as we have seen, was a feature in the myth of Agdistis. We are told that Adonis was bewailed by the women of Byblos with cries of “Alas, my lord! Alas, my lady!” and the Asiatic Dionysos, who was often identified with Attis, was not only represented in art with

markedly feminine characteristics, but is described in an Orphic Hymn as "of a double nature", or both male and female. The same idea goes back to the story of Thammuz, Ishtar's lover, who, as Dr. Pinches has shown, in some of the earliest Sumerian hymns known, is called "Princess" and "Mother" as well as by exclusively male epithets. Still earlier we have one of the many Sumerian accounts of the Creation, deciphered by Dr. Stephen Langdon, which makes the first beings created as a pattern for mankind to be of both sexes at once.¹

One explanation of this attribution of a bisexual nature to the goddess and her lover may be found in the fact that the Great Mother is always an earth-goddess, or rather, is herself a personification of the Earth. Sophocles already treats Gê or Gaia, the earth pure and simple, as the same person as Rhea, the mother of Zeus,² and Cybele and Ishtar are, like her Greek analogue the earth-goddess Demeter, "the life of fruits and corn." But nearly all primitive people have a myth in which the earth and sky figure as locked so closely together as to form one being, and everyone will remember the Egyptian group in which the Earth, there made not a goddess but a god, is separated from the overarching and female heaven by the air-god Shu, who supports her on his outstretched hands.³ Some such myth may well have

¹ PSBA. xxvii, 1914, p. 196, n. 23. This is what I understood Mr. Langdon to mean, but I do not think his published words bear out the contention. For the bisexual nature of the earliest beings, according to the traditions of the Greeks, Jews, Samaritans, Ophites, and Manichæans, see my *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, i, pp. 182, 189, 195; ii, pp. 37, 40, 298, 329.

² *Philoct.* 391. Cf. Farnell, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 379.

³ Maspero, *Hist. Ancienne*, i, p. 86. Many instances were given in the discussion which followed the reading of this paper of the worship in India of the Earth as an androgyne being like the Orphic Phanes. The observed fact that the Earth appears to bring forth without male assistance, and therefore must contain both sexes within herself, may have been the idea underlying such stories. That the division of this androgyne deity into two sexes brings about the castration of the male

been the foundation of all the stories of hermaphrodites or men-women which we meet with not only in classical literature but, as we have seen, in the very oldest legends known to us. Be that as it may, it is Cybele's identification with the Earth which proved the most enduring feature of her worship. Although, as I have said, Cybele-worship had little or nothing to do with orthodox Christianity, on the more or less Christian sects which we call Gnostic its influence was profound. Hippolytus tells us of a sect which he calls the Ophites or Serpent-worshippers, who were accustomed, he says, to frequent the mysteries of the Great Mother, alleging that only they could understand them.¹ The stories of secret orgies which the orthodox told about the Gnostics doubtless sprang from this habit. All the Gnostics, too, found a place in their Pantheon for a female power called Sophia or Wisdom, who is fabled as descending into Hades like Ishtar, and round whom the whole scheme of creation centres. That this Great Goddess or Sophia reappears as the Mother of Life or of all living things in the Manichæan religion, which inherited so many Gnostic ideas, I have before suggested; and also that her position in Manichæism owes much to the corresponding one in the Zoroastrian faith of the one female Amshaspand, Spenta-Armaiti, who is set over the earth as her male fellows are over the fire, the metals, and so on.² Hence we see that a modified worship of the Great Mother endured long after the triumph of Christianity, and indeed cannot be said to be entirely extinct even now.

person of the godhead is suggested by the Greek myths of Uranos and Gê, Kronos and Rhea (Hesiod, *Theogon.*, l. 159, and Porphyry, *de antro Nymph.*, p. 118). Dr. Wallis Budge (*Book of the Dead*, c. 69, vol. ii, p. 235) thinks that the same fate attended the Egyptian earth god Seb.

¹ *Philosophumena*, v, l. 9, p. 177, Cruice. The first chapter of the fifth book is indeed little but a commentary on the "song of the great mysteries" given above.

² See *Forerunners*, ii, p. 45, n. 1, and ii, p. 300, n. 2, for references.

The Mandæans or Christians of St. John, who are to be found on the Tigris between Basra and Baghdad, still preserve many of the Manichæan traditions, including the reverence for the Mother of Life. But we might find examples nearer home than that. The Gnostic Church of Paris, if it has survived the War, still numbers among its bishops, whose titles are all derived from "Albigensian" or Provençal towns, a sort of female prelate called "the Sophia of Warsaw", in memory of the Eon Sophia in the system of Valentinus. Some of the Russian Dissenting sects, too, indulge in an orgiastic worship presided over by a female dignitary called the "Mother", of whose office and proceedings some scandalous stories are told.¹ As the sect of Skoptzis, to which most of the Moscow cab-drivers belong, practise the ritual mutilation of the priests of Cybele, which seems to be connected with this, it cannot be said that all traces of her worship have vanished from Europe with the triumph of Christianity. Russia has inherited without a break much of the old Byzantine culture from which these curious sects derive their practices, and Byzantine history is full of stories of the persistence of Pagan worships in secret, including the religion of Cybele. The Sumerian civilization, which perhaps was the original source of the Cybele story, goes back to nearly 7,000 years B.C., which is about two millennia earlier than the earliest date that can be assigned for the appearance of any organized religion in Egypt. It therefore seems possible that these Russian sects, of which very little is really known, still possess some relics of a religion which is more than 9,000 years old, and that the worship of Cybele as our common Mother the Earth, is not only the most ancient but the most persistent religion known to civilized man.

¹ Cf. Dmitry J. Merejkowsky, *Pierre le Grand*, Paris, pp. 243 sqq. Tsakni, *La Russie Sectaire*, seems to be the authority for all these stories.

AKBAR'S "HOUSE OF WORSHIP", OR 'IBADAT-KHANA

By VINCENT A. SMITH

ONE of the most famous institutions of Akbar was the '*Ībādat-khāna*, or "House of Worship", which he caused to be erected early in 1575, immediately after his return from the successful siege of Patna. The building no longer exists above ground, although it is just possible that its foundations may be still traceable, if searched for in the right locality. The two suggestions published concerning its situation, which will be noticed near the end of this paper, are both inadmissible, as will appear from perusal of the texts which I proceed to quote from Badāonī, the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, and the *Akbarnāma*, all contemporary authorities.

Badāonī relates that at the time in question, when Akbar was at leisure from war, his thoughts turned continually to the problems of religion.

"His Majesty spent whole nights in praising God, . . . and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lonely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the dew of the early hours of dawn."

Stimulated by the example of Sulaimān Kirānī, the late ruler of Bengal, who used to spend whole nights with a hundred and fifty holy men, "listening to commentaries and exhortations," and also by the expectation of receiving Mirzā Sulaimān of Badakshān, who was a Sūfī with an equally strong taste for theological discussion, Akbar resolved to provide a debating hall suitable for the accommodation of a large number of Muslim theologians of all types.

khāna) should be built in order to the adornment of the spiritual kingdom, and that it should have four *divāns* [Mr. Beveridge translates 'verandahs']¹ . . . He chose the eve of Friday . . . for the outpouring (*ifāzat*). A general proclamation was issued that on that night of illumination, all orders and sects of mankind—those who sought truth after spiritual and physical truth, and those of the common people who sought for an awakening, and the inquirers of every sect—should assemble in the precincts of the holy edifice, and bring forward their spiritual experiences, and their degrees of knowledge of the truth in various and contradictory forms in the bridal chamber of manifestation . . . To the delightful precincts of that mansion founded upon Truth, thousands upon thousands of inquirers from the seven climes came with heartfelt respect and waited for the advent of the Shāhinshāh. . . . There were always four noble sections in that spiritual and temporal assemblage."

The author then proceeds to enumerate the four sections in bombastic terms. The people on the northern side called Shaikhs by other authors are described by Abu-l-Fazl as "the Sūfis of clear heart who were absorbed in beatific visions. A few of felicitous and wide comprehensiveness which they had attained to by the bliss of H.M.'s holy instructions, lighted the torch of knowledge in all four compartments". More rhetoric follows. Little sense is to be made out of such verbiage, but we learn that in the course of time the total number of visitors mounted up to a large figure, and that a few persons were considered as qualified to sit in any one of the four sections.²

When the above passages are collated we obtain the results that the House of Worship was a large rectangular chamber built round a small structure representing a hermit's cell. The space on each side of the cell was

¹ The rendering "verandah" is not legitimate.

² *Akbar-nāmah*, tr. H. Beveridge, vol. iii, pp. 157-9. Mr. Beveridge has been good enough to lend me page proofs of his third volume so far as available. The volume has not yet been published.

treated as a separate hall or section and probably was railed or curtained off from its neighbours. The building was elaborate and could accommodate a numerous company. It was situated in the gardens of the palace, near Salim Chishti's premises, and somewhere at the back of the great mosque, a little to the north of west, close to gardens which still exist, or existed when E. W. Smith made his admirable survey some years ago. That author found fragments of a rich circular capital, which must have belonged to an important building, "to the south of the tank abutting on the gangway leading to the large Turkish baths by the Record Chamber." That site, at the south-east corner of the royal edifices and about 300 yards a little to the north of east from the King's Gate of the great mosque, cannot be the site of the House of Worship, as suggested by E. W. Smith. The spot referred to never can have been "in the gardens of the palace", and it is not near the Chishti premises.

Keene made the absurd suggestion that the *Diwān-i-Khāss* should be regarded as the '*Ibādat-khāna*' on account of the great central pillar, with its four ~~stone~~ galleries radiating from it. Those little gangways, each about 10 feet long and 2 feet wide, could not possibly be called *diwāns* or halls, nor is the *Diwān-i-Khāss* "in the gardens of the palace". Tradition, no doubt, is right in asserting that the centre of the capital of the column was Akbar's seat, "covered with silk textures and made comfortable with satin and velvet cushions," while the four ministers (the *Khān-i-khānān*, Birbal, Faizi, and Abu-l Fazl) stood at the four corners to receive orders for their respective departments. Absurd though Keene's suggestion is and utterly opposed to the texts, it has got into the guidebooks, and is, I believe, commonly accepted. I repeat again, the real '*Ibādat-khāna*' was a large building,

¹ Latif, *Agra*, p. 187. Mr. Havell's theories about the supposed symbolism of the richly sculptured column.

probably capable of accommodating several hundred people comfortably, with plenty of room for moving about, and situated in the palace gardens. The amount of false history current about Akbar is amazing.

The signature in September, 1579, of the Infallibility Decree which empowered Akbar to act as supreme arbiter of all questions of Muslim theology rendered vain the debates of the representatives of various schools of Muslim thought. The House of Worship was, I believe, disused from that year, and very probably was then pulled down. Its foundations may or may not exist.

The later debates, which were carried on by doctors of various religions, not by Musalmans only, seem to have been always conducted in the private apartments of the palace. They were interrupted by the Kābul campaign (February-December, 1581) and resumed for a short time after its close, in the interior of the palace (*interius atrium Regiae*), not in the House of Worship. But nobody cared for them any longer. The attendance dwindled until the Jesuits alone were left. When they found that Akbar daily became more inclined to Hindu practices they also withdrew, and the formal set discussions came to an end.

* 3 Vaserrate, *Commentarius*, pp. 632-4.

XIX

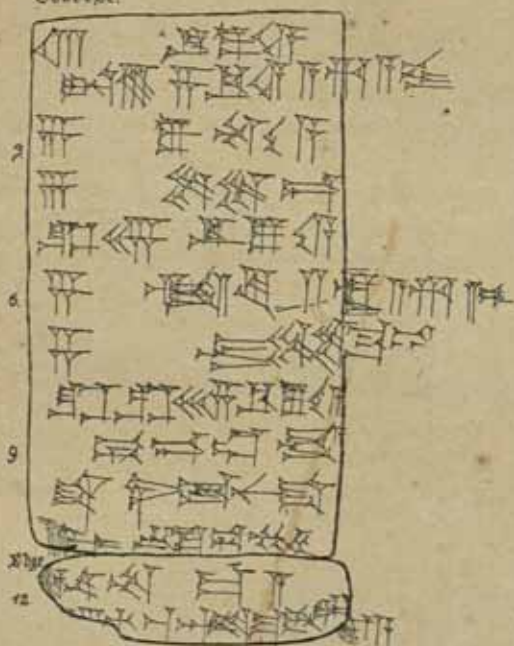
THE SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HARDING
SMITH COLLECTION

By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES

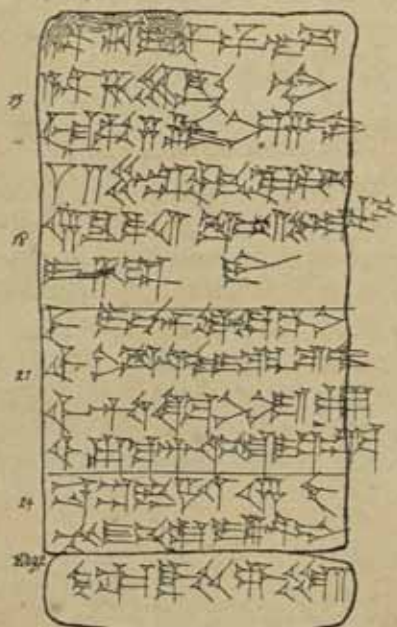
THE three tablets which follow have been selected on account of their uncommon nature, and because of the unusual words or expressions which they furnish. The collection contains other documents equally interesting, and some of these will probably be placed before scholars from time to time, should their difficulties yield satisfactorily to study and research.

I. Sheep and goats kept for their fleeces, hair, etc. Dated in the 26th year of Samsu-iluna, son of Hammu-rabi.

N. 15

Obverse.

Reverse.



This tablet measures $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches high by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches wide, and has 11 lines of writing on the obverse, 2 on the edge below it, 12 lines on the reverse, and one on the edge below that. The colour is light grey, and the surface has impressions of the cylinder-seal of Ibi-Ili-abrat, the first of the four witnesses.

OVERSE

Šalaššerit seg-udu-hia

ina libbi irbet šupāti a-ri-a-tu^m

3. *šišset immerē*

šišset li-li-du

gamru ešraa-ḥamšet seg-udu-hia

6. *Ḥamšet ēnzē libbi šina^{enzu} a-ri-a-tu^m*

irbet enzu li-li-da-du

gamir gamri šelašaa-irbet seg-udu-hia

9. *ga-du-u^m enzē*

ša ni-id-nu-ša

mār Sin-ša-mu-uh

EDGE

12. *a-na warad - é-a*
nam-ḥa-rum^d. Maruduk-ku-uk-ki-ma-a

REVERSE

- a-na ri-i-i^m pa-aq-da*
 15. *a-na ḥa-li-iq-ti^m*
á ga-za-az-ti^m iz-za-az
^m. A-bu-u^m-wa-qar ka-pa-ar
 18. *ḥamiššerit seg-udu-ḥia it-tab-bi a-bu-u^m-wa-qar*
i - ḥa - ra - aš

Maḥar i-bi-^d. Ili-abrat rab-bant
 21. *maḥar ni-id-na-tu^m mār ma-ra(?) - zu-tu^m*
maḥar^d. Šamaš-ki-ma-i-li mār a-pa-lu
maḥar ib-ku-^d. Na-bi-u^m mār ku-um-ba

 24. *Warah nisanni ámu ḥamiššeru*
šattu sa-am-su-i-lu-na šarru
šadú rabú māt Amurrá-a

TRANSLATION

- 13 fleece-sheep,
 among (them) 4 fleece (-sheep) with young;
 3. 6 sheep,
 6 lambs:
 total: 25 fleece-sheep.
 6. 5 goats, among (them) 2 goats with young,
 4 kids:
 grand total: 34 fleece-sheep.
 9. including goats,
 which Nidnu-ša,
 son of Sin-šamuh,
 12. to Warad - Éa,
 by the agency (?) of Maruduk-kukkimā (?),
 have appointed for pasturing,
 15. for slaughter,
 and have set aside for shearing.
 Abu^m-waqar is the director—

18. he has named 15 fleece-sheep. Abu^m-waqar shall select (them).
 Before Ibi-Ili-abrat, the master-builder ;
21. before Nidnatu^m, son of Marazutu^m ;
 before Šamaš-kima-ili^m, son of Apalu ;
 before Ibku-Nabiu^m, son of Kumba.
24. Month Nisan, day 15th,
 year Samsu-iluna the king (brought the stone from) the great mountain of Amurru.

The interest of this tablet lies not only in its subject, but also in the words which are used. The first entry concerns small cattle indicated by the characters *seg-udu-hia* (see also lines 5, 8, and 18), literally, "wool, sheep, plural." The transcription here given is Sumerian, as I have not been able to find the Semitic Babylonian equivalent in the published classified lists. That it must have had a rendering in the latter tongue is made probable by the fact that the similar group for "goat-skin" is written *seg-us*, though the analogy of the tablet now translated should make it "skin-goat"—that is, an animal having a suitable hairy coat for sacred garments needed by the Babylonian temples. The fem. *ariatu^m* in line 2 implies that all the 13 animals were females—the males were the 6 *immerē* given in line 3.

Lilidu in line 4 is apparently the same word as is written *lillidu* in the lists, etc. This is regarded as coming from *walādu*, "to bring forth," and as a formation like *bin-bini^m*, "descendant," the original pronunciation having been *lidlidu*. If the root of *binbinu* be *banā*, however, there is no real analogy in *lilidu*, and it is doubtful whether the etymology is an altogether acceptable one. See, moreover, the remarks on *lilidadu* in the next paragraph.

The goats are referred to in lines 6-9, and are a less important entry, being only 9 in all. Though these

have not the prefix *seg*, showing that they have been chosen for their hair, they are included among the "fleece-sheep" in the grand total in line 8. As in the case of the sheep, some of these (two) are described as *áriatu^m*, females about to bring forth. In line 7 we have an extension of the pet-name *lilidu*, "lamb," in line 4, namely, *lilidadu*, "kids." Apparently the reduplication at the beginning is re-echoed, as it were, at the end.

A-na ri-i-im is apparently to be read *ana ri'im*, the latter word being from *ré'u*, "to pasture."

In line 16 some of the characters are not very clear. At first glance the signs seem to be *ú ga-za-tu^m ni-iz-za-az*, but this seems to have two grammatical inaccuracies, namely, *ga-za-tu^m* for *ga-za-ti^m*, followed by the verbal prefix of the 1st person plural, *ni*, which is difficult to explain. At the early period to which this tablet belongs the case-endings are generally correctly used, and this being the case *ana haliqtim ú gazastim* should be more likely than *ana haliqtim ú gázatu^m*. Moreover, we should get rid of the difficulty of the *ni* by regarding it as a bungled *tim*, partly erased, intentionally, by the scribe. Nevertheless it seems more probable that, on reading over the inscription, *gazastim* did not sound like the right form, and forgetting the preposition in the foregoing line, he changed it to *gazatu^m*. The later word for "shearing" is *gizzu*. *Gazzatu^m* would, of course, be a more correct spelling.

Though written on the edge, there is hardly any doubt that *kapar* in line 17 is correct. The absence of a case-ending suggests that the word is borrowed from the Sumerian, and this naturally leads to its comparison with *ka-barra*, translated by *pá petú* and *pá áššuru*, "to open the mouth," and "the mouth (which) directs", or the like. This, taken in connection with the verb in line 18, *ittabbí*, "he has named," seems to make the meaning of "director" for *kapar* probable.

Iharaš in line 19 is also a doubtful word. In later contracts the participial form *harris*, qualifying *šimu*, "price," occurs frequently. "Fixed price" and "reduced price" have both been suggested as the meanings of *šimu harris*. Taking this in conjunction with the Heb. הרין, "the sum decided upon" would seem to be the meaning required. Abu^m-waqar was therefore, apparently, to decide upon or choose the animals which he intended to take, probably for some temple.

The name of the third witness is interesting, the meaning being "Šamaš is like my god". Professor Sayce has suggested, from the name given to 𒍪𒍪, namely, *yau*, that this should be the transcription of the group when used as a divine name. As I have long had this thought in my mind, I rather agree with him. There is every possibility, therefore, that the name is Šamaš-kima-yau, with the meaning "Šamaš (the sun-god) is like Jah". The syllabaries give *ya'u* as a synonym of *ilu*, "god."

The full text of the date is contained in Poebel's *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the time of the 1st Dynasty of Babylon (Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. vi, part 2)*, and will be found on p. 77 of the work, where, under the entry for Samsu-iluna's 26th year, we have the following:—

𒈪 𒍪𒍪 𒈪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪
Mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e hur-sag-gal
 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪
kur Mar-tu-a-ta gi-maš gar lama hu da - uš (?)
 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪
na sag - gi - a - ba

"Year Samsu-iluna, the king, (brought from) a great mountain of the land of Amorita (the land of the Amorites) a . . . 1½ *gar* 4 cubits and 10 (fingers) in size, and a *saggia*-stone."

The inscription of the seal-impression shows that it belonged to the first witness. It is as follows:—



𒂗𒌷𒀭𒌷𒀭𒌷	<i>I-bi-^aIli-abrat</i>
𒂗𒌷𒀭𒌷𒀭𒌷𒀭𒌷	<i>mār A-ḥa-a^m-lib-ši</i>
𒂗𒌷𒀭𒌷𒀭𒌷𒀭𒌷	<i>warad^a Sin</i>
𒂗𒌷𒀭𒌷𒀭𒌷𒀭𒌷	<i>ū^a Nin-s[i-an-na].</i>

TRANSLATION

Ibi-Ili-abrat,
son of Aḥa^m-libši,
servant of the god Sin
and the goddess Nin-s[i-anna].

The design shows a seated divinity, probably the moon-god Sin, into whose presence Ibi-Ili-abrat (or -Yau-abrat) was probably represented as being led, in order to perform an act of worship.

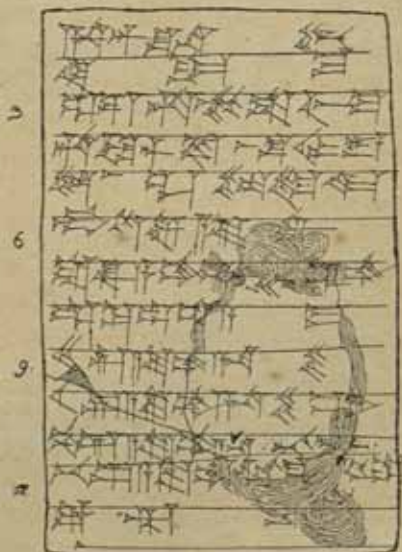
II, N. 16. *A Letter referring to Agriculture*

A baked clay tablet, 77.5 mm. high by 41.9 mm. wide, with 13 lines of writing on the obverse, and 8 on the reverse. Lines 6 to 13 of the obverse are damaged by fractures. The text is on the whole clear, but sometimes carelessly written. Colour light grey.

1. A-na Il-šu - na - šir
2. ki - be - ma
3. um-ma^{m.a.} Šamaš-mu-ša-lim-ma
4. ^{a.} Šamaš ū^{a.} Maruduk ina šu-mi-ia

5. *li - ba - al - li - tu - ka*
6. *aš-šum te-em éqli^m (-im)*
7. *ša ki-a-am ta-aš-pu-ra-am*
8. *um-ma at-ta-a - ma*
9. *šin-bur gan éqla^m (-am) a-na šei^m*
10. *išten-bur gan éqla^m (-am) a-na šamaššamme*
11. *šanabi-bur gan éqla^m (-am) a-na gu-galli^m*
12. *šuššan-bur gan éqla^m (-am) a-na gu-gal-a-šar-ra-am*
13. *e - ri - iš*

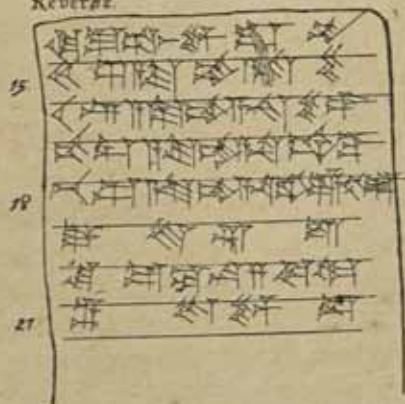
Obverse.



REVERSE

14. *ki-ma ta-aš-pu - ra - am*
15. *šin - bur gan éqla^m (-am) a-na šei^m*
16. *išten-bur gan éqla^m (-am) a-na šamaššamme*
17. *šanabi-bur gan éqla^m (-am) a-na gu-galli^m*
18. *šuššan-bur gan éqla^m (-am) a-na gu-gal-a-šar-ra*
19. *e - te - ri-iš*
20. *ki-ma la na-ša-di-ka*
21. *é - te - pu - uš*

Reverse



TRANSLATION

"To Il-šu-našir say then thus: 'It is Šamaš-mušallim.'
May Šamaš and Merodach, in my name, prolong thy life.

"Regarding the order with regard to the field, which
thou sentest to me, even thou, thus: 'Plant

2 *bur gan* the field for grain;

1 *bur gan* the field for sesame;

$\frac{2}{3}$ *bur gan* the field for *gugallu*^m;

$\frac{1}{3}$ *bur gan* the field for *gugal-ašarra*.'

"As thou hast sent, I have planted:

2 *bur gan* the field for grain;



1 *bur gan* the field for sesame;

$\frac{2}{3}$ *bur gan* the field for *gugallu*^m;


$\frac{1}{3}$ *bur gan* the field for *gugal-ašarra*.

"As we would not disobey thee, I have done (it)."

Though (as already remarked) the text is well written, several characters cause doubt at the first glance, among them being the *at* of *attā-ma* in line 8; *gu-gal* = *gugallu*^m in line 11; *gu-gal-ašarra*^m in line 12 (confirmed, however, by lines 17 and 18); *iš* in line 13 (supported by the verb from the same root in line 19); and *bu* or *pu* in lines 14 and 21.

In line 10 read ŠE-GIŠ-NI () . This group means "grain of the oil-tree", in Semitic *samaššamme* (for *saman šamme*), oil + plant, "sesame" (Arabic ) .

The identity of the GU-GAL and the GU-GAL-AŠARRA is doubtful. That the first is connected with GU-GAL, "prince," hardly admits of doubt, and this would lead to the probability that the "princely plant" was so called because it produced fruit of a large size—possibly Jonah's "gourd", or something similar. The rendering "gourd" is supported by the longer form in lines 12 and 18, namely *gugal-ašarra*, which might mean "gourd—water-abundance". Barton (*Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*, part ii, p. 67, n. 120) regards the character as having been the picture of a jar, which is possible, and in that case, the plant has been indicated by *gu* because of the likeness of its fruit to some such domestic utensil. Besides the *gu-gal*, Semiticized as *gugallu^m*, there was also the *gu-tur* (?Semiticized as *guturru^m*)—"the small *gu*." Evidently these plants, whatever they were, were cultivated in Babylonia from exceedingly early times.

In lines 14 and 21 the character *pu* has an upright wedge crossing the horizontal one. Its occurrence twice suggests that this form may have been intentional, but the value of *pu* or *bu* for  is, so far, unknown. In this text, however, there can in neither line be any doubt as to the reading.

In line 20 the reading can hardly be otherwise than that given—namely, *kima la našadi-ka*. The writing of *ka* without the top horizontal and the lower slanting wedges occurs in line 5. The small horizontal wedges of *la* are not clear, but the character can hardly be anything else. In all probability *našadi-ka* is for *naštadi-ka*, from *šadû*, the rendering of which is one of those required by

the context. If connected with *šad(d)u*, "trap," "snare," the translation might be "to deceive"—"as we would not deceive thee." Other meanings of *šadû* or *šedû* are "to give to eat", "to feed", and "to destroy".

III, N. 83. A Note



A small tablet, 25.6 mm. ($1\frac{1}{4}$ inch) high by 25.4 mm. (1 inch) wide, inscribed on the obverse with four lines, and on the edge below with one line of Babylonian writing. The reverse is blank. Colour grey.





- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Ana a-sa-li-šir-ra-am</i> | To Asa-liširra ^m , |
| 2. <i>ša wa-qar - tu^m</i> | who Waqartu ^m |
| 3. <i>šum-ša ur-ra-ba-ni</i> | (is) her name. Ur-ra-bani |
| 4. <i>i-na bêt a-ḫa-ta-ni</i> | in the house of Aḫatani |
| 5. <i>wa-aš - ba - at</i> | dwelleth. |



FREE RENDERING

To Asa-liširra^m whose name is Waqartu^m (i.e. the dear one). Ur-ra-bani dwelleth in the house of Aḫatani (or, of our sisters).


Ana in line 1 is written with the single upright wedge, which might indicate that what follows is the name of a person. The names of the other persons mentioned, however, are unprovided with any determinative whatever.

Waqartu^m in line 2 is the fem. of *wagru*, "dear," "precious."

Šum-ša in line 3 is written ideographically—i.e., with the Sumerian locution    , *mu-a-ni*, "his" or "her name".

The fem. *wašbat* in line 5 shows that the name *Urra-bani* in line 3 is feminine. The *wa* is written defectively  for , apparently a mistake of the scribe.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

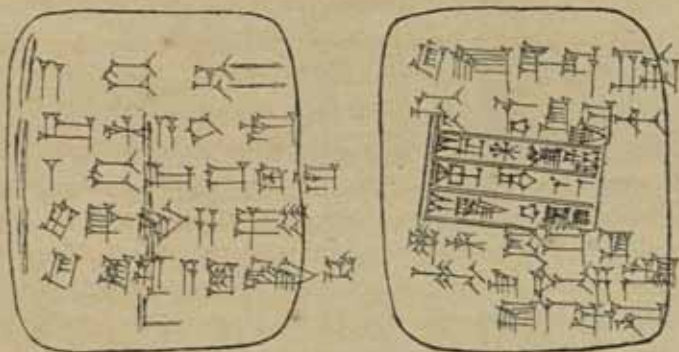
p. 730, line 5 of tablet: The second character should be completed as , *ba*. The last character but one is *tu*, but is used here for *tu*, hence the transcription.

XX

AN EARLY MENTION OF THE NAHR MALKA

By T. G. PINCHES

THIS tablet, which is in Mrs. Pinches's collection, seems to have come from Jokha. It is of baked clay, and measures 44.5 mm. high by 39 mm. wide. The amount of text with which it is inscribed is 10 short lines, divided equally between the obverse and the reverse. Both sides have impressions of a cylinder-seal, by which the written characters are slightly obliterated. The principal impression appears in the space between lines 7 and 8 (reverse).



OBVERSE

1. *Mina amar gud*
2. *Sur^d. A-*hi* engar*
3. *gi amar Sur-giš-gir engar*
4. *šag-gala-bi lama šuš ban-eššu še*
5. *ki su-ra hid lugala-ta*

REVERSE

6. *ki é - gal e-si-ta*
 7. *gu - sila šu-ba-ti*
- (Principal seal-impressions.)

8. *Iti a. Ne-guna*
 9. *mu azag gu-za a. En-*
 10. *lil-la ba-dim*

TRANSLATION





1. 2 young bulls,
 2. Sur-Ahi, the husbandman;
 3. 1 steer, Sur-gigir, the husbandman;
 4. its food, 270 qa of barley,
 5. from Sura, the Canal of the King.
 6. from the palace of diorite (?).
 7. Gu-sila has received.
- (Principal seal-impressions.)
8. Month Ne-gunu,
 - 9-10. year (the king) made the holy throne of En-lilla.

The subject of the tablet is therefore the receipt of grain for the cattle, and that grain came from the region of the King's Canal, and from the palace.

NOTES

Instead of *Sur-Ahi*, in line 2, *Sur-Ašar* is possible, but the reading of the text seems to be preferable. The meaning of the name would be "Ahi's man", or the like. This is possibly the Ah of such names as Ahiah, "Ah (or Ahi) is Jah" (1 Sam. xiv, 3, 8); Ahira "Ah (or Ahi) is a friend" (Num. i, 15, etc.) according to Fuerst.

The grain referred to in line 4 is supposed to have been barley.

There is some doubt as to the reading of the second character in line 5. The pointed crescent-wedges suggest the old Babylonian form of the Assyrian . In my provisional reading of *su* I have been influenced by , which has that value, and by , which has the value of *sur* (Clay, *Yale*, vol. i, p. 86, line 70). Notwithstanding the likeness of the interior character to *se*, it is really .

In any case there is no doubt as to the group *Hid Lugala*, which follows. This is doubtless to be identified with the *Nār šarri*, "canal of the king," referred to in later inscriptions, and known among the Arameans (and Chaldeans) as *Nahr Malka*, with the same meaning. This canal begins about 20 miles above Abu-Habbah, the ancient Sippar, and running in a south-easterly direction, passed Dair, to the Tigris-side of Babylonia, ultimately falling into the Shatt-al-Hai. At Sippar, however, it divides, and the other branch takes a more southerly course, one of the places near which it passes being Tel-Ibrahim, "the Mound of Abraham," the ancient Cuthah, situated about 15 miles south-east of Hillah (Babylon). Either branch of this wonderful excavation is about 150 miles in length, and was anciently bridged over at many points. Xenophon records that the Greek auxiliaries had to cross it on bridges made of palm-trees, when they retreated northwards after the death of Cyrus. The main stream of the Nahr Malka is now called Yoshephia, whilst the other bears the name of *Ḥabl-Ibrahim*, or "Abraham's Rope", from its winding course over the plain between Abu-Habbah and Tel-Ibrahim. Both branches received numerous large and small watercourses which had been constructed for the irrigation of the country, and there are traces of large basins, where reserves of water could be stored, when the Euphrates ran low in summer-time.¹ A waterway which may have formed part of the Nahr Malka flowed past Jokha on the north-east.

If Nahr Malka be the ancient *Hid Lugala*, and really bore, as the tablet now translated seems to show, the name of Sura, this is not improbably the Sud (for Sur, by the common scribe's error of substituting *d* for *r*, in consequence of the likeness between these two letters

¹ See Rassam's *Assur and the Land of Nimrod* (Cincinnati and New York, 1897), p. 403.

in Hebrew) of Baruch i, 4. The text in question speaks of "all them (the Jews) who dwelt at Babylon by the River Sud". It is needless to say that this would not be the main stream, which, as already stated, flowed farther east.

We should expect, in the next line, the name of a person, but again we have, to all appearance, that of a place—in this case, seemingly, a "great house" or palace (*é-gala*) accompanied by the word *esi*. The absence of a determinative prefix for either stone or wood makes the latter word doubtful, but nevertheless the meaning of "diorite", which I have given, is not without its probabilities. This practically black stone, however, was by no means plentiful in Babylonia, and had, in fact, to be brought from the peninsula of Sinai. Perhaps we ought to translate "the palace of the diorite", meaning some statue or emblem of that material which was kept there. There was also a wood bearing the same name, probably so called because it resembled diorite in colour, in which case *esi* might be "ebony". As India is said to have been the only country which yielded black ebony, it was probably imported thence by way of the Persian Gulf.

The month corresponds with *Ab* (July–August). The date is the 4th of Bâr-Sin, king of Ur (of the Chaldees), who reigned about 2300 years before Christ. An interesting variant, not found on other tablets, is the substitution of the character for "bright", "holy", and the like, for the determinative prefix for "wood" before the word "throne". The expression "holy throne" adds further testimony to the deep religious feelings of the people.

THE CYLINDER-IMPRESSIONS

The design on the scribe's cylinder-seal was the usual one showing its owner (here, apparently, a woman) led before a god or goddess. Of this, however, portions of

the goddess (seated) and the divine introducer (standing) are all that are distinguishable. The inscription reads as follows, as far as it is preserved:—

<i>Lah</i> - <i>lah</i> - <i>ga</i>	<i>Lahlahga</i> ,
<i>dumu Sur</i> - ^a <i>Dun-sig-êa</i>	child of <i>Sur-Dun-sig-êa</i> ,
<i>dam Gu</i> - <i>sil</i> - <i>la</i>	a spouse of <i>Gu-sila</i> ,
<i>dumu Lugal</i> - <i>ud</i> - <i>da</i> - <i>u</i>	son of <i>Lugal-uddau</i> .



In the above, Sumerian being genderless, the non-committal renderings of "son" and "spouse" have been adopted in lines 2-4. Notwithstanding that the Sumerians placed women on a very high plane, it is probable that Semitic influence, 2300 years B.C., was sufficiently strong to prevent the woman from preceding the man in the household. The best rendering of the above is therefore:—

Lahlahga, daughter of *Sur-Dun-sig-êa*, spouse of *Gu-sila*, son of *Lugal-uddau*.

(*Note*.—*Dau* in *Lugal-uddau* is somewhat doubtful.)

Considerable interest attaches to this inscription, as the wife and husband are rarely mentioned together on the cylinder-seals—indeed, I do not remember having seen another instance of this.

It is because the gem bore his name that the husband used his wife's cylinder in giving his receipt for the grain.

"The Palace of diorite" or "of ebony" was apparently situated on the Nahr Malka, and it was from there that *Gu-sila* obtained the grain. If it was a royal palace, it must have belonged to king *Bûr-Sin* of *Ur*, whose dominion over the whole of *Babylonia* would seem to be confirmed by this document.

It is rarely that a text so short as this gives so much information, even though of a debatable nature.

For Sud = Sur, see Murray's *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, 1908. For Nahr Malka, see H. Rassam's *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, Cincinnati and New York, 1907, p. 403.

[By an oversight some of the fainter wedges of *azag* in line 9 have been omitted. On the left of the four uprights is another taller upright, and above the same are three horizontal wedges crossed by another upright.]

XXI

THE DRAGON OF TAGAUNG

By R. GRANT BROWN

TAGAUNG lies on the Irrawaddy River 124 miles north of Mandalay in lat. 23° 30', long. 96° 2', and is regarded by the Burmese generally as their most ancient capital.¹ There are remains of other cities in the neighbourhood, and to at least one of these, Tonngè, local tradition assigns a still greater antiquity.

The Maha Yazawin, or royal chronicle, records that Dhajaraja, a king of Sakya race, conquered Tagaung in the sixth century before Christ and married its queen, Nagachinna.²

At the south end of the present village, in a grove of banyan-trees, is the shrine of Bodawdyi, "The Great Father." A huge log rises from the ground, the upper part of it carved into a head measuring, with the head-dress, over 4 feet in height, and covered with gold-leaf. Over this a wooden building is erected, a small room being provided for the image while the rest is left for worshippers. The features are grotesque in the extreme: bulging eyes, a long-bridged nose with exaggerated nostrils, a very short chin, and no mouth. Between the eyes, one below another, are three leaf-like ornaments curling forwards and suggestive of a dragon's crest. Below the chin is what may be the conventional representation of

¹ See *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 193. A warning is necessary here. Mr. Duroiselle, Epigraphist to the Government of Burma, informs me that the stone inscription mentioned in the passage cited is a myth, the invention of a German archeologist, Dr. Führer, who was removed from Government service for a similar hoax in India. Some tablets have been found similar to those at Pagan, but they contain no inscriptions.

² See n. 2 on p. 745. The meaning of "chinna" can only be conjectured.

a beard. The ears are also conventional, somewhat in the shape of tails. The headdress is a five-storied tiara.

Before the annexation a *nattein*, or guardian, was regularly appointed by the local representative of the king, but the office has fallen into abeyance, and the image is now looked after by the headman's wife and another woman. An annual festival in its honour is also extinct. Once a year, however, the doors, which are at other times always locked except on such an occasion as my visit, are thrown open, and adults permitted to see the image (if they dare to look) and make offerings to it. Children are not allowed to see it at any time, lest its grotesque features cause their sense of humour to overcome their fear, and the god be offended. The headman's wife who opened the door for me averted her face, and when asked the usual question, who the spirit was in life, said she did not know, an answer plainly dictated by fear. Villagers take off their shoes or dismount from their ponies when passing the shrine, and it is said that those who omit to do so are thrown violently to the ground, their fall being followed by vomiting and sometimes death.

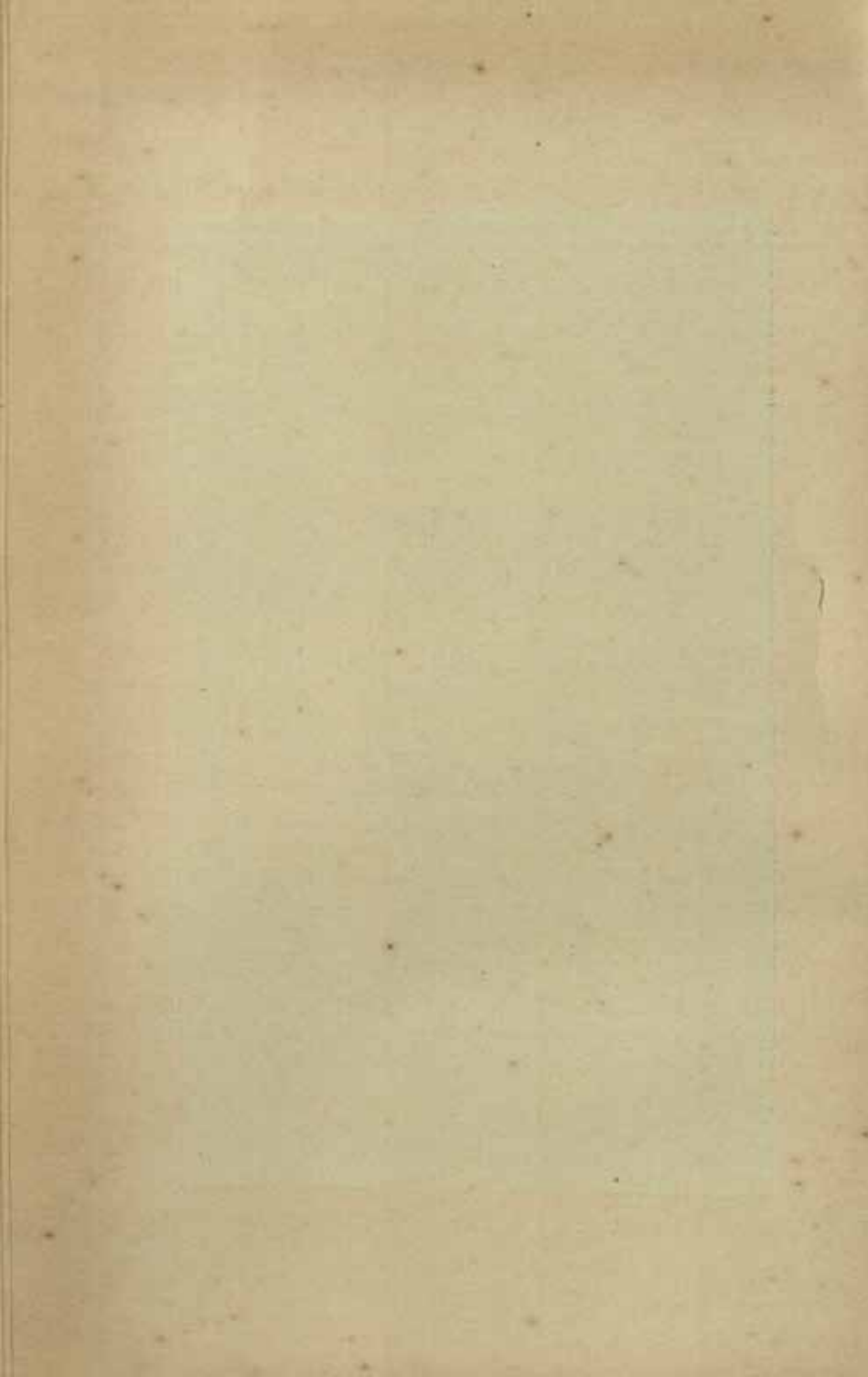
At a shrine at Myadaung, some miles upstream, where Bodawdyi is worshipped, I tried to find out who he was, but was told I should hear all about him at Tagaung. Now that I was at Tagaung itself it seemed the very last place to obtain information on the subject, and none of those who accompanied me from other parts of Burma could tell me anything. I directed a search to be made for some one who was not afraid to tell the story, and at last a brave man was found, a fishery lessee of the name of Maung Ka. He came to my launch, and told the following tale.

"There came from the land of Thingatha¹ six brothers

¹ "Saākassain, name of a town in India." (Childers, Pali Dict.). Mr. Duroiselle tells me it is "the name of a city in the north-west of



THE DRAGON OF TAGAUNG.



of royal birth, and founded the city of Tonngè and afterwards that of Tagaung. One of the brothers, Thado Saw, became king of Tagaung, and his queen was Kin Saw U. Now the foundation-post¹ of the palace was brought from Momeik, and from a knot in it sprang a dragon,² which took the form of a man; and he was loved by the queen, and slew her husband with a prick from his poisoned fang, and the king's brother Thado Pya reigned in his stead, and took Kin Saw U to wife. But he also was slain by the dragon, and likewise all the rest of the brothers in turn. Then Tagaung was a kingdom without a king, and the ministers sought for a king, and

India, only traces of which now exist". It was a common practice, however, among Indian immigrant settlers to name towns founded by them in Burma after their former homes, and the place referred to may be a town in Burma which has disappeared. The name is not given in the *Imperial Gazetteer*:

¹ Burmese *u: yn daing*. I call it foundation-post (for want of a better term) because it is the post which, when a monastery or other public building is erected, is always set up first and dedicated to the guardian spirit of the building, offerings of fruit and flowers being placed on its summit. Doubtless it was under this post that a human victim was once buried in the case of important buildings (see Sir Richard Temple's article "Burma" in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 26). Every house, however, has its *nyudaing*. "In the houses of some Burmese families cocoanuts with a fillet of white muslin or red cloth tied round them are suspended by a cane support from a special post called the *nyudaing*. The Burmans have forgotten the origin of *yn*, but the word or its synonym *kun* is still used in the Chin language to signify the guardian spirit of a family" (Taw Sein Ko, *Burmese Sketches*, p. 159). See also Stevenson's *Burmese Dictionary*, s.v.

² Burmese *nāgd*, Pali and Sanskrit *nāga*. "Dragon" is properly, perhaps, a winged serpent, but the word is used as a synonym for "serpent" in Ps. xci and Rev. xx, 2. Snake-worship, whether indigenous or imported with Northern Buddhism, was prevalent in Burma at least up to the eleventh century, and survives in many practices, of which the homage paid to the image at Tagaung is the most remarkable. It will already have been guessed that the Great Father is none other than the dragon. "Among the Buddhists the Nāgas were counted as gods, ranking eighth in the list of beings." (Sir George Grierson's review of Winternitz on Snake Worship, *Ind. Ant.*, February, 1890).

sent out a magic car¹ to bring him. Now Kin Saw U had a son Pauk Tyaing, who was lost in the forest when a boy, and was brought up by Po Byu and Mè L. His foster-parents would have taught him his letters, but he was too dull to learn aught but these sayings from them²:

Thwa: ba mya: 'kāyi: yauk.

Me: ba mya: zāga: ya..

Mā eik mā ne āthet she.

"Keep going, if you want to get anywhere.

"Ask questions, if you want to learn.

"Wake, if you want to live long."

"With this learning Pauk Tyaing set out in obedience to the first precept, and he was met by the magic car and taken to the palace and offered the kingdom. But he bethought him of the second, and asked what had become of the former kings and husbands of Kin Saw U; and he learnt that the reason of their death was unknown, but each one had the mark of a single tooth upon him. And he waited seven days, and accepted the kingdom and Kin Saw U as his queen. Then the dragon came to him in the night to kill him like the others, but he was awake and ready for him in accordance with the third precept, and slew him with his sword. So the dragon became a *nat*,³ and is worshipped under the name of Bodawdyi, "the Great Father."

¹ The Burmese expression is *p'okthwin*: *yāt'a:*, which appears to mean a car (*yāt'a:*, Pali *ratho*) used at the conjunction (*thwin*;) of the moon with the constellation Phussa (*p'ok*). The Pali compound *phussaratho* is used to mean merely a ceremonial car or pleasure-carriage.

² In the spelling used, which is practically that adopted by the Government of Burma, and is phonetic without any attempt at transliteration, the symbols *a, e, i, u, ā, au* have approximately the values in father, men (F. *été* when final), machine, rude, among, saw. Pronounce *th, ch, sh, ng* as in English, and *y* as in "yes". The forms *k', p', s', t'* are aspirated as in English, and *k, p, s, t* unaspirated as in French. A falling tone is indicated as in Burmese by (:), and a glottal check by (.). The level tone, as in Burmese writing, is left unmarked.

³ Spirit. The souls of the departed do not necessarily become *nats*. They may enter other bodies or wander about as ghosts (*natacin*).

"Then the queen made hairpins of the beast's backbone, and a pillow of his skin. And she paid a thousand pieces for stripping off the skin, and a hundred for making the pillow; and she asked her husband this riddle, and they made covenant that she was to die if he guessed it, and he if he could not:—

"Taung pe: lo. 'sok.

Ya pe: lo. chok.

Chit-tè. lu āyo: sàdo: lok.

"Give a thousand for flaying:

Give a hundred for binding:

Hairpins of the loved one's bones.

"Seven days were given to Pauk Tyaing to guess the meaning of this riddle. Now his foster-parents had come in search of him, and rested beneath a banyan-tree near the palace. And they heard a crow say to her mate (for they understood the language of birds), "For to-day we have enough, but to-morrow where shall we get our food?" to which he replied, "Be not anxious. To-morrow Pauk Tyaing will die, being unable to guess the queen's riddle, and there will be a great feast." And he told her the riddle and its answer. Then fear filled the hearts of Po Byu and Mè I, and they hastened to the palace, where they found their foster-son and told him what they had overheard from the crows. So he gave the true answer to the riddle, and lived: yet he spared the queen, and she bore him sons, called Maha Thanbawa and Sula Thanbawa, whom the emanation¹ of the dragon within her womb caused to be born blind. They, when they became youths, were set adrift on a raft down the river; and upon it they caught an ogress stealing their food,² and she

¹ Burmese *āngwee*. This interesting word seems to denote a quality in matter of permeating and influencing other matter. If bread and guavas are placed together for a time the bread will taste of guava, owing to the strong *āngwee*, emitted by the guavas.

² In Burmese *bilu:ma*, a female *bilu*. Bilus are represented in Burmese art as creatures of human form with grotesque features and

gave them their sight because they spared her life. At last they reached the place where is now the city of Prome. Here lived as a hermit Maung Dwe, brother of the queen Kin Saw U, and his daughter Ma Be Da by a *thamin*¹ doe, which had conceived by lapping that which ran from the hermit's body. And because it was not right that a woman should be seen at a hermit's dwelling he sent her every day to the river to fill with water a gourd having a hole no bigger than could be made by a needle. Here the young men met her, and enlarged the hole, so that Ma Be Da returned early to her father. And he questioned her, and heard the reason, and he sent for the youths, and knew that they were his kin, and gave the elder his daughter in marriage. Thereafter Maha Thambawa founded the city of Tharekittara,² and his brother was king after him when he died, and he also took Ma Be Da to be his queen."

The story narrated above is said to be told in the Tagaung *yazawin*, or history. If such a history exists in writing I have not been able to find it. In the *Maha Yazawin*, or State History of Burma, there is merely a passing reference to a king who rid the country of evil beasts. In any case I prefer to give such legends precisely as they come from the mouth of one of the local people, as the style of narration is more piquant and graphic than in the written histories, even if the latter do not suppress or gloss over the more primitive details, which are of

tushes, and in legend as living on wild fruits and flowers and sometimes as cannibals. They are also credited with superhuman powers, and the Taungbyon Brothers, who may almost be regarded as the Burmese national heroes, are said to have been the progeny of a Muhammadan (Arab?) and a *bituma*. See *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, July-December, 1915. It has been plausibly suggested that the word represents some race less civilized than the givers of the name. Its etymology is doubtful.

¹ The brow-antlered deer.

² The Pali name of the ancient city near the site of the modern Prome.

course the most interesting to an anthropologist. The legend, despite its importance, is not given in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer* or the gazetteer of the district. Bodawdyi is not even allowed a place in the list of thirty-seven *nats* in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer* and Sir Richard Temple's sumptuous volume. He is quite distinct from the Bodaw of Mandalay and Taungbyon, who was put to death by King Nawrata in the eleventh century. The legend of the wicked queen and her dragon paramour is, however, very well known, and I heard it many years before my visit to Tagaung. A version of it, which I had not seen when the above was written, appears in Mr. Taw Sein Ko's *Burmese Sketches* (pp. 146-9). The author says in a footnote: "The Nagas play an important part in Burmese folklore. They are represented as huge serpents; but as a matter of fact they are the indigenous Naga races inhabiting the country." There may be some connexion between the two, and it is possible that historically the queen's paramour may have been a man of Naga race; but no evidence is adduced, and the name Naga for the people now occupying the country between the upper reaches of the Chindwin and Assam is unknown to the Burmese, who call them Chins, though the Chins are quite a distinct race. The late Mr. Colston, I.C.S., in an interesting version or rather interpretation of the legend (*Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, June 10, 1910, p. 709), was equally positive. "In Burma each pagoda had its own history, which had been carefully written up, and incorporated much legend with popular facts, which were unattainable in the formal histories of the country. These pagoda histories, known as Thamaings, had a remarkable characteristic in common, that they represented the people as moving down the country, colonizing it from India through the mountains, instead of moving up through the mouths of the rivers according to the version of immigration which was generally

accepted. The most important legend connected with these Thamaings was that of Maung Pauk Gyaing,¹ which revolved, like other Burmese legends, round the old city of Tagaung, a city standing not in the delta, but far away on the highest reaches of the Irawadi near the barrier of hills which separates Burma from Assam (Kamarupa). In that legend, as in others, the principal actors go to India for their education. Janathedi, otherwise known as Maung Pauk Gyaing, had studied in Taxilla and came to Tagaung as an adventurer and married the queen after killing her husband, a Naga, who had followed her on her return from India through the Naga Hills, and the upshot of the tragic happenings at Tagaung was a move down the river and the colonization of the city of Prome. The name of Prome was not changed, but there were many other names in Indo-China which were of pure Indian ancestry, only to be explained by wholesale colonization."

Mr. Colston propounded the fascinating theory that the Indian colonizers of Burma were really people of Tibeto-Burman race who had overrun the plains of India and were gradually expelled therefrom. This hypothesis, which he thought was supported by the types seen in early Buddhist sculptures, would account both for the evolution of Buddhism in India and for its almost total disappearance at a later date from the Indian plains. As regards the reference to Taxilla, Sir Richard Temple pointed out that names of places in India were often applied by these colonists to settlements in the country of their adoption, just as we have a London in Canada and a Worcester in the United States. See n. 1, p. 742.

The similarity of the legend in some respects to that of Asmodeus in the book of Tobit can hardly, one would think, be accidental. "In Ecbatane, a city of Media, Sara,

¹ The *gy* is meant to represent the sound of English *j*, and is an inconsistent attempt to preserve the Burmese spelling, which corresponds to *ky*. The modern pronunciation is neither *ky* nor *j*, but *ty*.

the daughter of Raguel, was also reproached by her father's maids because that she had been married to seven husbands, whom Asmodeus, the evil spirit, had killed, before they had lain with her." (Tobit, iii, 7, 8). Maung Pauk Tyaing's part is there played by Tobit's son Tobias, who, when advised by the angel Raphael to marry his cousin Sara, demurred on account of the death of his seven predecessors. Raphael told him to take the heart and liver of a fish and make a smoke with it on the ashes of perfume, "and the devil shall smell it, and flee away, and never come again any more" (v, 17). These instructions Tobias carried out with complete success. "The which smell when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him" (viii, 3). The legend and the name of Asmodeus, which appear to be of Babylonian origin, are fully dealt with in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, pp. 217-20.



XXII

YASNA XLIII, 7-16, IN ITS SANSKRIT FORMS

(Continued from p. 542.)

BY PROFESSOR MILLS

7. *First of all God's Bounteous Holiness is held in mind as Supreme when the Representative of the Sacred Tribes—the Loyal One par-eminence—comes with Vohu Manah's Sincere Intention to ask of him, once more, his principles,—on which all hangs.*

(a) Śvāntam, puṇyam(-ñ-) ca, (-ā-), át tvā*, tvām, sūmedhaḥ (-o), mañsi (-y-), asura,

(b) yat(-d) mā*, mām (asmākaṃ varṇa-pakṣya-dūtaḥ(-o))¹ vāsunā pari(-ī-(, iti ?)), kila, (-o-), upa(-ā-) agacchat(-d) mānasā, — (dharma - śruṣṭimān, hṛdaya-bhaktiḥ(-r)) ;—

(c) āprechat(-c) ca mā, mām ;— *kiḥ(-r(?)), iti, kila, kaḥ (-o's-) āsi ;—kāśya ((pakṣasya)*² (-ā-)) asi ;—

(d) kathā ahar,* ahāni(-y-) (ahānāṃ vā) dākṣān,* dākṣān upayān, (kila, prajñāna-dāni cihnāni,³ (tasya, teṣāṃ), pṛcchāyai* (prati - vacaḥ(-o-)-vat(-d)) dikṣā⁴ (diśāni, dekṣyāmi(-y))

(e) abhi tvadīyeṣu (*tveṣu(?)) gayeṣu, gehyeṣu, tanu-(v)ām (-au) ca,⁵

8. *Zarathushtra's Answer. The Holy Law in God's Kingdom is his All-in-All—Nothing shall move him in his condemnation of the faithless—He will ever toil to establish the Holy State,—His Authorship consumes His energies. He is "weaving". His Gāthic Hymns, mates to this one with scores now lost.*

(a) Āt **se ((?)'sm-) asmaḥ prati(-y-) - ucya(-ā-), āvoce ('h-)'aham Jarathuṣtraḥ,⁶ pūrvyam ;—

¹ The Representative Saint of strophe 1 ;—see *ahmāi* also recurring at times throughout indefinitely (?) ;—see also *Sraosha*, "the Obediently Loyal" in strophe 12. *Vohu manaūhā* is instr. with an *inherent nominative*. The usage was induced on account of the neuter gender of V.m. So at times with *ashd*,—"he with V.m.," and "he with

(a) Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful in Thy holiness,

(b) O Ahura Mazda, when (he)* with Vohu Manah, (Thy Saint pre-eminent (12), true messenger from Thy tribes) approached me,—

(c) and asked me thus: "Who art thou"; and "whose", (to which chief's party dost thou belong)?

(d) "How to-day shall I show them the day's (indications, signs in answer) to (their) question,

(e) as regards Thy settlements and Thyself?"

8. Then to him, I as my first* answer* said:—I am Zarāthushtra,—

'ashā'". These instrumentals are not taken grammatically for nom. s., as has been at times asserted.

This approach of some signal Saint to inquire of Zarathushtra a more definite statement of his principles was certainly a marked event well worthy of especial inspiration from God's Good Mind, Vohu Manah—but I hardly think that any personal vision of Vohu Manah in his Archangelic form was especially intended. Such an idea seems to me to impair rather than to enhance the grandeur of the Gāthic idea. It was the devout and Benevolent Intention with which the official came to Z. rather than the personal Archangelic being. Vohūmanah, like Asha and Khshathra, occurs throughout in the Gāthās in its highest sense as the divine human attribute. Here it expresses "goodwill".

* Dost thou belong to us, or to a Beñdva (?).

* For this interpretation, followed by all, by some unwittingly, we are again indebted to the Pahl. trlr. Otherwise "the day's enlightening illustrations".

* *Dīā* as aor. conj. might be represented by a **dīkṣā* (-āni) aor. conj.:—see *adikṣi*, *adikṣat*, etc. One esteemed writer seems to take it as a 2nd ṣṣ. "wilt Thou" to *dhd*?—apparently in view of *dhiṣe*, *dhiṣed*, etc. (Wh.). It can hardly be here to a *dī* = Ind. *dhi*.

* *Tanuñi*, obviously a loc. Is the sibilant, however, in place? Could we form a *tanau(v)i* (-vi);—cf. *sūndei*, loc. masc. (Wh.). One is strongly tempted to read a loc. pl. *tanuñu*, but . . .

* For the very possible and interesting idea that he answers "I am Zarathushtra" we are wholly indebted to the Pahl., Pers., and Ner.—and I accede—with the others. I formerly preferred: "I, Z. answered." Have we not here the original motive to that beginning of the Hom Yasht where H(a)oma appears to the later Zarathushtra, then long since endowed with mythical attributes?

(b) satyaḥ (-o) *dveṣāḥ (-ā), dveṣī, dveṣāṁsi (?) -bhṛt(-d), yat(-d) *īśīya¹(-eya) (tasya(-e-)) (īśvaraḥ(-o) syām, vā,) dhvarate, dveṣiṇe, pāpāya, (-ā-),

(c) āt(-d) ṛtāvane syām ūtiḥ(-ī) rabhaḥ(-o)-dhāḥ((-ā-),² avodāḥ (-ā-) ānanda-bhṛt(-d)² ojasvat(-d) (-vati-vān)

(d) yāt(-d) ā (-ā-) (aḥam, tat(-d-))*-udyojī, sādhaḥkāṇ upayān abhisamskr̥tya prati-bhūṣataḥ² (-a) (abhi(-y-)-upayān(-s-) tvadīyasya) vaśa(-vaśena-)-kṣatrasya⁴ (tān abhyā svayam, ātmānam, dāyai (ā(y)),* ātmā dhīyai, (vā)⁵ (hrdaya-bhaktiḥ(-r))

(e) yāvat(-d) ā tvā,** tvām, sumedhaḥ(-s), staumi, stavāni, stavai(-ā(y)), (rcam(-ñ-)-ca mama tubhyaṁ) vayāni.*⁶

9. *The Accredited (Sraosha One), with Good Mind, Vohu Manah, now puts the full point to him: "What is his most urgent wish?"—One word expresses all—The Holy Flame—God's Fire—Blest Symbol of the Cause.*

(a) Śvāntam, puṇyam(-ñ-) ca(-ā-) āt tvā (tvām), sumedhaḥ(-o), maṁsi(-y-), asura,

(b) yat(-d) mā, mām, (asmākam pakṣa - dūtaḥ(-o)) vasunā pari(-ī), iti (?), upa(-ā-)-agacchat(-d) manasā,* (saḥ, (sa) evam dharma-śruṣṭimān,⁷ dr̥ḍhaḥ(-o), hr̥daya-bhaktiḥ(-r),—

(c) asya pṛcchā (-e) iyaṁ;—kasmai, vi-vettave,⁸ vi-vide, vakṣi?—

¹ Possibly *īśīya* = an *īś(a)va* = "mighty". In any case the *ī* is irrational unless from an original "v". The best way to explain the accidental *ī* is to read it as "v", in a possible *īśva* to an *īśvan*-nom. sg. masc. = "powerful". The old Pahl.-Av. *ī* and *v* had in the transitional period the same sign;—and "y" = 𐬚 is constantly miswritten for 𐬛 = v; this from carelessness. Also irrational repetition of letters—such as here would ensue from this correction—continually takes place, and they should at once be discounted and co-ordinated. I must request those who may do me the honour to read these arguments to understand that they are based upon searches which do not exclude a knowledge of the Pahlavi alphabet, which is a beginner's

(b) (No fears shall ever shake my purpose:—no compromise allure me.) As veritable foe would that I may be master over the faithless,—

(c) but to our (covenanted) Saint would be a strong delighting help,

(d) since to preparations* for Thine unbounded (and all-conquering) Rule,* Our Holy State, I would devote myself (—the Supreme object of our struggle in this our Crisis);—

(e) so long as to Thee I may praise and weave song.⁷

9. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful in Thy holiness,* O Ahura Mazda,

(b) when he (the Sraosha-One, true loyal to the Cause) with Vohu Manah's sincere Intention neared me,—

(c) his question this:—"What dost thou desire to attain through all thy knowledge";—(as thy chief object, that ushtā-prize, "that better than the good" (see 2)-)?

necessity, vital to Avesta-philology, yet till lately still so curiously neglected by some esteemed advanced writers.

² *Raf(e)nō*, with the idea of gladdening;—cf. *rubhodā-* (of Indra) 463, 5, . . . so the Pahl. hints.

³ *Bāhīk*. Another "that I may reap the future things of Thy Kingdom" (so tradition hints);—better "that he might be devoted to preparations for it".

⁴ "The Kingdom," that is to say, "the government," was a chief theme throughout in an especially solemn crisis of its tumultuous early existence. Ahura must be supreme or nothing. Recall *vasē-kshayās* of strophe 1, and "may thy good kings bear rule", Y. 48, 5, etc.

⁵ *Dayāi*. See *dāyamaṇa-* for a stem *dāya-*, also *adhāyata* (Wh.). *Dayāi* might indeed have been meant for a passive, but see *dāyāt* in strophe 1.

⁶ *Ufya-*—cf. . . . *Indrāyārkaṃ ahihatya āruḥ*, RV. 1, 61, 8;—recall Y. 28, 3, . . . *yē vā ashū ufyaui* . . . Z. was laboriously occupied in composing these Gāthās which with their very many lost companions have been of such moment to the world.

⁷ See *Sraoshō* in 12, and see *ahmai* in strophe 1 and note 1 to strophe 7.

⁸ *Vividuyē* = (-*de*),—evidently meaning "to thoroughly obtain", or if "to know thoroughly" *vid-* + *vi* is the literal meaning, then the idea of acquisition through such exhaustive knowledge should be prominent. Cf. also the intensive stem *vevid-* to both the first *vid-* and the second. How could Z. be asked "what he wished to decide for"? He might be

(d) At(-d) ā** tvasmai(??, (-ā(y) iti, tvadiyāyai) atharyai¹ rātim namasaḥ(-a), (imām abhi-vasmi(-y) evaṃ)

(e) (rātim) rtasya,*² mā*, mām ā, mahyam, yāvat(-d), īsai, īse, manyai³ (-ye).

10. *He asks for the Detail of the Law, — As God's messenger with Vohu Manah's Sincere Intention had come to question him so closely (see 7), so now he asks Ahura Himself to question him personally — searching his very soul.*

(a) Āt tu*(?), tvam, me*, dikṣaḥ(-ā)*⁴ diśa(-ar-) rtaṃ, yat tat(-d) mā, mām, mahyam (svayam) johavimi(-y)

(b) aramatyā sacamānaḥ⁵ (-a) id (amum (??))* aram ((?)utsāham artha(-o-)-udyojinam*); —

(c) precha ca naḥ(-o) yena, yathā, yāni, vā, (?) te ('s-) asāma,⁶ āsma, prstāḥ,⁷ —

formally asked of which party he was—Ahura's or the foe's, the Deva's, but the Fire, Agni, was as sacred to the one side as to the other. He would not so naturally ask "to know" the Fire,—see strophe 4;—so I now prefer.

¹ How justly sensitive the fire-priests were as to the quality of the wood offered was quaintly and wittily illustrated more than a thousand years later than this Gāthā in the Book of the Arda-i-Virāf, where the Saint in vision sees a whole lake of water, and when he questions his guide as to what it was, he is answered: "This is the water which has exuded from the green wood offered by your fellow-worshippers."

² Recall the later Av. expression "the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son". *Asha* was later the angel of the Ritual and of the Fire because its sacrifice was the chief "sacramental" act of Religion. And who that is at all instructed in the history of evolution cannot feel that in Fire, Heat, "the Mode of perpetual motion," we have one half of the secret of the Universe. What is the substance matter of all things without it? Little wonder that the Fire was recognized as being what it really is, the supreme element.

³ "So long as I possess the means to maintain Thy sacrifices, so will I think." Notice the forms of *ī* again throughout;—see also the question of strophe 7.

⁴ *Dāi* to *dī* = "to see, to show", to Sansk. *dī* = "to illuminate" causatively understood;—recall also *dāi*, *dāyā*. Otherwise better to *dis* = *dīs* = "to show";—see *dīśi* in 7, as aor. with loss of the sign of

(d) Then for Thy Fire a valid offering of praise above all things I besought of him (doubly sanctified with pious gift of costly wood, and true priestly consecration),

(e) (and an offering) for Asha (Thy Ritual of Truth);—as long as I may have the opportunity (to choose), thus will I decide.

10. Yea, may'st Thou reveal to me Thine Asha (High Angel of The Holy Law (together with Thy Fire (9), His especial Attribute), since I invoke Him to me,

(b) —yea, hand-joined with Aramaiti, verily I invoke that Ara-energy (of sacred husbandry and of devoted pious toil (which Aramaiti makes so real));—

(c) Ask Thou us questions (before Thy close command, as well as he who now, with Vohu Manah, has so searchingly besought me for the secrets of my aims), that we may be asked direct of Thee (Thyself and by none inferior);—(search Thou our minds and wills, instructing us where we lack, that we may know Thy wish, and knowing, then fulfil it),—

2nd sg. Recall *bhais*, to *bhi*, *aprās* for *aprās(s)* to *prā*, *ayās* for *ayās(s)*, 2nd sg. to the *ayaj*-stem, *śāsās* for *śāsās(-s)* to *śās*-, *viśē* to *viśē(-s)* (sic), etc.;—and with loss of the sign of the 3rd personal sg. recall **ajaiḥ* to *ji*, *naiḥ* to *ni*, *caiḥ* to *ci*.

² *Arem* to the *ara* of *ār(a)maiti*;—*utsāham artha(-o)-udyojinam*. Notice the recurrence of *Ār(a)maiti* in this Gāthā,—I render with an **ara* as in *arām*.

³ *Ēhmā* = **āsmā* in a conjunctive sense, or = *asīma*. Otherwise why not an instr.? In the Av., *ēhmā* may equal a lost Ind. *asmā* = *asmābhiḥ*;—see the Pahl. *lanā* and the Ved. *asme* loc. or dat. (Wh.): “Ask us what are Thy questions (to be) asked concerning (?) us.” Not impossibly “inspire (?) our question”;—see Y. 44, which Gāthā for ever remained the most exalted series of interrogations known to the Zoroastrian Religion;—see them so often referred to. Or, “Ask us what questions are to be asked by us concerning (?) Thee,” so not impossibly.

⁴ *Hacimānō*. One esteemed writer seems to suppose that Ahura is here referred to as “going hand in hand” with *Ār(a)maiti*. And so far as the Veda is concerned, it is true enough that Indra is leagued (*sac-*), as if in fellowship with Vishnu. *Vipruṇā sacānāḥ*, RV. 6, 20, 2, yet Ahura might not be altogether so fully leagued with *Ār(a)maiti* as she is, but one of His attributes or even only His Archangel. But Indra does not go on hand-in-hand with him who pours no sacrifice . . . *nā*

(d) pr̥ṣtam, pr̥cchā, hī tvā,* tava, tvadīyā, yathā ((ā) asti (-y asat)) tat, tā, amavatām,

(e) yat* tava, tvadiyaḥ (-a), *rtu-ksatraḥ ksayan(-t-) sva(-ai-)-eṣam¹ (eṣa-śāsam) dheyat(-d) amavantam.

11. *Ever as Bountiful in Holiness he worships His Supreme Ahura. Recalling again the true loyal Messenger who with Vohu Manah (7) came to search out what manner of spirit he is of;—he ever yearns for more full details of Knowledge;—in spite of severe opposition he will fulfil God's utmost wish.*

(a) Śvāntam, puṇyam(-ñ-) ca (-ā-) āt tvā* (tvām), sumedhaḥ(-o), mañsi(-y-), asura,

(b) yat(-d) mā, mām vaśunā pari(-y- (?)), upa(-ā-) agacchat(-d) (asau(-v) adhika(-r-)-rtupatiḥ(-r)) manasā, (tava śruṣṭimān² hṛdaya-bhaktiḥ(-r)),

(c) yat(-d) yuṣmākam uktaḥ(-r), ukthaiḥ(-r), (dharmaṇi-sthaiḥ² (-s)) tava dhāyanam (mahyam (?) svayam)* *daṁsayai didāṁsayiṣai, (?) pūrvyam, [(kila, yat(-d) yuṣmākam ati-puṇyam dharmam, dharma-daṁsaḥ(-s-), tasya viśeṣāṇi, mama buddhyai svayam daṁsayai;—tasya daṁsāṁsi sāksāt(-d iva), mama hṛdaye manasi ca pragāḍham suniṣṭhitāni cikārayiṣai, abhi-saṁskṛṇavai, pūrvyam)]—

(d) *śātravāṇi duṣṭa-śādanāni me (*ś-) aśaṁsit(-d) martyesu(-v) ayam *hrd-dātīḥ, (kila(-ā-), asmākam paramaḥ (-o'dh-) adhipatiḥ(-r), dharma(-ā-)-āyāsa*-netā, hṛdaya-dātīḥ(-s)),—

¹ *suncatā sacate* . . . RV. 5, 34, 5, which implies that "he does accompany (*sac-*) the human sacrificer". That such a God as Pushan should be besought "to go on together with the worshipper" *sacavāhai*, 6, 55, 1 (496, 1) seems natural enough. Also the worshipper is mentioned at times as the chief agent— . . . *sacemahi tava, dasma, praketaiḥ* . . . RV. 10, 7, 1, . . . "may we be in harmony with Thy thoughts, O wonder-worker . . .";—see also *ṛdūdareṇa sakhyā sacceya yo mā na riṣyēd, dhary-aiṣa, pitaḥ*, RV. 8, 48, 10 (688, 10). Forms of Av. *hac* = Ind. *sac* occur some eleven times in the Gāthās;—see strophe 12 just here where Sraoša "accompanies" Ashi as equals, and also Y. 46, 16,

(d) for Thy question is as that of (our own) mighty Ones (our searchingly commanding Chiefs),

(e) whene'er Thy Ruler (Our monarch) may deliver forth his mighty wish, (inquiring to investigate, and then to utter his demands).

11. Yea, I conceived of Thee as above all bounteous (in Thy holiness), O Ahura Mazda,

(b) when (he, thy Saint pre-eminent (the truly Loyal One) (inspired) by Vohu Manah's Good Intention, approached me;—

(c) and when with your (revealed³) words* I first desired to impress myself;—

(d) Woes for Thy Cause amidst (our holy) men (Thine) heart-devoted one announced to me;—(46. 1, 2, etc.)

where *Ār(a)maiti* is accompanied *hacaitē* by Asha, and 45, 2, where the Souls of the two opposed chief deities are *not* agreed (*hacaiti*), and 48, 4, where the active will is in harmony with the religious profession, —at 48, 12 the Saoshyants may follow (*hacaitē*) the satisfaction of Ahura,—in 33, 9 the souls of the two chiefs are joined together (*hacaitē*),—in 44, 10 the *D(a)ēna* is to further the settlements going on in harmony (*hacimnā*) with Asha. In the Gāthās *hac-* (*hach-*) seems to express more predominantly a fellowship between equals. I hardly feel that *hacimanō* here refers to the supreme Deity;—see its position also after the 1st personal *zaozomī*.

¹ Cf. *aēsha-khəθra* — "master of his wish," and so "mighty, effective", Y. XXVIII, 9.

² See *Sraoshō* in strophe 12. "The Loyal Heeding One."

³ The other Gāthic chants now lost to us.

Sādrī. So with the Pahl., Pers., and Skt. to *śad* = "to fall" followed by all (?) or almost all;—cf. Y. 46, 1, 2. It is indeed a sacrilege to dilute the fine sense which seems to be here so literally expressed as above,—yet we had better try some alternatives for the sake of considering "every possibility". Perhaps "Woes (for the wicked) Thy heart-devoted one announced to me". This would diminish the suspicious fineness of the sentiment. Then again we might refer *śidrā* to *śad* = "to prevail";—recall **śāśadāna*. perf. med. participle. "Forceful blessings, successful issues (?), among (holy) men that heart-devoted one announced to me;—(e) yea, that will I do which ye declared to me to be the best." But I much prefer as stands above, and we have no right to neglect its valued indications confirmed in so many other places.

(e) tat(-d)* ā(-api- (?))-vrjadhyāi,¹ (iti, kila, tat kartum, kartave (-tavai, prasthitah(-o) bhaviṣyāmi(-y), udyoji karisyāmi, nih(-r)-vakṣyāmi), yat(-d) me ('br-) abrūvata* (yuyam), abravīt(-d vā (-ā-) asau(v) adhi-patiḥ(-r)), vasiṣṭham,² -(tat(-d) asmākaṃ dharma(-ā-)-arthāya bhūyiṣṭham pravṛddhi - samprāpti - niyuktam, anurūpam, asmākaṃ(-ā-) ca janma-bhūmi-pravṛtti(-y)-artham).

12. *Bid by his God, in answer to his expressed wish, to come to Asha the Archangel who reveals the Law, he yet begs his Maker to pause in His order to advance until he is joined by the ambassador of his sorely tried party, and assisted with encouragement and supplies.*

(a) Yat(-d, yathā, yena) ca me(-'br-) abruvaḥ(-o'br-) abravīḥ(-r): ṛtām upa, (ā-)gacchaḥ prajñanāya, tat(-d) artham, -prkṣe² vā (-ai-), evam, iti, (prkṣe) mānasyai, tat(-d) artham,

(b) āt* tu (?), tvam, me néd asrutāni⁴ pari-voca, (pari- -pra-) -vivakṣaḥ(-a)⁵.

(c) ut(-d)-īrayādhyai para*, (-e-)iti, tat, tasmāt puras-tāt(-d), yat(-d) na (?) me (-a) upa mām, āgamāt(-ech-),

(d) śrausṭiḥ(-s)⁶ svarga-dūtaḥ(-s) sāksāt(-d), ābhāsaḥ(-a) iva dr̥ṣṭaḥ(-a), ṛtyā (-e-), iti(-i-) (= aśhi) īśvara-dūtyā, saha divya-rūpiṇyā (-e-), iti manasā cittayā, kila, purā na (?) tayā saha, samanā, śrausṭiḥ(-r) dūtaḥ(-a) āgamāt, pratidānena, phalēna(-ar)-rjunā saha, mahā,⁷ madacyutā(?), vā, (-ar-) rāyā, raivatyena ca, śrausṭiḥ(-r) dūtaḥ(-s-) sacamānaḥ(-o),

(e) yena vaḥ(-o) vi- (-y) ṛtiḥ(-r), iti punar api, kila, (-ā-)amūni phalāni(-y), rju-pratidānāni, (raṇa-kṛdbhyaḥ(-o), yudham-, kalaham-) kṛdbhyaḥ,⁸ -pakṣābhyām, vā, du(v)-ābhyām etāvat(-d) anyonyam vyākṛtyā prati-vivā-dibhyaḥ, śave, śūtave, śavase viśeṣitaḥ(-s) su(v)asti-bhr̥te, tat(d) artham, asau śrausṭi-dūtaḥ, vidheyāt(-d) (dharma-phalāni).

(e) (yet) that will I fulfil¹ which Ye declared to me to be the best.²

—[(Or, as only a possible(?) and inferior altern. for (e), . . . successful (?? better than "other") issues Thy heart-devoted one announced to me, yea that will I do . . .)]—

12. And when thou said'st to me ;—come for light (and (in a fulness of it³) to Asha, (Archangel of the Law),

(b) declare not to me words (as yet) unheard^{4, 5} (with faith and loyalty)—

(c) nor to go forth till he, that Sraosha, the Loyal One⁶ (once more) approach me, hand-joined with Ashi, the reward, with heart-rejoicing⁷ (?) riches (and great spiritual) glory

(e) whereby he gives just recompenses for satisfaction to the two contending⁸ sides.

¹ Infin. for imperv.

² "Best," like other Gāthic expressions, has almost a technical significance of "highly sanctified", not merely "best" in a secular sense ;—recall the somewhat later name "*baheahi*" for "Heaven", so, probably, from Y. 30, 4.

³ Recall *prkṣ-* = "to fill" . . . *Vīṣṣitah(-s) su(v)asti-bhye, tat(-d) artham* . . .

⁴ Recall Y. 31, 1. *Adya yāvad aśrutāni*. Is it a loc. of an *aśruṣi* = "not in my non-heeding", "not as I do not disobey do thou wish to command me" (?) ;—hardly so. It rather puts too fine a point upon the diction for the Gāthā.

⁵ *Pairyaoghezā*. Desid. imperv. to *aog*—a degenerate form of *rac* ;—so the Pahl. hints ;—see Dict. and Comm.

⁶ *Sraoshā*. This seems, in this connexion, to prove that Sraosha, as referring to some very prominent loyal chieftain, may be represented by the *ahmāi* in strophe 1, and by the same form so often occurring throughout, and also by the subject in all the (b) lines which contain the formula *hyaṣ m. Vohū. p. Manahā*.

⁷ Is *māzā* possibly to be traced to *mad-*, or is "man" here involved, or "mahā" ? Toward this last the Pahl. hints.

⁸ *Rānōihyā*. Not here "from the two *arānī*", unless we change the text. Here we have no dual to meet Haug's brilliant suggestion as regards "the two *arānī*", "the kindling sticks", and if not here, then not elsewhere. We might, however, "change the text" without the MSS. and "correct" to *rānōihyā*, if we feel inclined to be convinced. It seems, however, rather "far-fetched" just here, which is a pity. The Pahl., Pers., and Skt. nowhere confirm it.

13. *Pushed to his final wish, he asks for long-life to fulfil his mission in a Government firmly established here as the type of that "delectable" Kingdom which is to be on high.*

(a) Śvāntam (puṇyam(-ñ-)) ca(-ā-) āt, tvā, tvām, sūmedhaḥ(-o), mānsi(-y), asura,

(b) yat(-d) mā,* mām, vasunā pari(-y (?), -upa(-ā-)) agacchat(-d) manasā, (śruṣṭimān, adhika-(-ar-)-ṛtupatīḥ(-s), senāpatīḥ(-r) svarga-dūtena v.m. saha, samanā);—

(c) (āt tasmai(ā(y)) avocam): arthāni* vettave,¹ kāmasya, tam (yānam,² iti(-y) evam, kila, pravṛtti(-y)-upāyam) me dāta,* (tāni dātāni vā mama syuḥ(-r)),—tāni dādāḥ((-ā), iti, vā, tvam),

(d) dīrghasya (-ā-)³ āyoh(-r) jīvātoḥ(-r)⁴ yam, yat(-d), vaḥ(-o) nakīḥ(-r), na kaścīd dharshate,—(kila, yam, yat(-d), yuṣmat(-d) nakīḥ(-r), na kaścīd, (-t-)sahasā dharṣakeṇa⁵ (-ā-) apahartavai śaknoti(-y);—atha vā (-ai-) evam, paṭhe vikṛte, sutra-vācanāyām vikṛtāyām, yaṃ, yat(-d), dānam dehi(y)-amum viśeṣa-(-ā-)adhikāraṃ dīrghā-yum (-yutve), su(v)asti-rikthaṃ, yat(-d) yuṣmā-(yuṣmat)-hīnāya, yuṣmabhiḥ(-r) viyutāya, na kasmai-cid(-t) praveṣtuṃ śakyate),

(e) dharma-dānam vāryasya (-yāyāḥ(?))⁶ stel(-r),⁶ dharma-bhūmyāḥ(-ā), yā, yaḥ(-s) **tvasmin⁷ (?-ūs), tvadiye, kṣatré bhūtaḥ(-ā-, vā,) avāci.

¹ *Vōishdyāi* to *vid-*. Only such a misform as a **Ved-dhyai* would correspond, but *-adhyai* seems to be invariable. The "a" of the infin. termination has dropped out from the Av. form whether through faulty transcriptions in the course of centuries, or in actual speech;—see 16 with *yestē* as possibly equalling a *yas(a)te* = Ind. *yacchate* (Av. *s* = Ind. *-ck-*). The sense "attain", "obtain" is indicated. One might think that the meaning is "When he with Vohu Manah came to me to know my wish, and I said to him"—as if putting these omitted words after the *vōishdyāi*—"give ye me this gift";—but *dātā* evidently refers pointedly here to Ahura, see *vao* in *d* and *thraḥmī* in *e*, and also the first line. Line 6 is merely the recurring formula. "Give ye" can only indirectly include either the saintly messenger or the archangel. He had already answered the questions as to his principles and wishes. See strophe 7 and also 9, where the word *videtē* means "to obtain" rather than "to know". "You are come to know my wishes—then

13. (a) Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful (in Thy holiness), O Ahura Mazda,

(b) when he (Thy Tribes' Ambassador,—Thy Sr(a)osha-Saint pre-eminent—with Vohu Manah's Good Intention, came to me,—

(c) (and I said to him as if to Thee): True Aims of my desire to obtain,—this gift² bestow on me

(d) of long³ (blest) life⁴ which none can wrest⁵ from you,

(e) the gift of, that is, "in" that desirable, "delectable" land⁶ which was ever said to be within Thy⁷ Sovereign Authority (safeguarded from the foe).

grant me long life" is hardly the exact form, though it is of course the substance of the idea here.

² Recall Y. 28, 9, *yānāi*; is *yānem* understood here?—so also Justi.

³ *Dar(ε)jgahyā*. Who can be certain that this *dar(ε)jg.* is in its original form? The vowel "a" may have become distorted from *i* during the long transitional period when all the short vowels at least were regarded as inherent in the consonants, as is the case with our present surviving Pahlavi as printed from our MSS.,—and as a matter of course some of the long vowels also became compromised. Or do some worthy writers actually doubt that all the Avesta once stood in most of its MSS. in the Pahlavi characters? If they accede to that universally accepted opinion, why do they not make an effort to thoroughly master the circumstances? *Dar(ε)jg.* is really *dīrg.*, or *dīry.*, now equalling our surviving Sanskrit *dīrgh.* Otherwise one thinks of *drīgh*, which is closely related.

⁴ *Yānā* to Ind. *yu* = "continuance", here equal "life", "life here as well as hereafter";—*yuti* = "union with" is distantly connected.

⁵ *Dārštaitē*. Here I prefer to correct the reported text, or rather to follow that of Spiegel omitting the "t"—*dārštaitē*. The MSS.,—with the one exception as cited by him, Spiegel,—and also as confirmed by the Pahl. trlr., Pers., and Ner., read the "t" as above, *dārštaitē*, suggesting an *itē*. *dharšta*—*ite* "would dare to go";—*dāršt(i)tā* might be regarded as the verbal noun. *dharšt(i)-i* *ityai*, *iyadhyai* . . . Could it be "which none can now see", or "see to enter", to *dri*;—see *dariati*, aor. ?;—and see the Pahl. *nikēzishn*, Pers. *dīdan*, not, however, so exactly followed by Ner., who seems to suggest "not by (his own) expertness"—"toward which no one has gone forth through (his own) expert enterprise, or 'sagacity'."

⁶ *Stōiš* to Ind. *sti* in *sti-pā* = "house-guard";—recall also *sthāpati* = "governor of a district". This *stōiš* contravenes the probability, though not the possibility, of a *stōi* elsewhere as infin. to *ah* = "to be".

⁷ Why not again an Ind. **tasmin* after *tasmin* and *tuabhih* to equal Av. *thvahmī(-n)*.

14. *He asks God once more to give him aid, as friend to friend (46, 2), when endowed with authority he takes his stand to arouse the Princely Chiefs to the Religion, with their reciting Priests.*

(a) Yat (-d), yathā, yāvat(-d), nā priyāya¹ vedamānaḥ (-o), vindamānaḥ(-s), (tasya(-e-)) īśvaraḥ(-o), (amun, yānam (13), iti, prasādasya dānam utsāhayantam) dadyāt (-d)', (iti, dheyāt(-d)).

(b) mahyam, hayé sūmedhaḥ(-s), tava(-ā-)avaḥ(-o), rabhaḥ(-a)-ūtidaḥ² dāḥ, prajñānam, prajñāna-dam, (ātma-prkṣam,³ vā mānasim),

(c) yat tava, tvadiyena kṣatreṇa (-ar-) rtāt(-te) sacā (-ar-), rtena saha, prān (?), pra-tiṣṭhāmi(-y)

(d) ut(-d-)-iradhyai(-y) aham śardhānsi,* kila, (-ā-) abhi śardha - nitin⁴ rtasya, dharma-sena - patin (-ñ-) śānsasya, senā-śāsasya,

(e) smat taiḥ(-r) viśvāiḥ(-r) ye te, tava, mantrāṇi(-ān) (t) smarante,⁵ (-āntai).*

15. *And this is the burden of his Address—Steadfastness in this time of stress and questioning (see above)—no compromise and no cessation of the exorcising dis severance — even as Ahura casts off Angra Mainyu.*

(a) Śvāntam punyam(-ñ-) ca(-ā-) āt tvā,* tvām, maṇsi(-y) asura,

(b) yāt (-d) mā, mām, (tava śruṣṭimān (12)) vāsuna pari (-y) (?) upa(-ā-) ā (-ā-) agacchat(-d) manasā,

(c) mām(-ñ-) ca dakṣat(-d),* dakṣayat(-d), darśayat(-d), buddhi(-y-)-ūṣmaṇā (-e-) iti, buddhyā(-o-) uśanā,⁶ (-ā-)asau tūṣṇika-matib(-s), tuṣṭimān, buddhyā vasiṣṭhayā (-thāni vā(?)) :—

¹ Cf. Y. 46, 2, . . . kyaḥ fryō fryāi . . .

² Raff(e)no;—see the Pahl. for a heightened tone in the idea.

14. (a) What (joy-inspiring*) assistance* a man who is enlightened, having also the means, gives to a friend,*

(b) that (give) to me, O Mazda, as thine instructing and joy-fulfilling aid,

(c) when with Thy Sovereign Authority endowed, and with sincerity (inspired by Asha, Archangel of Thy Law), I stand forth

(d) to approach and to arouse the chieftains (who represent the armed-regulations) and the religious doctrines (for which all our struggle is still made),

(e) with all who (as Thy reciting priests ever) memorize Thy manthra-hymns.

15. (a) Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful (in Thy holiness), Ahura Mazda,

(b) when he (Thy true Loyal One (12)) with Vohu Manah's Good Intention came to me, (—and said);—

(c) let that unruffled steadfast One (alone, ever Our Main hope, as he is (1)) with best understanding, enlightening-strengthen thee;—

² Have we here the Indian root *pre-* = "to fill" in *frākhšānem*?;—see *prky-* f. = "satisfaction". Better, however, to *jñā-*, so with the hint of the Pahlavi followed by (nearly) all.

³ *Sar(e)jdanā*. . . the chieftainships . . . the s(a)oshyants who so often pray in the Gāthic Hymns. Recall "*śardha-niti*." of Indra, 627, 21, for a "favourable" meaning, and see the "favourable" meaning in the next line. It is not probable that *sar(e)jdanā* has an "evil" meaning—"the defiers of Thy doctrine"—here, with line a before it, and followed by line e after it;—this, though *īratā* in Y. 53, 8, does seem to mean "attack", there is an "evil" sense. "Arouse" might there answer. Yet consider an alternative in the sense just mentioned, "I stand forth further to attack the defiers(?) of this doctrinal system."

⁴ Recall the later laborious bands of travelling rhapsodists who continually proclaimed the new creeds in the Gāthās throughout the hamlets.

⁵ *Uīyā*. One is tempted to form an *uī-* to mate the Airanian in the sense of "intelligence", but where is the derivative of *ra-* = "to shine" used in such a sense?

(d) néd, mā (?), nā purohitaḥ,¹ puru(?), (pūrūn martyān, vā), dhvarataḥ(-o), dveṣiṇaḥ(-a) upā (-ā-), āviḥ(-s) syāt(-e) cuḥṣṇūṣan (-n) iti, kila, ned, mā, tām* mīthyā-praśasya (-ā-) ati-pranamān(s) tikṣṇena saha-kārena samtosa-yāt, sajosaḥ(-a);—

(e) āt te (tava(r)-) rtāvanaḥ(-o'dh-) adhipatayaḥ(-o) manasi(-y) adhuḥ(-r) viśvān aṇhaḥ-kṛtaḥ(-o'n-) aṇhatiḥ kṛṇvataḥ, -tān samatarkayan(-n) āviḥ(-s) tathā-vidhān, bhūtān, duṣṭa(-ā-) ākramataḥ(-o), dveṣiṇaḥ(-a), etādrśaḥ(-a) iva yathāvidhāḥ(-s) tatvena santi(-y), asan).

16. *His Prayer has answer,—as he accepts once more the headship of the Prophets;—The Chiefs rally to his side—Hopes light upon his head like rays from a breaking storm—He believes the future which Frashakard holds out.*

(a) Āt(-d) āsura, svaḥ (saḥ, sa + u(?)) manyum² Jarathuṣṭraḥ(-o)

(b) vṛṇite, sumedhaḥ (-o), yaḥ(?) (-s) te³ kaḥ(-ś-) ca **śvāntatamaḥ, puṇyatamaḥ* (-o'p-) (apica):—(atha vā-'manyum iṣudyābhiḥ(-r) tasmai(-ā(-y-)) udyacchate, tat(-d) yācati, vā, kas cid,)

(c) *asthanvat (-d), asthimat(-d) ṛtam⁴ syāt(-d) utthānena (śarīravatā(au)) ojasvat;—

(d) svar-dṛṣi kṣatre syāt(-d) aramatīḥ(-r);—

¹ Or "let not a (heroic) man be subservient to the faithless men (paoru(n)ā)". So others prefer,—not so the Pahl., Skt., and Pers.;—see also nā. *P(a) jouruā*, or *pouruā*, as = *pūrū(n)ā* would bring two words equalling "man", "men" close together, which contravenes probability.

² Ahura's *spēnūtō mainyū* . . . (?). Some esteemed writers, with the venerated name of Spiegel at their head, would venture upon the rendering "Z. chooses every most holy spirit". This would be very well if it were not for the *cā* in the *cācā* "and everyone . . ." And *spēnūtō* also leads us at once to think of the "mainyūm" as the *Spēnūtō Mainyū*, yet again the *yas te cācā* (so reading) prevents our full rendering in that sense "the spirit who is 'everyone' most holy (?)",—I therefore, differing from all others, apply the word *spēnūtō* to the human subject only from what might be called "attraction" and render—"Z. chooses the (*Spēnūtēm*) *Mainyūm* spirit, and (so does) everyone who is (likewise) *spēnūtō*." The *spēnūtō* cannot

(d) let no foremost chief* be cringing toward the faithless enemy;—

(e) yea, thus the saints have treated all our assaulting foes—(no compromise at all with them—).

16. (a) Yea, O Ahura, he, Zarathrushtra,

(b) chooses, with his devotion, (Thy) Spirit (most bounteous in his holiness), O Mazda;—and every man most holy* likewise with him;—

(c) Be the just law—clothed with body-(-incarnate in our Tribes),—and strong with life's vigour (of the soul)—

(d) In Sun-blest Land of ours may Aramaiti, (Archangel of our Holy Industry), abide,

apply directly to *mainyūm* on account of the “ca”;—(2) while to regard *mainyūm* with *yas-cīcā* as meaning the “spirit” in its personal sense as expressing the ennobled character of the faithful disciple, as we seem to be forced to do in the case of Y. 33, 9, would have the same objections which obtain here. It is rather too refined and deep, if it can be avoided;—and we must for ever be on our guard against a fool's paradise, seeing too fine and abstract a meaning which was not in the mind of the composer. For the reading *yes-* in *yesē* as = *yas-* see the next note.

² *Yēsē* = *yastē*. Not impossibly (?) to *yam*, *yaccha*-(-ate), in a non-thematic form peculiar to the Airanian;—otherwise to *yah*(-a) and *te*. This letter *ē* here affords an emphatic instance of the application of my discovery—so often stated in the Gāthās—to the effect that the letter *κ*,—generally well representing *ē*, is often a Pahlavi survival, a lengthened *ϣ* = *u* + *ṣ* written together, and here as elsewhere = “*ya-*”, so that our apparent *yēsē* may, nay must, be *yastē* = a *yacch(a)te* to *yam*. This *ϣ* = *ya* when it equals “*ē*” is lengthened to *κ* to distinguish it from *ϣ* = *sh*. Those familiar with the Pahlavi alphabet should find no difficulty here, for letter-signs in their original Pahlavi force have, as a matter of course, lingered in the interior and at the ends of Avesta words in the more fully written Avesta alphabet restored from the Pahlavi, into which it had temporarily and for the most part degenerated. How a *yavate* = Ind. *yacchate* could have lost its conjugational sign “*a*”, and become a *yastē*, is shown by many similar irregularities;—few languages are without them. *Yēsē* = *yastē* = “prays”—“and everyone (*cīcā*) most holy prays, with him.”

⁴ Recall the name of the Saoshyant *Aśvat-ereta*, referring to the great Saoshyant of the Resurrection. *Ereta*, literally = *ṛta* = *asha*, will be clothed with the risen bodies of the saints. Here we have its origin.

(e) *ṛtiṃ* **(? *iti*(-y) *evam*), (*kila phalam, ṛju pratidānam*)
 (ñ) *cyautnaiḥ*(-s) (*teṣāṃ hetoḥ*(-r)) *vasunā** *dadhyāt*(-d(?)),¹
dheyāt(-d) *mānasā*.

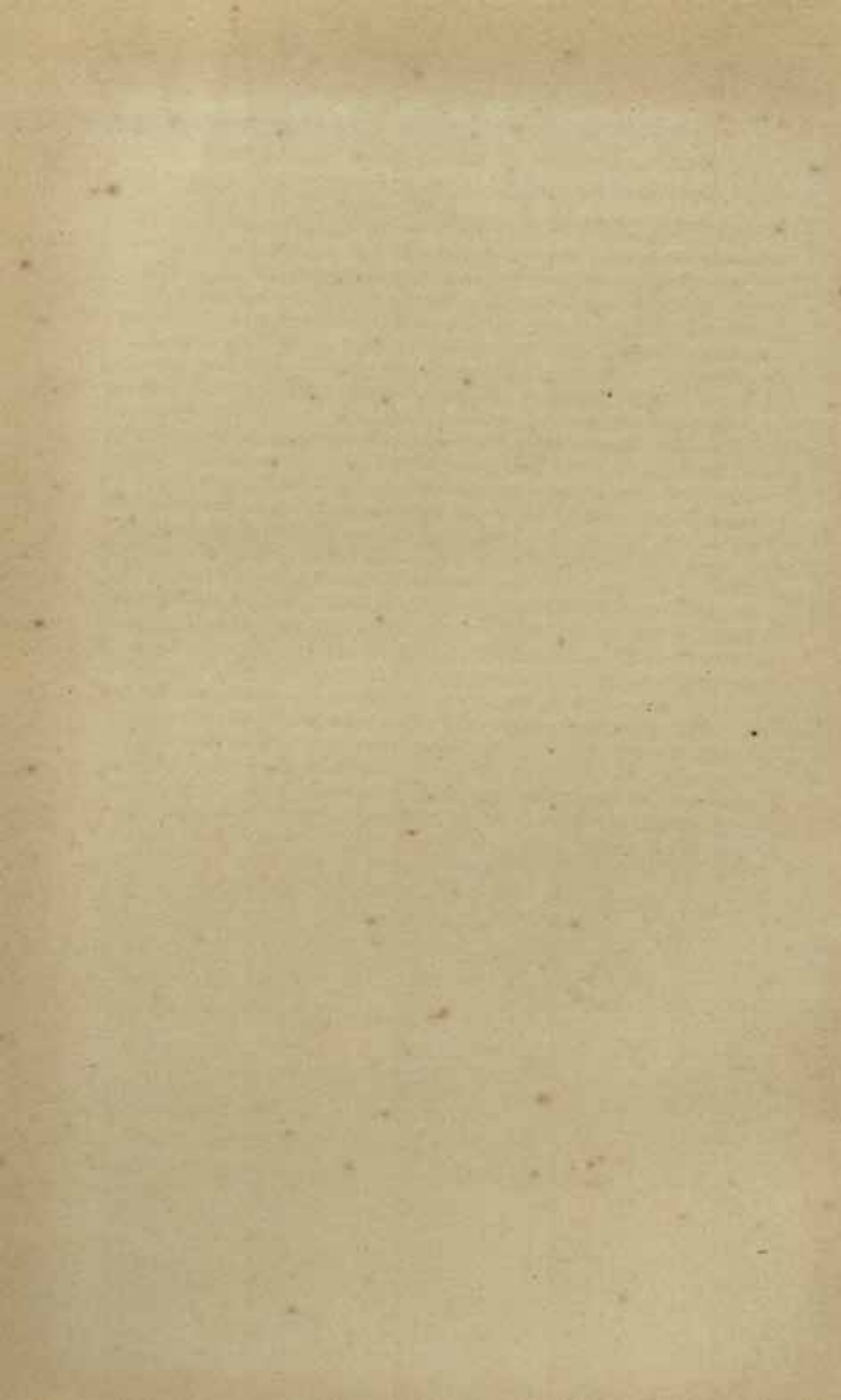
¹ *Daidūt*. I have always been suspicious of this opt. termination -*it* in this form *daidūt*, and in the others. I think the *i* is old Av.-Pahl. for "y" with inherent vowel,—as so often. Here the abnormally long "ā" is inherent. Such anomalously involved lengthenings, or repetitions of letters, were inevitable during a period of debris when the alphabet was passing from the Avesta-Pahlavi to the newly restored and remarkable Avesta alphabet. The word is *daidyāt*;—cf. for a somewhat approximating Ind. opt. (*īrad*) *dhyāma* (Wh.). In speaking of the "wonderfully restored" Avesta alphabet—restored from its to us well-nigh "inscrutable" Pahlavi characters—I beg my readers not to fail to remember that the Avesta must have been vocally read in all its literal completeness even from its Pahlavi MSS., proving a high state of knowledge of the language;—but I now think that some few MSS. must always have been in existence written in our at present so wonderfully complete Avesta alphabet as it appears in our oldest MSS. and in the two or three sets of types which we now use. Otherwise the "restoration" of that Avesta alphabet from the difficult Pahlavi forms into which it had lapsed would have been something approaching the incredible.

At least let us not fail to note the deeply significant and momentous fact that all through those Parthian centuries, say for two centuries A.C. and two A.D., while the vernacular language had fully degenerated into Pahlavi from the original Avesta forms,—yet even then the Avesta Lore in its original characters most vigorously survived in the priestly schools and among the leading religious circles, much, at least, as

(e) and a blest Recompense may she with (just regard to) deeds beneficently grant.

Sanskrit survived in India five hundred years ago, or as Latin survived in our middle age. This unfolds rich historical facts.—The then vastly extended Zoroastrian religion was alive even in its interior linguistic significance. And it was exercising that vital influence upon Judaism which had begun with the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, making Judæa a Persian province;—it was also having its effect upon Greek thought, for this must have begun with Herakleitos (-clitus) through his contact with the Persian dualism at Ephesus. The Gnostic philosophy sprang from it—as we must not forget—with its acute influence upon speculative Christian thought—and upon all modern philosophy. The Gnosis was—so to speak of it—a re-incarnation of Avesta, more so than of the Alexandrian philosophy, the entire development having originated in Palestine from Jewish-Avestic beginnings.

For forthcoming, or just recent, extensions of these studies see *Sanskrit Research* of October, 1916, and January, 1917, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1917, the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for 1917. The author asks the sympathy of his fellow-labourers in his very severe and necessary work on account of his advanced age (80) and his suffering condition. He has still five such hymns to publish in this form out of the seventeen. The whole mass has been long in manuscript in an approximately completed state as an essential part of the system of exegesis. Sandhi has been here, as elsewhere, redundantly applied, but kept apart; unusual fulness of expression has been purposely used, but the accents have been removed to avoid mechanical oversights. The errata may be inserted in a future article.



XXIII

PICTOGRAPHIC RECONNAISSANCES

BEING DISCOVERIES, RECOVERIES, AND CONJECTURAL RAIDS IN ARCHAIC CHINESE WRITING

By L. C. HOPKINS

CHANCE molested by caprice has dictated the selection of the characters studied in the following paper, and now that their tale is told and the MS. copied, I find myself wishing I had made a different list and followed another method.

But there is one test to which all the examples conform, and that is that all arrive at definite and positive conclusions. There are many other characters treated in Lo Chên-yü's volume on which this paper is based, and among them some of high interest, of which that could not yet be said. These I have passed by, not wishing to land the unhardened reader at a blank wall of total ignorance, nor lead him to the diverging roads of balancing possibilities.

But such as it is, the order or disorder of the choice made will serve to some extent to introduce and illustrate to the Western student the scholarly and critical qualifications of Mr. Lo Chên-yü as they are displayed in the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih* or *Critical Interpretation of the Records of the Tumulus of Yin*. And this was one prompting motive of the present essay.

To satisfy an ideal lucidity it would have been better that all the ancient forms should have been inserted in the text where they are described. But they are often of complicated and difficult design, and I could not venture to contribute to our hospitals and asylums a series of nerve-exhausted printers and maniacal compositors. Hence the photographic plate.

T'ien, heaven. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 1-6, Pl. I.) It is submitted that this is an anthropomorphic design of a deity, perhaps conceived as an apotheosized ancestor; at any rate the representation of God made in the image of Man. But Chinese scholarship has never, so far as I am aware, admitted such an interpretation of the character. Obeying the bias of their symbolizing prepossessions, Chinese authors from the Han dynasty onwards have seen in the form a graphic synthesis suggesting the elevation and the vastness of the region above mankind. Thus the *Shuo Wen* analyses the character as a combination of 一 *i* and 大 *ta*, and Hsü not further explaining how we should understand the words "one" and "great", various commentators have variously interpreted these flexible adjectives. Wu Ta-ch'êng, a recent and usually a very sound critic, appends this note to his first ancient form , "What mankind has overhead." The frame of Heaven is a circle, so the character is composed with a ● (disk), 人所戴也天體圓故從●. Hsü, in his *Shuo Wen*, explains that Heaven is great, Earth is great, Mankind also is great, so that the ideograph 大 represents a human figure."

Hence it is evident that the Chinese were willing to regard the lower part of the character as the figure of a man, but in spite of its appropriate culmination in a rounded top, they have refused to accept the natural inference that the whole character represents a human being seen frontally, and have preferred the piety of a symbolic emblem to the dry rationalism of a physical delineation.

Lo Chên-yü, rather to my surprise, follows the crowd. He cites two variants (Figs. 3, 4, Pl. I), and after quoting the *Shuo Wen's* analysis, adds, "in the oracular sentences there are instances where the character is composed with 二, that is, with 上 *shang*, above," and he proceeds to

explain that "the part 大 depicts a man; what is overhead of man is Heaven. Heaven is above man".

But though 二 does sometimes represent the word *shang*, it is here, in my belief, a mere contraction of the fuller form □, appearing in Lo's first example, where a square represents and replaces the primitive circle.

The attitude of a European Athanasius opposing an Oriental world on a point of Oriental scholarship, is not one I should wish to adopt, but in this case I have gradually formed an opinion incompatible with the native view, and if the character is to be discussed at all, "I can no other."

Jih 日, the sun; a day. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 7-12, Pl. I.) We must suppose that the ideal oldest shape was a circle, though few of the examples are true to type. But what the included stroke, which is sometimes a mere dot, oftener a short horizontal, sometimes a vertical line, was meant to indicate is less evident. The alleged ancient form of the *Shuo Wen* contains a bent line (see Fig. 14 on Pl. I), but no known ancient example confirms it. It is possible that this dot or short stroke is really an arbitrary symbol or convention to suggest that the enclosing outline depicts, not a ring, but a solid sphere.

Lo Chên-yü has the following note on his four examples from the bones. After citing the *Shuo Wen's* alleged ancient form, he goes on, "The sun's body is a true circle. The forms found in the oracular sentences are sometimes polygonal, sometimes square, not that the sun is thus shaped, but because the style can draw rectangular figures and cannot describe circles." This, of course, is not absolutely exact, but a metal point does not, in fact, describe continuous curves freely.

Perhaps I may draw attention to Lo's statement because it shows that the expression 刀筆 *tao pi*, here used, is employed by Chinese authors for the "knife-pen" or style, a usage which has been denied in the past by some

European writers, who argued that it always connoted two distinct implements, the knife *and* the pen.

Yüeh 月, the moon. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 15-26, Pl. I.) This is obviously the moon, pictured variously, from the first crescent to the half, and more rarely, in its last quarter, e.g. in Fig. 17.

As in many other instances, the *Shuo Wen* adopts for its explanation of the character (I purposely choose this mode of expression in preference to the term "definition of the word", for it ought never to be forgotten that the *Shuo Wen* is really a "scriptionary" rather than a dictionary), another homophonous character, as I believe it once was. "Yüeh," it writes, "is *ch'üeh* 闕," that is, "*yüeh* means *ch'üeh*." The latter word denotes "wanting, defective". Otherwise expressed, the *Shuo Wen's* statement is that the meaning of the word *yüeh*, moon, is the "waner". And that is what the character, the imperfect circle, was designed to suggest. If I am not wrong in believing that in the most ancient phase of the Chinese language 月 was pronounced in some such way as *küt* or *güt*, as also was 闕, then the Chinese syllable for moon is nothing else than "the waner", and the ultimate relationship between the syllables *yüeh*, moon and *ch'üeh*, defective, is strictly analogous to that of the English words *wane* and *want*, which are derivatives from a common root.

These two archaic but transparently simple characters for "sun" and "moon" will serve to introduce a third, at first sight, at any rate, a combination of them. Its simplicity, however, is deceptive, and its pictographic intention elusive. This character is 明 *míng*.

Míng 明, bright. Before stating my own conclusions as to the significance of the two archaic types, for the Honan relics show that there are two, it is necessary to examine what the *Shuo Wen* has to say on the construction of the character (Figs. 27-33, Pl. I).

In the first place we must take note that the modern

form 明 is not derived from the Lesser Seal, illustrated and analysed by the *Shuo Wen*, but descends directly from an ancient form also cited by that work, and occurring occasionally on the Bones. This ancient (and modern) form consists of 日 *jih*, the sun, on the left, and of 月 *yüeh*, the moon, on the right. It seems, therefore, to be a Suggestive compound of the two great light-givers of the day and night, and a very natural symbol for representing light in general. So far, then, there is no difficulty. But when we come to the Lesser Seal form, which is equally found on the Honan relics, we begin to get into troubled waters, waters that are none too accurately charted, in which we must take certain soundings for secure navigation.

The *Shuo Wen*'s account of the Lesser Seal form (Fig. 29, Pl. I) is as follows:—

昭也從月囧聲, = "To shine. Composed with 月 *yueh*, moon, and 囧 *chiung* as the phonetic" [*sic*]. We are thus referred to the *Shuo Wen*'s succeeding radical, the 240th, if we desire to know more about this phonetic. Under this radical, which in modern writing is printed 囧, and sometimes, but according to Kanghsi incorrectly, 囧,¹ Hsü Shên writes, 窓牖麗展闔明也象形, *ch'uang fu li lou kai ming yeh hsiang hsiang*, which appears to mean "a window of tracery to admit the light. A pictogram". Now the word *chiung* nowhere in Chinese literature, where it is not common, bears any such sense as a window, whether with or without tracery. It is said by Kanghsi to be equivalent to 炯 *chiung*, brilliant, and such is its usual acceptance. But we should be doing the author of the *Shuo Wen* an injustice if we supposed him to be ignorant of all that. As already pointed out, his aim was not to define words, but to describe characters, and the above passage is typical of

¹ Thus contradicting Legge's statement as to the proper form, on p. 662 of *The Chinese Classics*, vol. iii, pt. ii.

his method, for it is a description, an interpretative description, of the character *chiung*. After thus describing it, Hsü adds 囙 讀若獮, the character "is read like *kung*", and though the modern sounds no longer quite agree, Tuan Yü-ts'ai adds that anciently they did so. But Hsü now throws in an important detail. Chia K'uei 賈逵, a contemporary scholar, explains, he says, that 囙 "is pronounced in the same way as 明" (*ming*, probably anciently *méng*). This phonetic value attributed by Chia is certainly supported by the character 囙, the name of the plant *Fritillaria Thunbergii*, which is pronounced *méng*, where the lower part of the character *must* be phonetic.


This apparently double phonetic value of 囙 is difficult to understand. *Ming* or *méng* and *chiung* or *kung* cannot possibly be mere sound variations from one and the same parent syllable. I can see only one explanation, for the finding of the Lesser Seal type of the character on the Honan bones precludes the contention of the *Liu Shu Ku* 六書故 that the left side of *ming* is simply a corruption of 日 *jih*. It is perhaps possible that the Lesser Seal, and the modern form 囙, may represent a fusing and confusing of two originally distinct characters of approximating shapes, one pronounced *méng* and one *kung*. It is, I admit, rather a solution of despair, but I detect no other.

Amid this encircling gloom, I am inclined to offer my own tentative conjecture of the significance of this Lesser Seal type 囙.

If we accept a value *ming* for 囙, the left side of the latter form, then *ming*, bright, as written in the Lesser Seal, would be simply accounted for as a phonetic compound, the left half being phonetic, the right ideographic. We should remain ignorant, it is true, of the ideographic significance of this left-hand element, but *ming*, bright, as a composite form, would, at any rate,

have received a better analysis than that propounded by the *Shuo Wen*. But I am free to confess that such an explanation does not satisfy me.


What I regard as the true clue to the character is furnished by the inscription on the 毛公鼎 *Mao Kung Ting*, or Caldron of the Duke of Mao, a bronze assigned to the time of 成王, *Ch'êng Wang*, the second sovereign of the Chou dynasty, B.C. 1115-1078, and perhaps, palæographically, the most valuable, as it is also one of the longest and oldest metal documents known to us.


On this vessel the word *ming*, bright, occurs once, whence it has been cited by Wu Ta-ch'êng in his *Shuo Wên Ku Chou Pu*, and from this latter again, by the Japanese collection, the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*. Wu was a most careful and accurate scholar, but in this case, by some oversight rare with him, he has misrepresented the shape of the original character, which he gives as . I have had the advantage of consulting two independent facsimile reproductions of the inscription, one of them being the last in the 攬古錄金文 *Ch'ân Ku Lu Chin Wên*, the other, recently published by Lo Chên-yü, in No. 7 of the 藝術叢編 *I Shu Ts'ung Pien*. In both facsimiles the character in question is virtually identical, and appears as copied in Fig. 33, Pl. I.

This figure consists of the crescent moon on the right, and on the left an oval disk containing a peculiar four-lobed design. Basing myself, then, on this example, I propose as the *significance of the archaic form* that this combination is an attempt to suggest what we call "the old moon holding the young moon in its arms", when, that is, the bright crescent seems to be embraced by the barely visible dark portion of the disk. I think this view gains some weight from the Chinese expression 哉生明 *tsai shêng ming*, or "new-born brightness", for the third day of a lunation.

But you cannot depict invisibility, and another means

had to be found to carry out the suggestion. The designers of the character therefore added an imperfect disk of the full moon, in which were represented the patches of shade known to us as the man-in-the-moon, and to the Chinese of the later ages as the hare in the moon pounding drugs, though other semblances have also been imagined. What the Chinese of Shang dynasty times may have called these shadowy outlines we do not know.

If this conjecture of mine be well-founded, it follows, as a corollary, that the character , whether it was originally pronounced *chiung* (or *kung*), or *ming* (or *méng*), must have been a picture of the full moon, and may thus very fitly have stood for a word, however pronounced, meaning "brilliant" or "bright".

Such a figure, however, was too complex to survive long in the struggle for clerical speed, and the various modes of abbreviation must early have become current. Among such contractions may well have been the plausible disk with a central dot, a perversion to the symbol of  *jih*, the sun, which is already found on the Honan relics.

Another contracted, or at any rate altered, form, and an interesting one, is shown in Fig. 31, Pl. I, from the Yü Ting, 孟鼎. It also occurs (in composition) on the Honan bones, and appears to mark the first stage in the descent from the imitative sketch of the shaded outlines of the moon's face to the purely schematic designs that followed. The hare pounding drugs has become a symmetrical and decorative trefoil.

Kung 弓, a bow (Figs. 34, 35, Pl. I). *Significance of the archaic forms.* Depicts a bow, sometimes strung, sometimes unstrung.

Tan 彈, the bullet shot from a cross-bow (Figs. 36-9, Pl. I). *Significance of the archaic forms.* A pictogram of a cross-bow in a socket on the string of which the

bullet is indicated. Lo quotes the *Shuo Wen*'s entry, "彈 is a round projectile 行丸也, *hsing wan yeh*. The character is composed with 弓 *kung*, bow, and 單 *tan*, for the phonetic." The *Shuo Wen* adds, "Sometimes composed with 弓 *kung*, bow, holding a bullet, 持丸 *ch'ih wan*, and written 𠂔." Lo points out that the bone examples confirm the *Shuo Wen*'s alternative form, which with the corresponding text, Tuan Yü-ts'ai had "amended".

But the Sung dynasty work *Liu Shu Ku* provides a very interesting variant of *tan* in the shape 𠂔, which is given as the leading form, without special reference to any bronze inscription. It is clearly an altered version of the Honan bone forms. But it is, in my belief, more than that. I feel confident that it is the origin of the character 丸 *wan*, a pellet. It should be noted that no pre-Han example of the latter character can be found, and my hypothesis is that when Li Ssü had standardized the Lesser Seal form of *tan*, a bullet, which was a phonetic compound, its original pictographic shape became obsolete, and that soon after, the latter was commandeered to serve as the character for the closely similar word *wan*, a pellet, hitherto perhaps unwritten. The required modification of outline is very slight.

Chüeh or *tsüeh* 爵, a goblet. *Significance of the archaic forms.* A wine-goblet designed in shape of a bird's head (see Figs. 40-3, Pl. I). This remarkable character, which at first sight seems to represent a bird's head looking downwards, with a large eye, open bill, and a conventionalized crest, was first illustrated in the late Mr. Chalfant's *Early Chinese Writing*, p. 33, where it was described interrogatively as "bird?" I wish much that the author had lived to see the solution provided by Mr. Lo Chên-yü's acumen.

The latter shall give the explanation in a translation of his own words (Y.H.S.K.K.S., p. 41):—

"The 爵 *tsüeh*, according to the *Shuo Wen*, is a ceremonial vessel, and depicts a bird.¹ The mid part [see Fig. 45] is a vessel of fragrant wine and a hand holding it. The motive for making a drinking-vessel resemble a bird is due to the latter's twittering notes [節節足足 *tsieh tsieh tsu tsu*, an 'echoic' term, but intended presumably to represent the syllables 'sparingly-sparingly-enough-enough'. In other words, its shape is symbolical and hortatory]. The ancient form is [Fig. 44, Pl. I], and a pictogram." So far the *Shuo Wen*. Lo then continues: "When Hsü uses the words 'depicts a bird', 象爵形, he refers to the element 爵 in its composition [see the Lesser Seal form, Fig. 45, Pl. I]. On examining the various instances of *tsüeh* in the oracular sentences, which imitate the crested head, and have an eye and a beak, we find the crest made to serve as the upright column 柱 *chu*, the eye as the eared handle 耳 *erh*, and the bill as the feet 足 *tsu*. The design is purely imitative, 厥形惟肖. The element 爵 of Hsü's book is probably a copyist's error of 爵. The parts 鬯 *ch'ang*, fragrant spirits, and 又 *yu*, hand, have been added by someone later.

"Hsü thought that the motive for making a drinking-vessel resemble a bird was due to the latter's twittering notes. When tested by the oracular sentences, in which the character does in fact depict a bird 爵 (i.e. 雀 *tsüeh*) [Lo's note], we see that Hsü's words are a tradition from the ancients which, though not to be found in any comment on the Classics, has been fortunately preserved to us in the pages of the *Shuo Wen*. The merit of Hsü in thus securing what would have escaped is truly very great."

The explanation given by the author of the *Shuo Wen* is one more exhibition of the truth of Major Perceval Yetts' statement that "one of the most distinctive and striking features of Chinese Art is the symbolic character

¹ For this rendering of 爵, see note at the end of this entry.

of its expression". In the present instance the implied argument would run thus: moderation in drinking is expedient and should be inculcated on the wine-cup itself. Now even the twittering notes of the birds teach us this, for they seem to sound like *tsieh-tsieh-tsu-tsu*, and these sounds in human speech can mean "sparingly-sparingly-enough-enough"; let us then fashion our wine-cup in the shape of a bird. And so it was that they fashioned it, and they named it bird. In the phraseology of the modern headline, the subject might be summarized as Symbolism in the Spirituous Sphere, or the Didactic Drinking-bowl.

Note.—The analysis of the character by the author of the *Shuo Wen* begins by the phrase 象爵形 *hsiang tsüeh hsing*. On the face of it this seems to mean "depicts a goblet". Why, then, have I translated it "depicts a bird"? My reply is, because, if the author's argument is to be understood, the phrase *must* be thus translated, and so true is this that Tuan Yü-ts'ai in his edition has not hesitated to "correct" 爵 goblet, to 雀 bird, in the passage just cited. And the reason is simple but important. The two characters 爵 and 雀 are pronounced exactly alike, except that in some dialects the latter is aspirated, the former not. That is to say, there is little doubt that we have before us a single word, "bird," with two distinct characters, one of which (爵) has been constructed in order to serve for a special application of the word to a drinking-vessel. And this verbal identity must have been present to the mind of the author of the *Shuo Wen*. It explains his phraseology and justifies his text.

Mai 狸, to inter. A special sense and sound of this character, only used in Book 18 of the *Chou Li*; but normally the character is *li*, a wild cat. How it came to stand in the *Chou Li* for the entirely distinct word *mai*, to inter, now written 狸, I am unable to discover.

Significance of the archaic forms. (See Figs. 46-8, Pl. I.) An ox surrounded by water in a pit; the third example shows a dog in a pit, and no water. As will be seen, the Bone forms and that used in the *Chou Li* have nothing in common. The Bone character is not an earlier phase of the *Chou Li* one, but of a totally different and novel type. But I am confident that Lo Chên-yü's brilliant identification is trustworthy. He writes: "The *Chou Li* describes the Ta Tsung Pê, or Chief of the Sacred Ceremonies, 'as by interment and immersion sacrificing to the Mountains, Forests, Rivers, and Marshes (以狸沈祭山林川澤).'¹ These [Bone] characters depict an excavation down to water-level and the deposit therein of an ox, and they should be the primitive character for *mai* 狸, which latter is a borrowed form. Occasionally 犬 *ch'üan*, dog, is part of the construction. One of the oracular sentences runs: 貞凶三犬祭五犬五豕卯四牛 *chên mai san ch'üan liao wu ch'üan wu shih mao ssü niu* [= on divining, sacrificed by interment three dogs, by fire, five dogs and five swine, and by the *mao* sacrifice, four oxen].² For interring an ox [Fig. 46, Pl. I] is used; for a dog, the form is [Fig. 48]. These are really one character." Or rather, they are variants of the same character.

I may add that *liao* and *mao* are also constantly found on the bones as names of sacrifices, and are discussed by Lo, but the special nature of the latter ceremony does not appear.

Chên 沈, to immerse. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 49-51, Pl. I.) An ox surrounded by or immersed in water.

The modern character is of quite different type, and must have replaced this archaic form. Lo has the following note:—

¹ See Biot, *Le Tchou Li*, vol. i, p. 421.

² See Y.H.S.K., ch. 7, p. 3, for the facsimile of the inscription.

"This depicts the immersion of an ox in water, and is probably the *ch'én* of the expression *mai ch'én* [of the *Chou Li*, see the previous entry], and the original character for the latter word, that used in the *Chou Li* being a borrowed one. Further, according to the Rituals, Heaven was served by the *ch'ai liao* 柴燎, or sacrifices with firewood and flames, and the Mountains and Forests worshipped by those called *mai* and *ch'én*. Now when we appeal to the oracular sentences we find (1) a passage, 祭于妣乙一半 貍二半 *liao yü pi I i lao mai erh lao*, = offered a burnt offering to my deceased Mother I, and two oxen by the interment sacrifice (ch. i, p. 32); (2) a passage, 貞祭于 𠂔 三小半 卯二牛 沈十牛 *chén liao yü t'u san hsiao lao mao erh niu ch'én shih niu*, = on divining, offered as a burnt-offering to earth the three lesser victims, by the *mao* sacrifice, two oxen, by immersion ten oxen (ch. vii, p. 15); and (3) a passage, 乙巳卜 貞祭于妣乙五牛 沈十牛 十月 *i ssü pu (?) chén liao yü pi I wu niu ch'én, shih niu shih yüeh*, = on the day *i-ssü* inquired as to (?), and on divining, offered as a burnt-sacrifice to my deceased Mother I, five oxen, and by immersion, ten oxen. Tenth month (ch. ii, p. 9). Thus, the sacrifice by burnt-offering, together with those by interment and immersion, were in the epoch of the Shang also devoted to the spirits of deceased humanity; and as there were services at the ancestral temple, and again invocations to the powers of nature, 又索之于陰陽, the ceremonial of the Shang dynasty may well be called multifarious."

Chih 彘, swine. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 52-7, Pl. I.) A wild pig transfixed by an arrow. Lo Chên-yü's note is short and convincing: "Composed with 豕 *shih*, pig, whose body is stuck with an arrow, viz. the character 彘. *Chih* was probably the wild pig, which unless shot cannot be procured, and is also like the pheasant 雉 *chih*, which cannot be caught alive. The

stroke 丿 (see Fig. 56) is also the outline of an arrow. Hsü supposed the character to be composed with 彐 *chi*, pig's head, 矢 *shih*, arrow, as the phonetic, and two 匕 *pi*, spoons, thus mistaking a pictogram for a phonetic compound."

The above comparison with 雉 *chih*, pheasant, requires an explanation which I can hardly here develop as much as I should like. But, briefly, that character consisted in its fullest archaic shape, not of 隹 *tsui*, bird, and 矢 *shih*, arrow, but of *tsui* and a special character 𠂔, representing an arrow wound round with a string, one end of which the sportsman retained, I presume. This method of shooting was known as 弋射 *i shé*, which Biot (*Le Tcheou Li*, vol. ii, p. 242) translates as "le tir à corde". The arrow thus fitted was called 矰矢 *tséng shih*, "flèche de hauteur."

Now this character 𠂔, an arrow with string attached, is nothing else than the early form of 夷 *i*, the Chinese name of the non-Chinese tribes, their neighbours and secular foes. The formal changes involved are singularly slight, but the disguise has been completely successful. The arrow-head has been flattened out into 一, and the two rounds of the cord rigidified into 弓 *kung*, a bow. Concurrently with the corruption of form, there must have gone a transfer of sense. The usual meaning of 夷 *i* has for many ages been the name of the I barbarians. But this name *I* was, both on the Bronzes and on the Bones, written with quite another character, which I must return to some other time. And, on the other hand, the original sense of 𠂔, now changed to 夷, has apparently been transferred to 弋 *i*, the true and original sense of which was, in its turn, a post or perch.

Shih 矢, arrow. *Significance of the archaic forms.* This is obviously an arrow with a stone arrow-head, indicated by two or more cross-lines, to suggest the

working of the surface and cutting edges (see Figs. 58-61, Pl. I). This strange survival from, as it seems, the Stone Age times, is unexpected, and points to a great antiquity for the design of the character. It is to be noted that the indication of the stone head is rarely found on the Bones in characters where 矢 *shih* enters as a combining-form, but is regular when *shih* is used as an independent word, nor does this peculiar marking occur on the bronze antiques. Its normal combining-form is 𠂔

Huo 火, fire. *Significance of the archaic forms.* A three-tongued flame of fire (Figs. 62, 63, Pl. I). The shape may recall to readers of *The Jungle Book* the "Red Flower" by which Bagheera the Black Panther indicated fire to Mowgli, the Wolf Boy.

Lo remarks only, "Depicts fire." Characters composed with *huo* on the old Bronzes are all written with this form." I will only add that the very elect might have been misled into believing this to be the ancient shape of 山 *shan*, a mountain.

Kuang 光, brightness, glory. *Significance of the archaic forms.* A human figure having fire in place of a head (Figs. 64, 65, Pl. I). This is a very interesting form, partly because it attempts to symbolize the figurative sense of "glory", rather than to represent the physical sense of bright light. From the head, which is invisible, emanates a flaming brightness. It is therefore in a marked degree analogous to the nimbus or "glory" reserved by Christian symbolism for the heads of saints and scriptural personages, though in them the head remains visible, whereas in the Oriental figure the sun-like splendour of the radiancy is too dazzling for the head to be discerned.

Sou 叟, an old man. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 66-8, Pl. I.) A hand holding a lighted torch under a roof.

Lo Chên-yü, in his comment on the old forms, hardly

shows his usual acuteness, for after citing the *Shuo Wen's* analysis, he goes on to remark, "This character is composed with 又 *yu*, the hand, grasping a lighted torch under 宀 *miên*, a roof. The ancient intention causing 父 *fu*, father, and 叟 *sou*, old man, both to be composed with a hand holding a torch, we cannot now ascertain."

On the contrary, as regards *sou* it seems quite clear. There is another word *sou*, meaning to search, rummage, now written 搜, and it is this homophonous syllable that these newly discovered forms were designed to illustrate, and by which they have been lent to the independent word *sou*, an old man, for his use and his support.

It is worth remark that the archaic pictographic elements of this character seem to be partially shared between the Lesser Seal (Fig. 69) and the modern forms, but completely by neither of them. Thus, the Lesser Seal comprises the *hand*, the *fire*, and the *roof*, but wants the *torch*, while the modern character shows the *hand* and the *torch*, but not the *roof*, nor apparently the *fire*, unless the unexplained element 𠂇 is a corruption of it, as I think is probable, the left and right sides representing the left-hand and right-hand flames of the ancient form.

Yü 昱, to-morrow (Figs. 70-7, Pl. I). The forms 昱 or 𡗗 must also derive from the ancient examples, as an examination of their composition proves. They are now pronounced *i*, but apparently the three characters were in earlier ages homophones.

Significance of the archaic forms.—The constructive elements in the examples vary to some extent, and the relevancy of the graphic combination to the sense of the word as used in these old texts and in others is not at once apparent. But probably they are the borrowed plumes of some homophonous syllable. Some of the examples consist of 立 *li*, erect, and an element which, in my view, but whether in *Lo's* I do not know, for he is silent on the point, represents a bird's wing, and may

possibly be the most archaic version of 羽 *yü*, a wing, or otherwise may be a separate character, conceivably the earliest form of 翼 *i*, one sense of which is a wing. Other variants appear, combining 日 *jih*, sun, and this same element. But by far the commonest variant is the simple element for wing, without any addition (Figs. 74-7, Pl. I). It should be noticed that the combination 昱, i.e. *jih*, sun, over 立 *li*, erect, selected by Lo Chên-yü as the modern representative of the character, is not found on the bones.

The recognition of the modern character, or characters, in these difficult, diverse, and dubious disguises constitutes, to my mind, one of the most brilliant pieces of palæographic decipherment that has yet been achieved in this field. The Sherlock Holmes of the discovery is not Lo Chên-yü, but his friend Mr. Wang Chêng 王徵, to whom I herewith take off my hat.

After citing no fewer than fifteen examples Lo Chên-yü proceeds to comment:—

"The *Shuo Wen* defines 昱 *yü* as 'to-morrow', 明日也 *ming jih yeh*, and says it is composed with 日 *jih*, day, and 立 *li*, for the phonetic [*sic*]. Tuan Yü-t'sai observes that in ancient times the word *yü* was mostly written with the borrowed character 翌 instead. The *Shih Yen* 釋言 [Section of the *Erh Ya*] renders 翌 by 明也 *ming yeh*, bright, and correctly. In Classical, Philosophic, and Historical texts, the character 翌 *i* is borrowed to write the 昱 of 昱日 *yü jih*, to-morrow, next day. In both 翌 and 昱 the part 立 *li* is phonetic. [How *li* can be phonetic for words pronounced *i* or *yü* is not explained by Lo nor the *Shuo Wen*.] Accordingly, each was borrowed to write the other [*viz.* both were used indifferently]. The scription 翼 *i* is erroneous.

"In the oracular sentences the variations in the mode of writing the character 昱 *yü* being very numerous, it was at first impossible to determine what the word was.

Mr. Wang Chêng, arguing from the passage in the Yü Ting Bowl (孟鼎), 粵若翌乙酉 *yüeh jo yü i yü*,¹ where 翌 is written as [Fig. 78, Pl. I], believes that the form of [Fig. 71, Pl. I], in the passage from the oracular sentences on p. 20 of *chüan* 1 of the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, running, 癸酉卜貞翌日乙亥 *kuei yü pu chên yü jih i hai*, 'on the day *kuei yü* took an omen to inquire as to the next day *i hai*,' is equally the character 翌 *yü*.

"Seeing that all the other sentences [Lo continues] which I have examined agree absolutely with this view, it proves that Mr. Wang's deduction is reliable. The different examples of the character are some of them composed with 立 *li*, some with 日 *jih*; sometimes both these are omitted. In the text of the 9th of the Stone Drums, below the words 日隹內申 *jih wei ping shên*, 'the day was *ping shên*,' there also occurs the character [shown in Fig. 79, Pl. I],² which, as it has a general resemblance to that in the oracular sentences, shows that it also must be 翌 *yü*.






"The practice of the oracular sentences is that the next day, and the next day but one,³ are termed 翌 *yü*. Several days after are termed 來 *lai*, to come; several days before are 昔 *hsi*, past."









So far Lo Chên-yü and his friend Wang Chêng on the identification of the character. But he is silent as to the reasons for the particular construction of this combination for a word meaning "to-morrow". It is obvious why *jih*, sun, should be part of it. But why 立 *li*, erect? And why, the main, and often the only element, 羽 *yü*, a wing? What have such characters to do with to-morrow? And


¹ Perhaps = "Now on the morrow, being the day *i yü*". Chinese scholars do not really know the meaning of the words *yüeh jo*, with which the *Shu King* opens. They are generally called an introductory phrase. But here they occur in the middle of the inscription.

² So, according to Lo, but the versions I have been able to consult are not nearly so distinct.

³ As in the above passage from p. 20 of ch. 1, where *i hai* is the second day after *Kuei yü*.

if we are dealing with some borrowed character, what was the true sense of the latter? These points remain over for solution. But I may conclude by pointing to  as the hypothetical ideal form of  (to cite one of the simplest of the many variants). The latter is the representation of a bird's wing, and may have been the original form of  *yü*, through some such stage as . But caution is needed, for the bones contain variants of  *yü*, almost as now written.

Yung 隄, usually translated "lake" or "marsh"; also, in quite separate sense, harmonious. *Significance of the archaic forms.* A paradise; suggested by combining the signs for water, an enclosure, and birds. Let Lo Chên-yü act as our guide to its amenities. After citing three examples (see Figs. 80-2, Pl. I), he writes, "Composed with  (=the character 水 *shui*, water) [Lo's note], with  *wei*, to surround, and  *chui*, birds. The ancient character *yung* in the expression 辟隄 *pi-yung*, the Imperial School, was thus written. The *pi-yung* was ringed round with flowing water, hence the element  sometimes contracted to . The part  depicts a round rampart of earth.¹ On the outside was a ring of flowing water, within which was the rampart of earth. Sometimes the character has  in place of , with the same significance. (Both in the Yung Jar and the Chien Sacrificial vessel, the character is thus formed) [Lo's note].

"In ancient times the *pi-yung* contained a park or refuge, where birds could remain (有園鳥之所止); hence the element  *chui*, birds. The Shuo Wen's definition of *yung* by 雍渠 *yung ch'ü*, water-wagtail, is not the primary sense. On the Po Yung Fu Caldron *yung* is written [as in Fig. 83, Pl. I], in the same way

¹ This phrase 圖土 *yüan t'u* is used in the Chou Li, of a "central prison", as Biot renders it, apparently an enclosed space rather than a building.

as our examples here. Other bronze examples have an additional 口, thus 邑, and this was corrupted later to 邑 i, city, thus making the primitive form no longer recognizable."

The above makes a most attractive explanation and analysis of the character. The 辟離 *pi yung* would accordingly have meant at first a moat-surrounded park or paradise. We derive our own word paradise from the French, which adapted it from Latin, which adopted it from the Greek, which in its turn borrowed it from the Old Persian *pairidaēza*, an enclosure or park, from *pairi* around and *diz* to mould, form. (See the word in the *New Oxford Dictionary*.)

The ancient Chinese *pi-yung* and the Persian paradise were thus pleasaunces conceived on the same lines.

Chio 角, a horn. *Significance of the archaic forms.* A pictogram of an animal's horn, probably that of an ox. (Figs. 84, 85, Pl. I.)

To Lo Chên-yü belongs the credit of recovering the primitive shape of this character. He gives three examples, and comments on them thus: "The *Shuo Wen*'s entry is, '𠩺, an animal's horn. A pictogram. The character resembles 刀 *tao*, knife, and 魚 *yü*, fish.' The form on the Stone Drums is 𠩺. These forms [viz. those cited from the Bones] depict the outline of a horn. The strokes 厶 depict the cross-lines on a horn. These are actually straight. They are here bent, because a horn having a rounded contour, when the circle of the lines is viewed, the straight appears to be bent. When Hsü wrote that the character resembles 刀 *tao* and 魚 *yü*, he did not understand that 厶 depicts the cross-lines on a horn."

Lo of course appreciates justly the optical necessity of thus representing parallel cross-lines on a cylindrical body seen in profile.

Ssü 死, dead. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (See Figs. 86, 87, Pl. I.) A kneeling human figure with head bent over what is, according to Lo Chên-yü following the *Shuo Wen*, the skeletal remains of the dead.

Lo quotes the *Shuo Wen*'s analysis of the character, "From 歹 *ngo*, broken bones, and 人 *jén*, man. The ancient form was 𣦵," and observes, "This character is composed with 𡗗, depicting a kneeling figure. A living man making obeisance at the side of decayed bones. The significance of 死 *ssü* is obvious."

I would call attention to Fig. 87, Pl. I, a variant unknown to Lo Chên-yü, but of which there are two instances in my own collection, both on a very small fragment, H. 228. This type exists on the bronzes also, and is another example of that surprising feature of the writing in the epoch of the Shang dynasty already noticed. *A priori* it would seem unlikely that there should be a parallel and contemporaneous use of characters in two different stages of their life-history, as we see here. If an archaic and pictographic phase prevails, we hardly expect to find a linear and stylized form already developed and in use; and, conversely, when the later development of a character has been reached, it is strange that the more imitative and elaborate pictogram should not have disappeared. We seem here to catch a glimpse of the Chinese script at the point of overlapping of two tendencies, a still undecided struggle between the imaginative and leisurely artist, and the iconoclastic, labour-saving scribe.

Jo 若, compliant, complaisant, agreeable; granted that, as, if. *Significance of the archaic forms.* A crouching or kneeling human figure, perhaps female, with arms raised to or above the head, on which long hair appears to be indicated, in token of yielding or supplication. (See Figs. 88, 89, Pl. I.)

How does this account of the old form agree with the *Shuo Wen*'s description of the character? It does not agree with it at all. Hsü Shên, under the Lesser Seal version (Fig. 90), describes it as "to select herbs". Now there is no known example of such a sense in Chinese literature, or to my knowledge in the spoken dialects, and we may fairly conclude that none such ever existed. How comes it, then, that the *Shuo Wen* author inserted such a description? To answer that question, we must bear in mind what this Han dynasty scholar had set himself to do. His task and object was, as the title of his work itself declares, "to explain simple and analyse compound characters"—characters, not words. And these characters were of the Lesser Seal style, often differing much from the true archaic shapes, such as we have them on the Honan bones and on ancient bronzes. When therefore the Lesser Seal form suggested a significance which the word itself, the word behind the character, did not bear, Hsü Shên boldly assumed that such a meaning must have once belonged to it, even though it did not in his time do so, and thus he postulated what he could not prove. One striking and indeed flagrant example of this is furnished in his description of the character 也 *yeh*, also, which has not, and never has had, the sense attributed to it by Hsü, much to the scandalization of his editors and others.

These remarks may render clearer what Lo Chên-yü writes after citing examples of 若 *jo*, taken from the bones. He says, "The *Shuo Wen*'s entry is 'jo, to select herbs. Composed with 艸 *ts'ao*, herbage, and 右 *yu*, the right hand'. Elsewhere, under 諾 *no*, it has, 'To respond. Composed with 言 *yen*, words, and 若 *jo*, as the phonetic.'" Lo then continues, "In the oracular sentences, the character 若 *jo* depicts a person with raised hands and kneeling down, that is to say, it depicts one who responds in a mild and submissive posture. In ancient times 諾 *no* and 若 *jo* were one and the same character (古諾與

若爲一字), hence the sense of submissiveness belonging to 若 *jo*.¹ On the bronzes the form of *jo* has a general resemblance to those here [viz. on the bones]. The meaning of 'selecting herbs' is not the initial sense."

Wu Ta-ch'êng, ingenious and perspicacious as he was, had not guessed this riddle, and regarded the bronze examples, so to speak, herbaceously. He saw in the form , occurring on the 孟鼎 *Yü Ting*, "abundance of flowers, branches and leaves growing plentifully." But Lo Chên-yü is in the right of it, and though his and my appreciation of the artistic intention, the precise ideographic objective, may vary somewhat in detail, the general interpretation of the archaic design remains identical.

聿 聿, the ancient writing implement (Figs. 91, 92, Pl. I). *Significance of the archaic forms.* A figure of a hand holding either a metal style or a writing brush. In Fig. 91 the object held seems to end in a point above which the line is thickened to a bulb.

Lo quotes the *Shuo Wen*'s description of 聿 *yü*: "That with which we write 所以書也. Composed with 聿 *nieh* [described by the *Shuo Wen* as quickness of hand, but not really known as an independent character], and 一 *i* as the phonetic."

Our example, Lo comments, "depicts a hand holding a pen, 象手持筆形. It is accordingly a pictogram, and not a phonetic compound." He cites a precisely similar form from a bronze.

It would seem, therefore, that Lo Chên-yü's belief is that something was used in Shang times which can be

¹ Owing to ambiguity in use, the precise sense in which 字 *tsz* is employed in discussions about the written or spoken language is not always clear. Sometimes *tsz* means character, sometimes word. Here I think Lo means that the senses now conveyed respectively by 諾 *no* and by 若 *jo* were anciently embraced by a single character, and that was 若.

termed a *pi* or Chinese pen or brush, but I wish he had been clearer as to what it really consisted of.

Hsiang 象 (1) Elephant, (2) Like. It is probable that we have here two etymologically totally distinct words, but homophonous, and therefore, as so often happened, written with the same character.

Significance of the archaic forms. Pictographic, and as the second and third examples show, drawn by those who had seen the beast in the wild state (Figs. 94-7, Pl. I).

Lo Chên-yü's entry is very interesting, and I give it in full. "The *Shuo Wen* writes, 'The elephant has a long trunk and tusks; a great beast native of Nan Yüeh [Southern China and Tonkin]; period of gestation, three years; the character depicts the ears, tusks, and four legs.' The present seal character," Lo goes on to say, "shows only the trunk, the legs and tail, but not the ears and tusks [see the Lesser Seal form, Fig. 98 in Pl. I]. The oracular sentences also only depict the long trunk, for what especially distinguishes the elephant from other beasts is its trunk. Further, the description of the elephant as a great beast of Nan Yüeh is a thing of later times. In early ages it also existed both on the north and south of the Yellow River. The construction of the character 爲 *wei*, with *hand* leading an *elephant* [see the next character], shows that the elephant was an animal commonly trained to service. Among the present relics from the Yin dynasty tumulus are ceremonial objects of carved elephant tusk ivory; also very many elephant's teeth, 齒 *ch'ih* (not the long projecting tusks, but the teeth within the mouth) [Lo's note]. Some of the bones used in divination are of exceptional size, and such are probably those of the elephant. Again, among the texts of the oracular sentences dealing with hunting, is found the expression 獲象 *huo hsiang*,¹ 'capture of elephants,' showing that

¹ e.g. in Y. H. S. K. 3. 31, see Figs. 95 and 96 in Plate.

in ancient times in the Central Plateau [viz. Honan] down to the age of the Yin Dynasty, the elephant was abundant."


Wei 爲, to do, make, act (Figs. 99-102, Pl. I).

It will be convenient first to hear Lo Chên-yü's novel and, on the whole, convincing account of this character. He writes, "The *Shuo Wen*'s entry under this character is as follows: 'An ape. As an animal it has the habit of fingering. The character 爪 *chao* is the figure (or symbol) of an ape.¹ Below the body (of the character) is the outline of an ape. Wang Yü writes, "爪 *chao* is a pictogram." The ancient form 𢦏 depicts two apes facing each other.'" Such was the tradition of the character handed down by Hsü Shên, how entirely misconceived we shall see. Lo now continues, "The character 爲 *wei* on the Bronzes and on the Stone Drums is written 𢦏, composed of 爪 *chao*, hand palm downward, and 象 *hsiang*, elephant, and is altogether unlike the form of an ape. The character in the oracular sentences is a hand leading an elephant, 手牽象, showing that the element 𢦏 in the Bronzes and Stone Drums variant is a modification of 𢦏 *yu*, the right hand, and is not to be explained as *chao*, the hand held palm downward, 羅手之爪字. My idea is that in ancient times they tamed the elephant to service in aid of man. This may have been prior to the domestication of the ox and horse. But for these texts, we could scarcely have ascertained this!"

It cannot be doubted that Lo's analysis is equally correct and brilliant, as an identification of the bone pictogram with a well-known character. It proves, too,

¹ Both Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Wang Yün, in their respective editions of the *Shuo Wen*, consider the five characters 爪 母 猴 象 也 *chao mu-hou hsiang yeh*, to be a corrupt interpolation in the text. As I have elsewhere explained, *mu-hou* does not mean a female ape, but an ape of either sex.

how entirely lost in the age of the Han scholars was the true significance of its construction.

I may add that if the *Shuo Wen's* alleged *ku wén* form is rightly attributed to the word *wei*, it is not "two apes facing each other" that we should see in this ancient sign, but two hands held downward, a far more appropriate figure for a word meaning "to do" or "make". Such an equation would render it hardly distinguishable from the element , as it is now written, not found alone, but occurring in such characters as 學 *hsüeh*, and alleged, perhaps wrongly, to have the sound *chü*. Something evidently remains to be elucidated regarding that point.

But a much more important particular to notice concerns Lo's *interpretation* of the pictogram so ingeniously identified. It will be seen by his concluding sentences that he regards the combination of *hand* and *elephant* as pointing to human control of the beast for the purposes of field or other labour, much as the ox and the horse had been tamed to furnish man with their strength and endurance. And he supposes the training of the elephant may have preceded the domestication of the smaller beasts.

It is an ingenious view, but I fear it is not tenable. A scrutiny of the existing examples of the character *wei*, as found upon the Honan relics, shows that the element *hand* is always placed at the end of the elephant's trunk, never elsewhere. If we accept Lo's interpretation we must suppose the elephant to be represented as being led by the trunk. Being myself sceptical regarding such a mode of controlling his movements, I inquired from Dr. Chalmers Mitchell, the Secretary of the Zoological Society. He was good enough to send me not only his own opinion, but communicated that of Mr. Alfred Ezra, who has had great practical experience in India, and had also consulted Sir Benjamin Simpson, whose experience is also wide. All these authorities agree that they had

never heard of such a practice, and that, in Mr. Ezra's words, "the trunk is considered the most tender part of the elephant, and I do not think any elephant will allow himself to be led by it." These expressions appear conclusive, and we must consequently seek some other solution.

I believe that the one I shall now propound is simple, natural, and in the circumstances appropriate to the subject.

We all know the prehensile and handlike nature of the elephant's trunk, and most can remember our childish wonder when we first saw "the beast that hath between its eyes the serpent for a hand", and observed it moving and using its flexible proboscis. *Significance of the archaic forms.* Accordingly I believe it is this prehensile and dexterous feature of the proboscis that is suggested and symbolized by adding the character for *hand* to that for *elephant*, and by attaching the former to the terminal point of the trunk.

If this interpretation of the composition of the character 爲 *wei* is accepted, we must reject Lo Chên-yü's conclusions regarding the use of the animal in the service of man as being implied by this archaic pictogram.

Hu 虎, the tiger. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 103-7, Pl. I.) A fairly vivid pictogram of a tiger seen in profile, but, as in various other instances of animal forms, the axis of the body is aligned to that of the column of text, and is not at right angles to it. In brief, the beast stands on its tail.

The bone examples exhibit the oldest type of the character. We have a summary version of the tiger's powerful head and open jaws, the massive shoulder, and often the not yet linearized sinuous body, on which the stripes appear usually as straight strokes from back to belly; the claws are often emphasized, especially when the body is reduced to a single line, as though to give the clue; the tail is long and recurved.

It is, however, remarkable that while such a self-evident, naturalistic type is found on the bones, these same relics also preserve a very different presentment. Figs. 106 and 107 show a linearized, much contracted, and distorted outline, disguised in a kind of skeletal diagram. The coexistence of such extreme types is one of the more surprising features of the Shang dynasty script.

Pao 豹, the leopard. *Significance of the archaic forms.* Two only can be cited, and these are shown in Figs. 108 and 109 on Pl. I. They are pictograms and explain themselves, especially when compared with the corresponding forms of 虎 *hu*, tiger. Lo, as I think, wrongly includes these two figures under his entry for tiger, remarking, "There are also forms with round markings like a leopard's, but judging from the context, these also are variants of the character 虎 *hu*."

This figure of a leopard, when contrasted with the modern form 豹, very well illustrates a passage which I may venture to quote from an earlier paper in this Journal,¹ in which I drew attention to cases where "in writing the same word one type of character was exchanged for another type. I mean by 'types', forms which are of independent construction, neither derived from, or due to, the other through mere modification, omission, or addition of strokes". Our figure here is just in point. It is a pure pictogram, and for it has since been substituted a composite shape stated by the *Shuo Wen* to be a phonetic compound.

I propose now to examine a group of three characters, not connected in meaning, but each containing a common ideographic element, which naturally leads from the consideration of one to the others. They are 即 *tsi*, 既 *chi*, and 鄉 *hsiang*. They will disclose to us some pictographic surprises, for their true analytic descriptions

¹ "Chinese Writing in the Chou Dynasty in the light of Recent Discoveries": October, 1911, pp. 1030-1.

are new, and very different from the received accounts. We will begin with

Tsi 卽, to approach (as in the phrase 卽位 *tsi wei*, to "approach the position", viz. to ascend the throne), to be going to (do something). *Significance of the archaic forms* (Figs. 110-11, Pl. I). A human figure seated, facing a vessel containing food, suggesting a person about to eat.

But before going further, let us note this character as a shining example of the truth, so obvious when pointed out, so universally neglected nevertheless, that you can never adequately or accurately learn the meaning of a Chinese word by studying the character used to write it. Here, for instance, is a man looking at food in a dish—we may presume hungrily. Does that imply that the word *tsi* holds any special implication of future *eating* more than of any other future action? Of course it does not. The design of this character, as of innumerable others, is merely an *illustration*, not a definition. Such a limitation is imposed on many words by their highly generalized and widely expanded range of meaning, which renders an illustrative and particular application the only feasible means of giving them a graphic expression at all.

There flows from this as a corollary, that all the definitions in our Western dictionaries of Chinese, based on the "definitions" of the *Shuo Wen*, unless these latter can be corroborated by proof from actual usage in Chinese literature, should be regarded as suspect. The author of the *Shuo Wen* gave us of the best of his knowledge, and it is difficult to overestimate our debt to him. But where he had no real knowledge he unfortunately often affected it, and provided a substitute for it by an intelligent anticipation of palaeographic discoveries that were never destined to be made. We shall find signal examples of this weakness in the group of characters we are about to explore.

The *Shuo Wen*'s Lesser Seal form of 卽 *tsi* is shown

in Fig. 112, Pl. I. Its analysis of the character is as follows: "Composed with 𥽿 and 卩 as phonetic." Let us examine the ideographic half first. This character has always been a difficult and obscure one. It is the *Shuo Wen's* 178th radical, with three characters grouped under it, two of which we are about to discuss in the light of the Honan relics. The Lesser Seal form is 𥽿, and Hsü's description is 穀之馨香也 = "the fragrant odour of grain. The character depicts the Good grain in the husk, and 匕 *pi*, that with which it is gathered up. Sometimes explained as a single grain". As to the pronunciation he adds, "Also read like 香 *hsiang*." Note this "also", for it implies some other pronunciation to which, however, Hsü gives no clue, and it has accordingly been supposed that we have not the complete text. At any rate Sun Shu-yen, an authority of the end of Han dynasty times, asserts that the character is pronounced *pi*, while other dictionaries cited in Kanghsi's entry give *kì* as the sound. Finally, the *Chêng Tzû Tung* 正字通, of the last dynasty, asserts that this is the ancient form of 香 *hsiang*, fragrant, and under that character it is placed in Kanghsi. These are, I know, tiresome details to read, but they can hardly be dispensed with.

Now Kanghsi's Dictionary cannot adduce a single example of this character 𥽿 from the whole of Chinese literature, and it is evident that Chinese philologists have never been clear as to either its true sense or its true sound. Hsü Shên, or some predecessor from whom he perhaps received the dictum, was probably guessing when he described the character as expressing the fragrance of grain, and he was certainly in error, as we shall immediately see, when he supposed it to consist of grain in the husk (the upper part), and *pi*, a spoon, for the lower.

For on all this phonetic and ideographic uncertainty

the Honan Bone inscriptions throw some welcome light, and lead us, if not to an absolute identification of our form, yet at any rate to one within the narrow margin of two or perhaps three modern characters and their correlative words. These characters are 豆 *tou*, a long-stemmed *tazza*, or food-dish, 食 *shih*, to eat, and 敦 *tui*, a vessel for holding millet in grain. The form under discussion (the *Shuo Wen's* 178th radical) may be described as having on the bones two variants, one 𠩺 being practically identical with the scription on the bronzes, the second, 𠩻, the fuller, less stylized, and in type the more archaic, peculiar to these relics. It may either be regarded as the early form of 豆 *tou*, plus a conical summit, or a diminished version of 食 *shih*, minus the triangular top. It may therefore conceivably be a variant of either of these characters, each of which would be ideographically suitable. But I prefer a third alternative. I believe it may be an early pictographic version of the character now written 敦 *tui*. For the first of the two variants figured a few lines above is identical with by far the commonest form of the left-hand half of the character *tui*, as found on the most ancient bronzes. And it matters not whether we consider this character 𠩺 *tui* to be a Phonetic Compound or a Suggestive Compound, since in the first case the phonetic value of the 𠩺 would have to be *tui*, while in the second case this form would represent (though imperfectly) the shape of the vessel which was called a *tui*. Unless, therefore, we adhere to the view that the figure is a variant either of 豆 *tou*, *tazza*, or 食 *shih*, to eat, which appears difficult to do, we seem driven to identify it either with a pictogram of a *tui*, or as the primitive type of *hsiang*, fragrant.

One final point before we leave this, as I fear it must seem, tedious discussion.

Lo Chên-yü contributes three archaic forms of the character *tui* 敦 (Figs. 113-15, Pl. I), and a short note upon them. He writes: "On ancient bronzes found written as [Figs. 113-15, Pl. I], with a general resemblance to those on the bones. Composed with 又 *yu*, hand holding a 勺, which probably depicts a 勺 *shao*, a ladle or long-handled spoon for filling or emptying a *tui*. Not composed with 支 *pu*."

The left-hand element in two of Lo's three instances appears to be 冫 *tou*, and to this extent the equation of our form with that character is, I admit, strengthened. There I must leave the matter.

We now reach a more important, more unexpected, and more interesting point, in the right half of the character 卽 *tsi*. This right half was in the Lesser Seal written 卪 a figure which the author of the *Shuo Wen*, and all his successors up to the other day, considered to be the original script of 卪 *tsieh*, a token of authority, originally something jointed. It forms Hsü's 338th radical, and under it are ranged twelve characters.

It is one of the most signal illustrations of Lo Chên-yü's acute and critical insight that he has knocked the bottom out of this venerable legend, and with it must go a good many hitherto unchallenged beliefs. On p. 51 of the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, Lo writes, "Hsü's work explains 卪 as a token of authority, credentials, the author not knowing that the ancient form 卪 depicts a man kneeling, and is the character 人 *jén*, man. All the analyses of characters under 卪 *tsieh* are erroneous."

To this dictum of Lo's I subscribe with conviction, but with a provisional reserve as to the form, which I believe never appears alone, being equated with the actual character 人 *jén*. Certainly it depicts a kneeling figure, but it does not follow necessarily that it is therefore

a variant of 人 *jén*. There is a good deal to be said for and against.

The consequences of Lo's discovery are most valuable, but I must not attempt to follow them out here.

Chi 既, to finish (Figs. 116-19, Pl. I). *Significance of the archaic forms.* A human figure seated before a vessel containing food, with head averted, to suggest satiety. This and the preceding character are of mutually complementary designs. The crude posture of the eater shows him as he "turns from his food". Not that he cannot stand soy with stewed duck, or declines to eat margarine in place of butter, but this graphic gesture, vulgar but vivid, like a caricature, simply expresses the moment of repletion and *termination* of the action of eating.

Lo dismisses the matter in a few words, "Depicts a man who has finished eating. When Hsü explains the character as 'a small meal', 小食 *hsiao shih*, the meaning and the form do not tally with each other."

Hsiang 鄉, now usually a village; but originally the character for the word *hsiang*, to offer food to a guest or a spirit, or to receive it as such, now written 饗. *Significance of the archaic forms.* Two seated human figures facing each other across a vessel of food, suggesting a host entertaining a guest.

I subjoin Lo's valuable comment to the six examples he cites. The words in round brackets are annotations by himself (Figs. 120-5, Pl. I).

"This character," he says, "is composed with 𠂔 (viz. the *hsiang* of the expression 人相饗 *jén hsiang hsiang*, men facing each other. For explanation see the Appendix to the Fêng Lou Collection of Metal and Stone Antiquities of the T'ang Dynasty¹) and 𠂔, sometimes with 𠂔 and 𠂔, in both cases depicting a guest and a host facing

¹ This translation is tentative. I have not been able to discover anything about this work.

each other as the latter is entertaining the former with food; and it is the character 饗 *hsiang*.

"Anciently the word *ch'ing* in the term 公卿 *kung ch'ing*, a high noble, the word *hsiang* in the expression 鄉黨 *hsiang tang*, a village community, and the word *hsiang* in the expression 饗食 *hsiang shih*, to entertain with food, were all [written with] one character. Later ages divided this into three characters [as seen in the present writing of the above phrases]. Hsü accordingly ranged 鄉 *hsiang* under his 230th radical [Fig. 126, Pl. I]. He placed 卿 *ch'ing* under his 341st radical [Fig. 127, Pl. I]. (Hsü explains this as 事之制 *shih chih chih*, 'regulation of action,' an error due to his ignorance that this character 𡗗 is the [earlier type of] 向 *hsiang*, in the expression 向背 *hsiang pei*, facing or back to, toward or froward.) And he enters 饗 *hsiang* under his 180th radical, 食 *shih*. In this way the primary form and the primary sense cannot be apprehended."

There is a good deal implied as well as expressed in the sentences of the above pregnant paragraph, which perhaps I may summarize and to some extent supplement.

Lo holds that the syllables *ch'ing*, a noble, *hsiang*, a village, and *hsiang*, to entertain with food, had originally only one character between them, and this was the archaic form of the modern 鄉. Moreover, the latter character, and the modern form of 卿 *ch'ing*, are merely divergent corruptions of that archaic form; and the correctness of this view is proved by the occurrence on the Honan relics of the expression *ch'ing shih* 卿事 (also found on ancient bronzes), a term identified by Lo with the 卿士 *ch'ing shih* of the *Book of Odes*. Lo does not touch on the question of the identity or diversity of the correlative syllables behind these three modern characters, but the probability is that they have no etymological relationship with each other. In that case, two of them must have borrowed the graphic clothing of

the third. The position of *ch'ing* is especially peculiar. In no modern dialect that I can discover are this and *hsiang* homophonous. Yet they presumably must have been so once, and indeed both are included in the same category of ancient rhymes by Tuan Yü-ts'ai.

To pass to a different point. On another page of the Y.H.S.K.K.S., p. 51, Lo cites a form (see Fig. 128, Pl. I) plainly depicting two seated figures facing each other, which he believes, and no doubt rightly, is a fuller delineation of the commoner 卿. This last has become the modern 卿 (the *Shuo Wen's* 341st radical), and is usually said to be read *ch'ing*, and to form the phonetic of 卿 *ch'ing*, a noble. Lo, however, argues that its sound is *hsiang*, and that it is the true and primitive mode of writing the word *hsiang*, facing, now written 嚮 (and very often 向).

We may also probably account for the difference between the 卿 in 卿 *ch'ing* and the 鄉 in 鄉 *hsiang* (though the archaic forms were the same), by regarding the shorter form in *ch'ing* as a corruption from the headless variant, and the fuller one in *hsiang* as from the ampler and logically more ancient type.


Lastly, we should note the curious variants (Fig. 123, Pl. I) of 鄉 *hsiang*, in which the feasters' heads are mutually averted, and are not, as the relationship usually so happily subsisting between host and guest requires, amicably facing one another in a relatively sober way.

I end this paper with a very interesting pictogram identified by Lo, and with a consequential discovery, arising out of that identification which it has been my good fortune, as I believe, to make as an independent supplement thereto. This is

Ni or I 麇, a fawn (Figs. 129-31, Pl. I). *Significance of the archaic forms.* A fawn following a hind.

Lo cites four examples, of which, however, the last two

may perhaps be distinct characters expressing some other word. I do not take their identity for granted.

He writes: "Depicts a deer's young following its dam. It is probably the character 麇 *ni* or *i*, of Hsü's book. The *Shuo Wen* explains the latter character as 狻 麇 *suan ni* (usually translated as 'lion' and supposed to represent some non-Chinese word) and has a separate character 麋 *mi*, explained as 鹿子 *lu tzü*, a deer's young. But 麇 *ni*, as a character, is obviously composed with 鹿 *lu*, deer, and when we combine the senses of *lu*, deer, and 兒 *erh*, child, we get precisely the 'young of deer' as the meaning. The oracular sentences distinguish between the dam and the fawn by the presence or absence of antlers, 以有角無角別鹿母子. And so the form  resembling a hornless deer, we may also infer from this that it is a variant of 麇 *ni*."

There are two points in this passage which invite criticism. Lo does not appear to know that among the deer family the hinds do not have horns. On the face of it, therefore, this old character seems to show a fawn following a buck. Nevertheless, I believe Lo is quite right in his interpretation, and that the designers of the character, who certainly did know the facts, sacrificed biological accuracy to the need of emphasizing the contrast between the adult, though female, animal and the immature fawn. As to the fuller form which Lo infers also to stand for *ni*, we must bear in mind that the males in both the musk-deer (*Moschus*) and the water-deer (*Hydrelaphus* or *Hydrapotes*) are hornless, and both may have been known and hunted by the Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty. The above form, "resembling a hornless deer," may, therefore, represent either of the modern words *shé*, now written 麝, or *chang*, now written 麀.

The small figure on the right hand of the character, in which Lo sees a fawn, is most interesting. We ought first

to note that it closely resembles the more cursorily written ancient variants of 見 *chien*, to see, but not the better executed shapes. In reality, however, that which in it looks like 目 *mu*, an eye, is here, as often elsewhere, the whole head, while what seems to be 人 *jén*, man, is a greatly curtailed outline in which the foreleg and the line of the back have alone been negligently indicated. The same misleading change is seen in the modern characters for 兔 *t'u*, hare, 覓 *huan*, antelope, and 咒 *ssü*, which let us render by the compromising name *bovóceros*!

This brings me to my part in the elucidation of a character, the origin of which, unless I am deceived, has long been lost and misunderstood by Chinese, and consequently also by Western scholars.

If we turn to the entry 麇 *ni* in the *Shuo Wen* (see Fig. 131, Pl. I), we shall find it consists in the Lesser Seal of 鹿 *lu*, deer, above, and 兒 *erh* (earlier *ni*), a child, as the phonetic, below. If we accept, as I do, Lo's equation of the bone character with the Lesser Seal form of the *Shuo Wen*, we observe that the figure of the fawn at the right, on the bones, has become the character 兒 *erh*, child, at the foot of the Lesser Seal script. What then? Then this results, (1) that these two, in essentials, scarcely differing forms are in fact the same form; and (2) that this was the figure of a fawn, but by the time of the Han dynasty and in its Lesser Seal metamorphosis, had been completely misunderstood and wrongly analysed, being described in the *Shuo Wen* as "an infant", and believed to represent the unclosed fontanelle of a young child, with 儿 *jén*, man, for the lower part.

It follows from this that the common colloquial term *erh tzu* 兒子 a child, originally and etymologically, meant a fawn, and was analogous to the use of *hsiao hai tzu* 小孩子, "a little pig," and the Cantonese *sai mén*

tsai 細蚊仔, "small mosquito," both used as terms for children, as well as to our own "kids" and "cubs".

Such is the story of how a timid fawn became in the course of many centuries "a glorious human boy", thereby undergoing or achieving an entire change of character.

LIST OF REFERENCES FOR FIGURES IN PLATE I

Abbreviations

C.K.L.C.W. = *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wén* 摑古錄金文, by vol. (*pén*) and page.

S.W. = *Shuo Wen*.

S.W.K.C.P. = *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu* 說文古籀補.

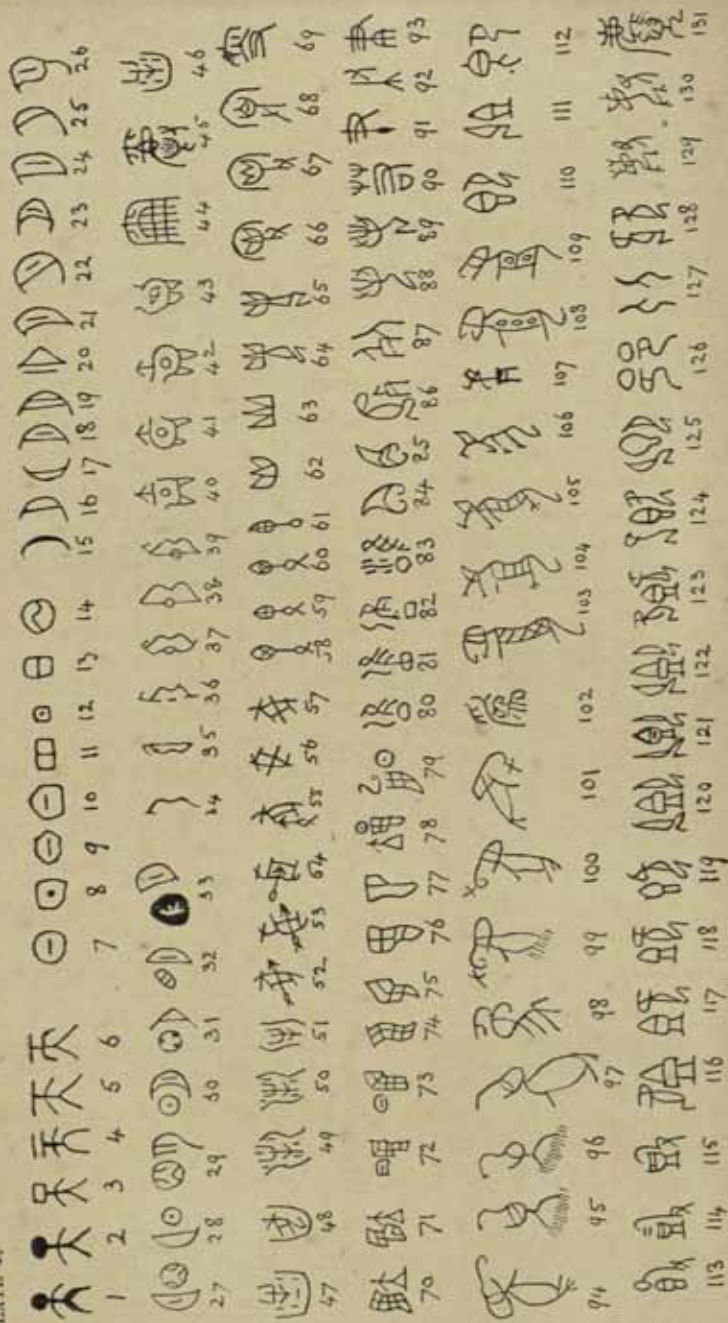
T.Y.T.K. = *T'ieh Yün Tsang Kuei* 鐵雲藏龜.

T.Y.T.K.C.Y. = *T'ieh Yün Tsang Kuei Chih Yü* 鐵雲藏龜之餘.

Y.H.S.K. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷虛書契, First Part (前) published as separate work, referred to by *chüan* and page; Second Part (後) in two Sections, 上 and 下, referred to thus and by page, published in the Review 藝術叢編.

H. = Hopkins Collection.

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| 1. S.W.K.C.P., i, 1. | 17. H., 339. |
| 2. C.K.L.C.W., vii, 43. | 18. H., 115. |
| 3. Y.H.S.K., ii, 3. | 19. H., 742. |
| 4. " iv, 16. | 20. Y.H.S.K., ii, 4. |
| 5. S.W.K.C.P., i, 1. | 21. H., 339. |
| 6. S.W., Lesser Seal. | 22. S.W.K.C.P., ii, 39. |
| 7. C.K.L.C.W., viii, 15. | 23. |
| 8. S.W.K.C.P., ii, 38. | 24. S.W.K.C.P., ii, 39. |
| 9. Y.H.S.K., iii, 19. | 25. " ii, 39. |
| 10. H., 815. | 26. " ii, 39. |
| 11. Y.H.S.K., i, 20. | 27. Y.H.S.K., iv, 10. |
| 12. " ii, 22. | 28. " vii, 32. |
| 13. S.W., Lesser Seal. | 29. S.W., Lesser Seal. |
| 14. " <i>Ku wen</i> . | 30. " <i>Ku wen</i> . |
| 15. H., 7. | 31. H. (in comp.), 308. |
| 16. H., 148. | 32. H. " 325. |



33. C.K.L.C.W., ix, 54.
34. Y.H.S.K., v, 8.
35. " v, 7.
36. " v, 8.
37. " v, 8.
38. " v, 8.
39. " v, 8.
40. " v, 5.
41. " v, 5.
42. T.Y.T.K., p. 241.
43. " p. 89.
44. S.W., Ku wen.
45. " Lesser Seal.
46. Y.H.S.K., i, 32.
47. " vi, 39.
48. " vii, 3.
49. " i, 24.
50. " vii, 25.
51. " ii, 9.
52. " iv, 51.
53. " iv, 51.
54. " iv, 51.
55. T.Y.T.K., p. 210.
56. Y.H.S.K., iv, 51.
57. " iv, 51.
58. " i, 3.
59. " v, 7.
60. " iv, 51.
61. T.Y.T.K., p. 231.
62. Y.H.S.K., v, 14.
63. " v, 14.
64. " iv, 41.
65. " v, 32.
66. " iv, 38.
67. " iv, 29.
68. " iv, 29.
69. S.W., Lesser Seal.
70. Y.H.S.K., ii, 23.
71. " i, 20.
72. " vii, 5.
73. " vii, 32.
74. " iii, 28.
75. " i, 1.
76. " iv, 13.
77. Y.H.S.K., v, 29.
78. C.K.L.C.W., ix, 44.
79. Cited by Lo as from the 9th
of the Stone Drums, but
see note 2 on p. 790.
80. Y.H.S.K., ii, 24.
81. " ii, 35.
82. " ii, 36.
83. S.W.K.C.P., i, 20.
84. Y.H.S.K., iv, 53.
85. " iv, 53.
86. " v, 41.
87. H., 228.
88. Y.H.S.K., iii, 27.
89. " iv, 11.
90. S.W., Lesser Seal.
91. Y.H.S.K., vii, 23.
92. H., 782.
93. S.W., Lesser Seal.
94. Y.H.S.K., iii, 31.
95. " iv, 44.
96. " iv, 44.
97. " 2nd Part, 下, p. 5.
98. S.W., Lesser Seal.
99. Y.H.S.K., v, 30.
100. " v, 30.
101. " 2nd Part, 下, p. 10.
102. S.W., Lesser Seal.
103. Y.H.S.K., iv, 44.
104. " iv, 44.
105. " v, 29.
106. " 2nd Part, 下, p. 38
(in comp.).
107. Y.H.S.K., 2nd Part, 上,
p. 15 (in comp.).
108. Y.H.S.K., iv, 45.
109. " iv, 45.
110. " v, 17.
111. " vi, 5.
112. S.W., Lesser Seal.
113. Shu Ch'i Ching Hua
書契菁華
114. Y.H.S.K., i, 35.
115. " i, 35.

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| 116. Y.H.S.K., vii, 18. | 124. Y.H.S.K., iv, 22. |
| 117. T.Y.T.K., p. 178. | 125. " iv, 22. |
| 118. Y.H.S.K., viii, 10. | 126. S.W., Lesser Seal. |
| 119. " 2nd Part, T , p.8. | 127. " " |
| 120. " iv, 21. | 128. T.Y.T.K.C.Y., p. 2. |
| 121. " iv, 22. | 129. Y.H.S.K., ii, 23. |
| 122. " iv, 22. | 130. " iv, 48. |
| 123. " iv, 22. | 131. S.W., Lesser Seal. |
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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

PRICES AND WAGES UNDER AKBAR

On p. 394 of *Akbar, the Great Mogul* (Clarendon Press, 1917), Mr. Vincent Smith draws the conclusion that in India the rise in wages has not kept pace with the rise in prices from Akbar's time to the present, and that consequently "the hired landless labourer in the time of Akbar and Jahangir probably had more to eat in ordinary years than he has now". Mr. Vincent Smith's authority in Indian history is so deservedly great that this statement, if allowed to stand unquestioned, will probably pass quickly into a dogma of the schools: before it does so, I venture to plead for further examination of the data. To my mind they do not justify the conclusion advanced: they suggest to me that the city labourer's position was approximately the same at both periods, but much more evidence is required before this position can be taken as proved; and they do not throw any direct light on the position of the landless labourer in the country.

Mr. Smith (p. 389) takes the data of prices given in the *Ā'in-i nirkh-i ajnās* (Ā'in 27 of Book I in Blochmann and Jarrett's translation of the *Ā'in-i Akbari*). The wage-rates are also taken from the *Ā'in*. I shall examine each set of figures in turn, but before doing so it is perhaps desirable to point out that there is some risk in extracting particular pieces of information from this work. The *Ā'in-i Akbari* has a complex structure, and requires to be read as a whole. It gives a vast quantity of information, but its point of view is different from ours, and is not always grasped at first sight: Abul Fazl usually

indicates his meaning, but the indications have to be sought for laboriously, and it is to the neglect of this precaution that we may trace a large proportion of the erroneous statements regarding Akbar's administration which have gained currency during the last hundred years.

PRICES

Mr. Smith treats the figures of Ā'in 27 as "average prices", and the wording of the translation already quoted justifies this view. I submit that the figures in question are not averages, but are *the wholesale rates* considered to be *reasonable or moderate* for purchases for the Imperial Household, which was, I take it, much the largest consuming establishment in Northern India.

The Ā'in treats the various Household departments in order. The "Kitchen" begins at Ā'in 23 of Book I, the "Fruiter" at Ā'in 28: Ā'in 27, which gives the prices in question, is clearly part of the description of the "Kitchen".

The prices are wholesale. This is fairly clear from the fact that they are given per maund; and in Ā'in 23 we are told that the officers of the kitchens arranged for supplies quarterly, and obtained them from the suitable localities (*Sukhdās* rice from Bahraich, *ghī* from Hissar, and so on).

That the prices are those which the officers considered to be reasonable I infer from the opening words of Ā'in 27. It is clear that Abul Fazl must have written from notes supplied by the departments concerned, if indeed (as I suspect) he did not in some cases merely incorporate their reports, and what he says of the "Kitchens" must be based on the report of the Superintendent (Mir Bakāwal), or of his "clever writer" (Ā'in 23). Blochmann translates the opening words of Ā'in 27 as follows:—"The prices of course vary, as on marches, or

during the rains, or for other reasons: but I shall give here the average prices for the information of future enquirers." The reference to "marches" is, I think, further evidence that we are dealing with the prices from the point of view of the "Kitchen", the arrangements of which would necessarily be affected whenever the Imperial Camp was on the move.

I venture to question Blochmann's use of the word "average" in this translation. The Persian text has *lakhte miyāna araj-rā ba-judwal dar āwarad*. Students of the work will probably agree that dictionaries are nearly useless for determining the precise shades of meaning of the words used in it: we have to gather them from a study of the passages in which the words occur, and the *Ā'in* will not be completely mastered until someone provides a concordance to its language. Not having this aid at hand, I can only rely on the other passages where the word *miyāna* has caught my notice. It is used in various places in the Third Book, and I have found no instance of its indicating "average" in the strict sense of that word. In the return of yields, for instance (Text, p. 298), it is contrasted with *ālā* and *zabūn*, the three words indicating the rough classification of yields into "good, middling, and bad". In the same way it is contrasted on the previous page with *guzīdah* and *zabūn*, and wherever I have noticed it the natural meaning is the same—"middling" or "moderate", "avoiding extremes." I suspect Blochmann used the word "average" in this loose sense, and in any case I submit that this is the meaning of the phrase in question, which I would paraphrase: "Prices are of course liable to fluctuations, but the following rates may be regarded as moderate and reasonable."

The question then arises: Can we accept the rates which the Mir Bakāwal thought reasonable as representing the open market with sufficient accuracy to justify their

use in calculating the purchasing power of the rupee? This question involves various considerations, of which the following seem to me the most important :—

1. The Mir Bakāwal was probably the largest single buyer in the markets, and thus occupied an exceptional position.

2. He may have used his official position to depress prices unduly.

3. He may have charged higher prices than he actually paid.

4. The prices given are reasonable or moderate *from the point of view of the buyer*, not the seller: at present the difference in point of view is very great in India, and it was probably at least as great when Abul Fazl wrote.

In view of these considerations, I should say that it is not safe to rely on the rates in question for a final calculation of the purchasing power of the rupee. We want more evidence of actual commercial transactions to which high officers were not parties. I know of no such evidence, though it is permissible to hope that some old records giving it may yet be found by diligent research: for the present we can use these rates only for a first approximation with a candid recognition of their uncertainties. Some of the considerations I have set out tend to cancel each other, and it is perhaps permissible to suggest that the rates are on the whole not very far from the truth, with a tendency on balance to understatement, which will operate to exaggerate the difference between Akbar's time and the present day.

With this warning I proceed to draw a comparison. With Mr. Smith I convert the *Ā'in* prices into pounds per rupee, taking Akbar's maund at 55½ lb. For the modern period I use *Prices and Wages in India* (thirty-second issue—Calcutta, 1917). This book gives prices up to 1915: we must, however, discard 1914 and 1915 because

of the disturbance to markets resulting from the War, while 1908, 1909, and 1913 were all abnormal in Northern India owing to seasonal causes. I take, therefore, the average of the three years 1910, 1911, and 1912 as giving a moderate or reasonable level of prices for the period immediately preceding the War, though I fear many of my Indian friends, who still cling to the 16 ser rate for wheat, will not altogether approve of my choice. As Akbar's prices are wholesale, I take wholesale prices for the corresponding period.

As to place, there is a difficulty. The Household was, I take it, the largest consuming establishment in Northern India, and there is nothing exactly like it at the present day. As an approach to similar conditions I take the average prices of Agra, Delhi, and Lahore, the largest consuming centres in that part of India where the Household was ordinarily to be found. It is quite possible that the prices given in the *Ā'in* are those paid at the centres of production, not of consumption, because as we have seen purchases were made at the places where the goods were obtainable. In that case it might be necessary to raise the *Ā'in* prices by the cost of carriage in order to secure a comparison, and this point must be allowed for in drawing our conclusions.

As to the articles to be taken into account, I have chosen wheat, gram, barley, and juār among food-grains, as being typical market staples. (Mr. Smith uses the price of Kabuli gram, but that must have been something of an exotic in Akbar's days, as it is still: I use the price of what is called in the *Ā'in* black-gram (*nakhūd-i-siāh*), which I take to be the ordinary gram of the country.) Of the few other articles available, I discard salt because of the varying influence of the duty on price in modern times: I use *ghi*, but the variations in the quality of sugar make a comparison too dangerous to be attempted in this place.

The figures stand as follows in pounds per rupee :—

ARTICLE.	A.T.N. PRICES.		PRICES OF 1910-12.	FACTOR OF COMPARISON.
	MR. SMITH'S FIGURES.	MY FIGURES.		
	lb.	lb.	lb.	
Wheat .	194½	185	25·1	× 7·4
Gram .	134½	277·5	37·4	× 7·4
Barley .	277½	277·5	37·0	× 7·5
Juār .	222	222	33·7	× 6·6
Ghi .	13½	21	1·8	× 11·6

It will be seen that my figures differ from those given by Mr. Vincent Smith in three cases out of five. The difference in the case of gram has been explained above: I cannot trace the cause of the other two, and must rely on my own arithmetic.

The last column in the table gives the quotients of the figures in the two preceding columns, and is the index to comparative purchasing power: a rupee in Akbar's time would buy 7·4 times as much wheat as it would buy in 1910-12, and so on. The remarkable agreement among the quotients of the three rabi staples indicates that the Mir Bakāwal regarded their *relative* values much as the market does at present, and is not without importance in its bearing on the objective truth of his figures. The difference in the case of juār is within the limits of accident, and taking the four grains together, our first approximation is that, measured in food-grains, Akbar's rupee was worth somewhere about seven times as much as the rupee of 1910-12. The figure for *ghi* is interesting: it is well known that the price of this commodity has risen of late years owing to special causes other than the fall in the value of the rupee, and the substantially larger factor in its case is in accordance with what might have been expected.

If as I have indicated is possible, the *Ā'in* prices relate to the producing centres, the factor of comparison would be substantially reduced as the result of adding cost of carriage to the prices given. I cannot calculate this cost, but at a rough guess it may be said that the all-round factor would in that case be nearer six than seven. Provisionally, however, I suggest that, on the various assumptions indicated, the purchasing power of the rupee, measured in food, may be taken to have been seven times as great under Akbar as in 1910-12. I have reason to believe that the rise in price of other articles, such as clothing and metal goods, has been less pronounced: these would have to be taken into account if we were considering the upper or middle classes, but in the case of unskilled labour the correction needed for them is small, and may be regarded as negligible compared with the probable error in our estimate.

WAGES

Mr. Smith (p. 389) takes two dams as the "normal rate for an unskilled labourer". I venture to question the use of the word "normal" in this sentence. Two dams was the commonest rate sanctioned, for financial purposes, in the case of State expenditure incurred in one particular market of Northern India where the demand was exceptionally great: it may therefore be called the normal rate for *State labour in that market*, but we are not justified in applying it to the much more general case of the "hired landless labourer" (p. 394).

I have found the two-dam rate in the following cases in the Household Departments (Book I of the *Ā'in*).

1. *Horse-stables*.—Coolies employed when the camp was marching.
2. *Camel-stables*.—Assistant herdsmen.
3. *Buildings*.—Carpenters, lowest grade. Sawyers. Bamboo-cutters. Varnishers. Water-carriers (lowest).

Daily rates did not prevail in the Army departments, but the equivalent of less than two dams daily was sometimes paid to grooms (45 to 63 dams monthly). The only lower daily rate I have noticed is one dam for slaves, while when the rate of three dams appears the workmen may fairly be classed as semi-skilled. Accepting then two dams as the ordinary rate for unskilled labour, and assuming for the moment that the workmen received the full amount, let us see what it means. If the value of the rupee, measured in food, has risen sevenfold, two dams would be equivalent to $R. \frac{2}{7}$, or R. 0.35 at the present day; if the rise be only sixfold, the equivalent is R. 0.3. This rate has to be compared not with rural wages, nor with wages paid by private persons, but with the wages paid in *large State establishments in the centre of greatest demand in Northern India*, wherever that demand may be located at the moment. These words seem to me to apply even to the case (noted above) of coolies on the march: we know from contemporary observers that when the Imperial camp moved the capital was left almost deserted: that is to say, the great labour-market followed the Emperor.

It is difficult to get a modern comparison. Delhi preparing for the last Durbar would not be altogether unfair, but even then the supply of labour was greatly facilitated by the railways, and people came from further afield than might be expected to have occurred in Akbar's time. The nearest approach is perhaps again the great permanent labour-markets of Northern India, and I turn to *Prices and Wages* to find the wages of unskilled labour in the years 1910-12, which have already been used for determining the other factor in this investigation. One good example is found in the figures (p. 188) for the State Railway Workshops at Lahore: during these years the actual wage paid to unskilled labour averaged R. 0.34, as against the sanctioned rate of R. 0.35 in force in Akbar's

time. The difference between these two figures is of course too small to be significant. Unfortunately this example of daily rates stands alone, while we cannot use the monthly rates quoted in *Prices and Wages*, because the fact of regular employment counts for a good deal.

We may, however, make a comparison with the rates of urban wages ascertained in the wage census of 1911, if we remember that these rates are paid by private employers. The year is appropriate because it is the middle of the period for which we have examined prices. The rates are given on pp. 233-5 of *Prices and Wages*: unfortunately Delhi is not included in the tables, but the rate for Agra is R. 0.25, and that for Lahore R. 0.375 to R. 0.5. The labourer in private employ in Agra is thus worse off than the State-paid labourer in Akbar's time: in Lahore his real wages are substantially higher. Objection may be taken that the Lahore rates are exceptional: they are exceptional in the sense that until recently no such rates were known in Northern India, but in this sense the prices we have taken are also exceptional, for 12½ sers of wheat in reasonably favourable years is at least equally unprecedented. In other respects the Lahore rates are not exceptional, for similar rates prevailed in the other cities of the Punjab, and the lower rate (R. 0.375) was being paid in places like Chandausi and Cawnpore, though rates from R. 0.25 upward were also common in them. So far then as this comparison goes, it may be said that real urban wages, measured in food-grains, were much about the same level in 1911 as in Akbar's time: two dams then meant 5 to 5½ annas in 1911, while according to the wage-census of that year 6 annas was a low urban rate in the Panjab, and was a recognized rate, though high, in some towns of the United Provinces.

I have still to deal with the assumption that the rates of pay shown in the *Ā'in* actually reached the hands of

the labourers, a point to which Mr. Smith does not allude. The instances of wage-rates which I have quoted are not given by Abul Fazl as market or prevailing rates: they are extracted from scales of establishment sanctioned by Akbar, and from the whole tenor of the *Ā'in* we may infer that their object was strictly financial, precisely like the sanctioned scales which are in force in India at the present day. Before you can deduce rates of remuneration from sanctioned scales, you must study the arrangements for disbursement. At the present day in India these arrangements are elaborate: signatures on acquittance-rolls, thumb-impressions on receipts, and the familiar certificates "Paid in my presence", all combine to testify to the difficulty experienced by the English administration in getting money actually into the hands of the recipients; and even with all these precautions one is never quite sure that some portion of menials' and labourers' wages does not eventually find its way into the pockets of the subordinate supervisors. I do not think anyone will assert that this difficulty came into India with the English. Abul Fazl is eloquent as to various malpractices in finance which he says that Akbar stopped, and which we may believe that Akbar in fact limited; but I cannot find any mention of precautions such as are now common form in Indian disbursing offices. Had Akbar devoted his attention to this question, there would be *Ā'ins* explaining his rules, and their absence seems to me to indicate that he did not take up this question in connection with the household establishment. In one branch of the army the practice of deductions was regularized, not, be it noted, prohibited ("the commander of every contingent is allowed to keep for himself one-twentieth part of the pay of his men, which reimburses him for various expenses," *Ā'in* 14 of Book II), but the question remains open whether deductions were actually limited to this proportion. John Jourdain, a competent observer, writing

a few years after Akbar's death, summed up his experience in the aphorism that India "lives like the fishes in the sea, the greater eat the lesser", and I think it would be matter for surprise if evidence should turn up to prove that Akbar's workmen regularly got the full wages provided in the sanctioned scales.

My argument is simply that it is unsafe to draw final conclusions from the sanctioned rates. We are justified in saying that Akbar's workmen did not get more than two dams a day, but there is a substantial probability that they actually got less. To obtain a rough measure of the difference, let us suppose that it was usual for the disburser to keep back a quarter dam, a coin which is known to have existed at the time. Then the true wage-rate would be $1\frac{3}{4}$ dams, equivalent in modern times to R. 0.306, or rather less than 5 annas a day, a not unreasonable figure in the cities of Northern India in the years 1910-12.

CONCLUSION

I submit that the facts stated in the *Ā'in* regarding prices and wages do not justify Mr. Vincent Smith's conclusion that the hired landless labourer had probably more to eat under Akbar and Jahangir than he has now. I suggest that the figures in question have a strictly limited significance, and that they cannot safely be used as a rigid basis for deducing differences in real wages: but that, on certain assumptions, they afford support for the tentative conclusion that the real wages (measured in food) of unskilled labourers employed by the State in large labour-markets were substantially the same in 1910-12 as in the period to which the *Ā'in* figures relate. There may be slight differences between the two periods, but if so they are masked by the uncertainty of the figures themselves, and the most that can be said is that there was no difference sufficiently great to stand out above these uncertainties.

W. H. MORELAND.

MIXTURE OF PRAKRITS IN SANSKRIT PLAYS

On p. 3 of the preface to his admirable edition of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, Professor Hillebrandt makes the following remarks:—

"In plays *Māhārāṣṭrī* is restricted to songs: this is an old rule the correctness of which I see no reason of doubting; but the restriction of *Śaurasenī* to the prose passages of dramatic works is an assumption to which I cannot accede. In the article quoted above I have shown that the *Śaurasenī* character of some verses in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, *Śakuntalā*, and *Mudrārākṣasa*, is clearly indicated by the practice of the very best manuscripts, showing the change of *t* to *d* (which is a characteristic of *Śaurasenī*), in striking contrast with other verses where the *t* is not changed to *d*, but suppressed (which is a characteristic of *Māhārāṣṭrī*)."

At the time that this was written no edition of the *Prākṛta-Sarvasva* was available in Europe, and I therefore make no apology for drawing attention to what *Mārkaṇḍeya* says on this very matter.

In sūtra vi, 4,¹ he lays down that the terminations *ti* and *tē* of the 3rd person singular *parasmaipada* and *ātmanēpada* become, respectively, *i* and *ē*. Thus, *pacati*, *pacāi*; *pacatē*, *pacāē*, and so on. He then meets the objection that this sūtra is superfluous because it has already been laid down by sūtra ii, 2, that *t* between vowels is elided. "No," he says, "this sūtra is not superfluous, because sūtra ii, 2, is not of universal application. According to it, such a medial *t* may occasionally be retained. But by the present sūtra the elision of the *t* of the 3rd person singular is universally obligatory." He then goes on:—

nāṭakēṣu tathā (sc. *pacadi*, *pacadē*), *drśyata iti cēt*,
Mahārāṣṭrītarāsu bhāṣāsu tathā siddhēr na viruddham.
Rājaśekharaśya Mahārāṣṭrī-prayōjyēṣu ślōkēṣu api
drśyata iti cēt, tasyāivāvimrśya-kāritwam. Nāparādhō

¹ I do not quote the sūtra, as I am not at present certain that the printed edition gives the correct text. The meaning is, however, plain.

'*nuśūsanānām*. That is to say, if forms such as *pacadi*, *pacadē*, are observed, then, provided they occur in dialects other than *Māhārāṣṭrī*, there is no breach of this rule. If such a form be found also in verses of *Rājaśekhara* which should be in *Māhārāṣṭrī*, then it is a case of inadvertence on his part, and the rules are not to blame.

The meaning of the words *Māhārāṣṭrī-prayōjyēṣu ślokeṣu* is not quite clear. It may mean "verses in which *Māhārāṣṭrī* should be used", or it may mean "verse-passages which therefore must be in *Māhārāṣṭrī*". This does not throw much light on Professor Hillebrandt's main contention that *Śaurasēni* is not restricted to prose. But the passage does show that even such a master of Prakrit as *Rājaśekhara* sometimes nodded, and that when a medial *t* occurs in the cases referred to it is, in *Mārkaṇḍēya*'s opinion, a simple blunder. The point is worth noticing in editing Sanskrit plays.

G. A. GRIERSON.

AS TO THE DATE OF THE *PERIPLUS*

The mooted question of the date of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* was again considered by Mr. J. Kennedy in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October, 1916, and he reached the conclusion that "the chief clue is the mention of *Malichos*, whom the author . . . (c. 19) calls the king of the *Nabateans*", and whose reign, according to a *Nabatean* inscription from *Dmēr* on the road between *Damascus* and *Palmyra*, may have ended in A.D. 75 or 76, the inscription being dated from the 24th year of his son *Dabel*, corresponding to the month *Ijarr* of the year 410 according to the Roman, that is *Seleucid*, reckoning, consequently from May, A.D. 99.

This *Dabel* or *Zabel*, son of *Malichas* or *Maliku*, is further identified as the ruler overthrown by the Romans in the time of *Trajan*, A.D. 105. The *Malichas* of the *Periplus* is mentioned also by *Josephus* (*Wars of the*

Jews, iii, 4. 2) as having aided Titus in his attack on Jerusalem A.D. 70.

Further consideration of all names of rulers given in the *Periplus* makes it difficult, however, to fix upon A.D. 75 or 76 as the exact date of that work. We can assume no more than that at some time before 76 its author paid duty at Maliku's port of Leukē Komē on the Red Sea. While several names of rulers are given, their dates apparently do not coincide, and this may be attributed to the fact that the author gives us the record, not of one voyage, but of several, covering a period of at least three years and perhaps many more. Under the conditions of navigation at that time it could not have been otherwise. For the outward journey from Egypt the mariners availed themselves of the etesian winds, setting in at midsummer, which brought them to the Arabian Gulf in time to catch the trade winds across to the coast of India, whence they returned in December and had a southerly wind to carry them up the Red Sea to their destination. Within the same season none of their vessels could make the voyage from Egypt down the African coast to Zanzibar, that across the Indian Ocean to the Gulf of Cambay and down the Malabar coast to Ceylon, and that along the southern coast of Arabia to the Persian Gulf and thence to the mouth of the Indus. The reign of a ruler to whom tribute was paid on one voyage might readily have terminated without the knowledge of the author, whose venture another year was directed elsewhere.

There are mentioned in the *Periplus* the following rulers:—

Ch. 5: Zoscales, king of the people called Axumites. He may be identified with the Za Hakale of the Abyssinian Chronicle, whose dates fixed by Salt a century ago as A.D. 76-89 may be accepted as approximately correct.

Ch. 19: Malichas, or Maliku, king of the Nabataeans (mentioned by Josephus as active in A.D. 70), whose son Zabel, overthrown in A.D. 105, ruled at least until his 25th year, that is from A.D. 80 or 81, and probably, according to the Dmēr inscription, was ruling in A.D. 75 or 76, the year 410 of the Seleucid era.

Ch. 22: Cholæbus, vassal chief of Mapharitis and Azania, the dates of whose administration are unknown.

Ch. 23: Charibael, king of the Homerites and Sabaites, apparently a dynastic title held, according to inscriptions cited by Glaser, by several monarchs during the first century.

Ch. 23: The Emperors, which would seem to refer to a date early in the reign of one Roman emperor before the memory of his predecessor had faded, and which might therefore refer to Vespasian A.D. 69-79, Titus A.D. 79-81, and Domitian A.D. 81-96.

Ch. 27: Eleazus, king of the Frankincense Country. Also a dynastic title, according to inscriptions cited by Glaser, held by several monarchs during the first century.

Ch. 38: Parthian princes at war with each other. Referring apparently to the period after the death of Gondophares about A.D. 51 and before the definite occupation of the Indus delta by the Kushan monarchy about A.D. 90.

Ch. 41: Mambaros, king of Ariaca. Probably Nambanos or Nambanes, and to be identified with the satrap Nahapāna, whose accession may have been commemorated in the Saka era of A.D. 78.

Ch. 52: The elder Saraganes, who had previously governed Calliena. Possibly Arishta Sātavāhanā Sātakarni, the Andhra king, who ruled about A.D. 42-67.

Ch. 52: Sandares, who possessed Calliena. Probably Sundara Sātakarni, the Andhra king, whose reign of one year is placed by Vincent Smith as A.D. 84, but may reasonably be antedated as far as A.D. 80. The Purāṇic

lists, dating from about the fourth century A.D., do not entirely coincide as to the Andhra dynasty.

While several passages in the *Periplus* suggest commercial and political conditions earlier than any of the foregoing dates (perhaps even as early as the Roman-Parthian war of A.D. 58-62), the compilation of the text must fall between A.D. 70 and 89. It is equally clear that the author could not within the same season have met Maliku, who died A.D. 75; Za Hakale, who began to reign A.D. 76; Nahapāna, whose reign began A.D. 78; and Sundara, whose reign of one year came between A.D. 80 and 84. We have here no joint mention of coincident reigns like that which gives the second Rock Edict of Asoka such chronological importance. The *Periplus* must be considered as a compilation, parts of which were several years old when the finishing touches were put upon it. A satisfactory estimate of its date was offered by General M. R. Haig in his *Indus Delta Country*, p. 28: "The author made his voyages at various times between 65 and 75 or 80 A.D. The work was written in the last quarter of the first century A.D." To make allowance for the one-year reign of Sundara we might extend the period of the author's maritime activity as late as A.D. 84. It seems out of the question to synchronize these various monarchs for any single year, and equally out of the question for the author to have made their acquaintance in any single year.

WILFRED H. SCHOFF.

AN OBSCURE QUATRAIN IN BABUR'S MEMOIRS

In these Memoirs for the year 906 A.H., which began in July, 1500, pp. 90, 91 of Leyden & Erskine's translation, there is an account of a poetical contest between Bābur and the poet Banai. Banai, or Binai, was the son of an architect, and from this circumstance he got or took the

name of Banai, which in Persian means a builder. He was a wit and a musician, as well as a poet, and by two jests on the famous 'Ali Sher Navai, one a practical joke, and the other a clever allusion to a supposed bodily defect, he incurred 'Ali Sher's enmity. The consequence was that he had to leave Herat and to take refuge with Shaibāni Khān at Samarqand. But when Bābur retook Samarqand, Banai came to him and was kindly received in spite of the suspicions of Qāsim Beg, one of Bābur's chief officers. Bābur says that as Banai was a man of great knowledge, and Qāsim's charges were not proved, he invited him to return from Kesh, whither Qāsim had banished him.

Banai now addressed an ode to Bābur, and also sent him a quatrain, representing his destitution. He had, he said, neither food nor clothes, and so could not show himself, or display his learning and genius. A leading word in the quatrain was *makhmil* مخمل, which taken by itself means "velvet", but has other meanings when other words are appended. One such qualifying expression is *du khwāba*, which literally means "two bedfellows", but which when added to *makhmil* makes the phrase *makhmil du khwāba* mean "two faces" or "the two sides of a stuff". It is this word *makhmil* which causes perplexity, especially as our two Turki texts, the Ilminsky and the Haidarābādī, have wrongly made the word into *mahmal*. See Ilminsky, p. 107, and the Haidarābādī, p. 87.

At p. 90 of the translation Erskine has a valuable note which the accomplished French translator, M. Pavet de Courteille, seems to have ignored. Erskine's note is as follows:—

"The merit of the verses depends upon an untranslatable play of words in the original. The Persians and Hindustanis are accustomed to divert themselves by ringing changes on their words, *ghalleh, maleh, roti, boti*

(Hindustani for a morsel of meat), etc. The perverted word the Persians call the *mokhmel* of the proper term. The *mokhmel*, or perversion of *ghaleh*, grain, is *maleh*, which happens to signify a sort of reddish-coloured cotton, of which cloth is manufactured. The poet, therefore, by saying that he has not *ghaleh*, grain, nor its *mokhmel*, *maleh*, cotton, gives to understand that he has neither food nor clothing."

Erskine, no doubt, got the above from the Persian Turk of Ganj who assisted him with the Turki text of the Memoirs, though possibly some Uzbeks or the old Bombay scholar Mulla Firūz (described by Maria Graham, who was afterwards Lady Caldecott) may have helped in the interpretation. See his Preface to the Memoirs, p. xi. It comes very near the correct explanation, but seems not to be quite correct, or at least not quite full enough. Erskine, perhaps, misread the word as *muhmal*, as the Turki copyists did, though his spelling it as *makhmal* favours the view that he read it correctly. The word

muhmal *مُحْمَل*, which P. de Courteille adopts, means obsolete, or of no signification, and it also means a word without diacritical points. So if the initial and diacritical letter *gha* of *ghalla* be changed into the undotted letter

mīm (*m*), we get *malla* *مَلَا*, which means nankeen. But if Erskine read the word rightly, he, or his teachers, did not, apparently, know the full force of the word *makhmal*. It has various meanings when used in conjunction with other words, though by itself it may only mean velvet. These various meanings are given in the Bahār 'Ajām, the Ghīās-u-l-loghāt, in Vullers, and in Johnson's edition of Richardson. Thus, as we have seen, *makhmal du khwāba* means double velvet, or velvet through and through, or, as Vullers' Latin has it, "holosericum utrāque facie villosum," and "holosericum valde villosum". Vullers took

this from the Bahār 'Ajam, which, in its turn, may have borrowed the explanation from the *Ghiās L.*, which says (p. 407) that *makhmal du khwāba* is velvet which has *pashm* (hair) on two sides. It seems that this *makhmal* is the word which Banai used, and Bābur understood, and that the poet meant to say that he had neither grain nor velvet.

M. P. de Courteille's explanation need not detain us long. His note (vol. i, p. 188, of his translation) has *muhmel-i-galleh*, and he explains this by saying that *galleh* means produce or provision, but that it also has the little used, that is, *muhmal* sense of clothing. But there does not appear to be any evidence that *ghalla* ever means clothes.

Bābur replied to Banai by a Turkī quatrain, in which he said that he would give him food, clothes, and a stipend. The grain, he said, shall fill your house, and the *mahmal* cover your body. Banai rejoined by a Turkī quatrain, in which he endeavoured to preserve Bābur's rhymes. It said that as Bābur had given him so much for an unmeaning or perverted word (*mahmal*, or according to my reading, *makhmal*), what might he not expect for using a correct (*mast'amal*) word. Another poet objected to Banai's rhymes, and to his missing out the *redif* (which Mr. Gibb translates by "pillion-rider"), and capped Banai's lines by a quatrain in which he preserved Bābur's *redifs*.

Though I think that Banai used the word *makhmal* on account of its meaning velvet, I am not sure if he did not also want to take advantage of the word *mahmal*.

As Mr. Gibb points out in his *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. i, 98, *mahmal* means an undotted letter. *Ghalla*, grain, being a word with a dotted initial letter,

its *mahmal* would be 'alhā *على*, and I find in Richardson that 'alhā means in Arabic a kind of vest. It seems to

me that this is more likely to be the word meant by Banai than Erskine's *maleh*.

Banai was killed by the Persians, with whom Bābur was then serving, in the massacre of Qārshī in 1512.

H. BEVERIDGE.

THE MONGOL TITLE TARKHAN

Is it possible that there is a connexion between this ancient Oriental title and the Etruscan proper name Tareon or Tarchon? It is an old tradition that the Etruscans came from Asia. See the *Æneid*, viii, 603, and Heyne's *Excursus* thereon, and also the *Æneid*, xi, 727, for Tarchon, and Blochmann's translation of the *Ayin Akbarī*, 364, and the T. Rashīdī, Denison Ross and Ney Elias, 55 and note.

Tarchon is evidently a variant of the proper name Tarquin. The Tarquins were an Etruscan family, and their tombs have been discovered at Caere, as Mommsen states in chapter 9 of book i.

H. BEVERIDGE.

AN UNKNOWN WORK BY IBN JINNI

Among the latest acquisitions of the British Museum there is a MS. (Or. 7764) headed: "The *manhāka* of Abu Nowās, interpreted by Abūl Fath Othmān ibn Jinnī." The MS. consists of twenty leaves, and is thoroughly vocalised. The poem itself, which is not among those published by the late Professor Ahlwardt, is also found in the two MSS. of the *Diwān* of Abu Nowās, preserved in the same collection (Add. 19404 and 24948), as well as in the printed edition (Cairo, A.H. 1277). All these volumes, however, only give the statement that the poem was composed in honour of Al Fadhl b. Al Rabī, the vizier of Harūn al Rashīd (see Ibn Khallikān, translated by De Slane, ii, p. 469). The word *manhāka* does not

refer to the contents of the poem, but is a technical term of prosody, describing an abridged form of *rajaʿ* (see Freytag, *Darstellung*, etc., p. 236). The commentary was written, as stated in the preface, in response to a real or fictitious request by a pupil of the author who had studied the poem under the famous grammarian Abu-l-Hasan Aliy b. Ahmad b. Abd al Ghafār of Baghdād (see Ibn Khalliqān, i, p. 379; Flügel, *Grammatische Schulen*, p. 110).

The MS. in question was copied by Othmān b. Al Hajjār, who finished his work on the 17th Rabi' ii, A.H. 680 (1281). He prefaced his work by a poem addressed to a certain Hakīm billāh. These verses, however, neither refer to the poem nor to Ibn Jinni's commentary, but are merely a begging letter without any literary value. The writer complains that he is smitten by the disease of poverty, and requests the *hakīm* (physician) to give him a healing draught.

The condition of the MS., unfortunately, leaves much to be desired. Of the main poem the leaves 4 to 11, 18 to 19, 29 to 30, with their annotations, are missing, these gaps even interfering with Ibn Jinni's notes on verses which are extant. Many other passages are defective in the middle as well as on the corners of the leaves. The commentary itself is primarily grammatical.

The strangest feature of the work is that no record of it is found in any of the Arab books of reference. Neither Ibn Khalliqān nor the Fihrist in their articles on Ibn Jinni (ii, p. 191), nor Hāji Khalfa mention this commentary, and it therefore does not figure in the list of his writings given by Flügel (l.c., p. 244).

There is, of course, the possibility of the work being considered pseudepigraphic. This, however, is rendered improbable in the first instance by the colophon (as given above), to which the writer added the words that the work was copied from an original written on papyrus and

collated to the utmost of his ability (ناقلتها من نسخة)

(سقية وقابلتها حسب الطاقة والامكان). Secondly, the author frequently quotes the opinion of his above-named teacher in contradistinction to his own. Finally, there is no reason visible why so manifestly learned an author should have concealed his name. The authenticity of the work can, therefore, scarcely be doubted.

The defective condition of the MS. is a serious hindrance to its independent publication till another copy is discovered. It would, however, form a valuable adjunct to the publication of the remainder of Abu Nowās' poems yet inedited.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

SEVERUS OF ASHMÛNAIN

1. HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF THE COPTIC CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA. Arabic text edited, translated, and annotated by B. EVETTS. Parts I-IV. In *Patrologia Orientalis*. Paris, 1904.
2. HISTORIA PATRIARCHUM ALEXANDRINARUM. Edidit CHR. FRED SEYBOLD. Fasc. I, II. In *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. Bairût, 1904.

The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria by Severus has long been known as a valuable source for the history of Egypt under Muhammadan rule, though it now comes out in print for the first time. At the present rate of progress the publication will take several years to complete, and as an important part of the Muhammadan period has already been covered a preliminary notice will not be amiss.

The patriarchs as heads of the Coptic Church claim apostolic succession from St. Mark. Severus was bishop of Ashmûnain in Egypt, and flourished towards the end of the tenth century of our era. He collects the lives of the whole patriarchal line from the evangelist down to his own time. His work has been continued to the twelfth century and provided with appendices to the nineteenth. He writes in Arabic because it had become the common language of Egypt by his day.

The published portion of the book ends in the middle of the ninth century, each of the two editions stopping at precisely the same point. The book, up to here at least, is a compilation. In the part from the seventh century onwards, which alone concerns us, many, if not all, the lives are contemporary documents unaltered, it would

seem, otherwise than by having been translated into Arabic where the originals were in Coptic or in Greek. These lives give more or less regularly certain particulars about each patriarch, such as how and when he was elected, and how and when he died, and likewise an account of events in his term of office. Some of the lives are much longer proportionately than others. The authors were monks or priests, and naturally tell their story in such a way as to magnify the patriarchs and exalt the Church. Considerable prominence is given, therefore, to visions, miracles, and wonders. Little skill in composition is shown, and the narrative is often vague and uncircumstantial and sometimes even pointless. The inequality of the lives, their bias, and their dullness and confusedness are obvious defects. Their great merit is the quantity of historical information they contain. The tone towards the patriarchs is uniformly too laudatory for any distinct portrait of their character to be formed. About the internal and external affairs of the Coptic Church, a good deal is to be learnt. The patriarch was not free from difficulties arising from the disloyalty of his own followers, and had also to contend with heretics. The latter included the Chalcedonians, members of the Oriental church of Constantinople, which still preserved a following in Egypt after the Arab conquest, and also some sects of native Christians, those mentioned most frequently being the Gaianians and the Barsanufians. Friendly relations with the Syrian Church of Antioch were maintained, and some kind of control, perhaps rather shadowy, was exercised over the churches of Nubia, Abyssinia, and North Africa.

One of the topics most constantly illustrated is the treatment of the native Christians by the Muhammadans. From an early date the sanction of the Muslim authorities for the appointment of a patriarch was required, and occasionally permission was refused or a bribe for it was

demanded. Now and then Muslim officials pressed for the preferment of nominees by whom they had been suborned. In some cases Christians of one denomination were given authority over those of another, a galling state of affairs, for nearly all the different sects hated one another cordially and none cared in any case to submit to leaders other than its own. Several times patriarchs were arrested on charges (always false) of more or less serious offences. Occasionally they were imprisoned or fined or money was extorted from them. Now and then they were insulted and even subjected to personal violence. One of them was assailed in church with sword and knife and escaped by a miracle. The followers of a patriarch wrongfully accused of coining money were severely beaten before the charge was shown to be untrue. A bishop was flogged for helping a patriarch to evade arrest. Another on some other charge was cruelly beaten. Some of the governors and officials hated Christians, one of them in particular being noted as harsh to them and overbearing. Others, however, were well disposed to them and treated them kindly.

Cases of the desecration of churches and the profanation of paintings and images occurred. A general order for all crosses in Egypt to be broken was issued, and was repeated after an interval of a few years. Once the bishops were kept away for three years from their sees, and once the liturgies of the Christians were forbidden. Churches were burnt now and then in military and civil commotions. One hears of a church treasury being sequestered, of marble columns being taken away from churches, of church plate having to be broken up to meet taxes. On the other hand, the building or restoration of churches was quite frequent, and we even hear of churches built by the order of a Muhammadan governor. Once or twice measures were taken against monks, and for a time new admissions to monastic orders were

forbidden. The Christians were burdened by the constantly increasing pressure of taxation and by the severity of the measures taken to prevent evasion. They suffered also from the injustice and the rapacity of the officials.

On the whole the Christians were oppressed. When the details are examined it can be seen that they suffered partly on account of religious prejudice and partly for other reasons. A question worth carefully considering would be whether the Muhammadan government at any time made a direct attack upon the Christian religion. Severus gives some ground for supposing that during the first half of the eighth century something in the nature of a regular religious persecution was attempted. The persecution, if there was one, was in any case of a mild type. The Coptic Church does not claim a single martyr during the period, and there is no record of trials or punishments for matters of faith.

Christians became subject to a poll-tax from which Muhammadans were exempt, and they were disqualified also for some public offices. According to Severus, the special tax was introduced by 'Umar ibn 'Abd el 'Aziz. Some change must, however, have occurred subsequently, for it appears that Hafs ibn el Walid a few years later ordered that the poll-tax should not be levied on Muslims, and hence it is evident that at the time of the order converts to Islâm were paying it. At the beginning of the Abbasid period an order from the Khalif, general throughout his dominions, exempted converts from the poll-tax, and there is no mention of a change afterwards. An obscure passage shows that 'Umar ibn 'Abd el 'Aziz made some rule about officials which prevented Christians holding posts that had been open to them before. In both ways strong inducement to Christians to become Muhammadans was offered, and it can be seen three or four times that conversions on a large scale took place in consequence.

Civil warfare raged in Egypt almost continuously throughout the reign of El Ma'mûn, and some idea is given of the miserable condition to which the people were reduced thereby. Now and then Muhammadans of distinction come in for notice, generally of a cursory kind, their character being summed up in a word or two. Of the Arabs little good is said. As a rule the principal feature attributed to them is their love of money and their greed. Hishâm and El Ma'mûn, however, are commended, and the remarks about 'Abd el 'Aziz suggest a favourable impression. Abû 'Aun and Ibn Tâhir, who were Persians, are well spoken of.

The flight of Marwân into Egypt and his pursuit by the Abbasids are described at length. The account of the general circumstances, though rather confused, is detailed, and helps to explain what took place. The writer here was an eye-witness of some of the closing scenes in the tragedy of the last of the Umayyad Khalifs and relates what he himself beheld. Marwân was undecided what to do, and vainly hoped by Hun-like wasting of the country to stop his relentless pursuers. One sees him on the western side of the Nile sheltered by the river amidst a rabble of fugitives, his enemies gathering in increasing numbers on the opposite shore and hurling curses across the water, Fustât, which he had fired, burning or burnt. A rare life-like picture of this event is given. To the narrator, the overthrow of Marwân meant the defeat and downfall of the Arabs, particularly those of Quraish, and the victors, whom he always calls *Khurāsāniyîn*, stood for a different race. In effect, the triumph of the Abbasids over the Umayyads implied that the Arabs had been overcome by the Persians. It is worth noting that it appeared so clearly in this light to an independent observer at the time.

A story of a miracle helps one to see how the Arabs from the desert had crowded to Egypt in the early part

of the second century of the Hijrah. Certain facts as to the nationality of various officials at different times emerge, together with a detail or two as to the revenue and some particulars of the administration. An invasion of Egypt by the Nubians in the second century, not mentioned by the Muhammadan authors, is recorded. There are a couple of passages having some bearing upon the progress of the Arabic language in Egypt. Miscellaneous items of information concerning Egyptian history and now and then that of countries outside occur.

When one considers how little the Muhammadan writers tell us concerning the history of Egypt in the period in question, how late the earliest of them wrote, and how different is their point of view, the importance of Severus is realized.

Mr. Evetts' edition is based upon seven MSS., the principal variants being given in footnotes. The text has hardly any vowels, but vocalization is unnecessary owing to the translation, which is concurrent with the text and occupies the lower half of the page, a convenient arrangement. Further notes on the text concerning difficult passages are promised, together with other useful matter—a catalogue of the patriarchs and governors, indices, and a list of Arabic ecclesiastical terms taken from other languages. The general get up of the book is excellent. The Arabic types, designed and cut specially for the *Patrologia*, are elegant and clear. The editor has evidently been lavish of his pains. Misprints are extremely rare. All difficulties have been faced and grappled with, and many problems have been solved and obscurities removed. The translation, while faithful, is in good and well-chosen English. Altogether the edition is an excellent one, of a kind that is not often produced, and when it is completed will leave no room for any other.

Mr. Seybold's edition is a humbler work. He mentions nine MSS. as having been consulted, but the variants

given are not many, and the readings of doubtful passages are generally inferior to those given by Mr. Evetts. Few vowels are indicated and the notes give little help. Such an edition need not cost a great deal of trouble to the editor, for nearly all the difficulties are left to the reader.

When there are so many Arabic texts still requiring publication, it is unfortunate that two editions of the same should come out at the same time, one of which is so manifestly beneath the quality of the other and adds so little to it that it represents a waste of labour.

Points of detail are noticed in the following:—

Remarks on the Texts

E(vetts) 226. For Habib read Hubaib. This correction should be made throughout. The valley was called after Hubaib ibn Mughfil, a well-known ṣaḥābī. See e.g. Yâqût, 4. 880. This name in the life of Benjamin suggests that the life may be rather late.

S(eybold) 106. 17. For اسقف read اسيف with E.

E. 228. سادمه, translated "he dammed it up". Is there any authority for such a meaning, and even if there is, what could be the event referred to? S. 107 reads سادمة, but the difficulty is equally great, unless there is some place of this name. In any case it might have been well to have indicated in the translation that there is a difficulty in the text here.

S. 106. 19. For فصادفهم read فصادم with E.

E. 229. ثلاث. All the MSS. read ثمان. Mr. Evett alters "eight" to "three" without showing in the translation that there is any doubt about the reading. Of course,

"eight" must be wrong historically, but it seems likely that it is the author who is in error. Possibly cases of this sort will be dealt with in the final notes.

S. 107. 8. السامرة read السامرة with E.

E. 237. For اهراء read اهراء.

E. 263. The passage about the burning is obscure. It is suggested that the meaning is that the bishops were sent to Sakhâ on account of some people there whom the local officials (not necessarily clerks) had condemned to be burnt. "The bishops were directed to look into their crime . . . they put their case right and they were pardoned from burning."

E. 263. ظفرا, proposed as a substitute for the unintelligible طافوا, seems to require too wide a departure from the text.

E. 266 تفسيره and S. 125. 12 بسفيرة.

E. 270 اقبل and S. 127. 17 اقبل.

In these two last passages the editors differ as to the readings of the original MSS.

S. 135. 21. الغايانيسين. E. reads الغايانيسين, which seems evidently right, and does not indicate any other reading in the MSS.

S. 136. 8. For سيمون read سيمون.

S. 142. 22. For وعفته read وعفته.

E. 311. اصحاب rather "followers" than "friends".

E. 322. اخصى "mutilated". Read احدى "enumerated".

E. 327. كشط "removed". The meaning seems to be "effaced". See Dozy, Suppl.

S. 158. 11. For سنة read شهر with E.

E. 342. The text says nothing about "striking his father on the face and head with his dead body", and the idea appears to be rather ridiculous. What it says is, "after they had first ripped open his belly and struck therewith the face and head of his father." The meaning, though expressed ungrammatically, seems plain.

E. 349. For ريان read زبآن. S. is content with the impossible وثاب. A list of the family of 'Abd el 'Aziz is given by Ibn Sa'd, v, 175.

E. 359. سنياً. Perhaps the right reading may be سَيِّئاً.

Cf. سَيِّئاً (327) كان خائفاً من الله على طريق الاسلام. in S., without the hamzah, makes no sense.

S. 173. كوثر. E. 371 properly corrects to حوثره.

S. 174. 6. بفته is meaningless.

E. 373. For تبعه read بغيه, "his wrongdoing."

E. 374. For Wadi read Wādi; so also 345, 366. For Naṣīr read Nuṣair.

E. 388. المواريث. This should apparently be read الموازيت. See Becker in *Islām*, Bd. ii, 363.

E. 398. For some reason the references to the pages of the principal MS. become intermittent after this point, and are discontinued altogether in the next part.

E. 399. القيس. The reading and the translation, "the tribe of Al-Kais," do not seem to be justifiable. It can hardly be supposed that Qais worshipped idols at this time.

E. 399. اربع وستين. This ought probably to be read as in the MSS., i.e. "this happened in the year [4]64 and [the Muhammadan year 1]30". Seybold is content to print nonsense here, and by suppressing وثلاثين without a note makes it impossible to restore the meaning from his edition.

E. 412. صلبته, "impale his body." The meaning seems to be "crucify him".

E. 413. For El Aswâd read El Aswad.

E. 432, 438, 448. An-Nuzahât. It seems likely that the right reading is Bûhât. *Khali*j Bûhah is mentioned by Kindî (270) in such a way as to show that it was on the same side of the Nile as Jizah and not far distant.

S. reads (200. 20) البرهات and (203. 7, 10; 208. 3)

البوهات, on the authority of a single MS., but does not show whether there is any ground for preferring the latter.

E. 432. عدة. "Ammunition" is not a happy rendering of this word; "equipment" might be better.

E. 437. For Hautharah read Kauthar. S. reads كوتر, and neither editor indicates any variation from the MSS.

E. 440. ريان, "Rayân." Read زَبَّان with S. 204.

E. 441. الفرسيون. The right reading seems to be القرشيون, and according to S. 204 this (in the acc.) is actually given by one MS., and in the others the pointing of only one letter has to be altered to arrive at the same sense, for القريشيون would be equally admissible.

الفرسيون, as printed by Mr. Evetts, would not be correct for Persians, and Mr. Seybold's الخُرَّسِيين seems to have nothing to warrant it. It is contrary to probability that Marwân had a body of Persians with him. On the other hand, Marwân stood for Quraish particularly.

E. 460. "And Abû Muslim was called his uncle." The meaning seems to be "it is said that Abû Muslim was his uncle". Cf. "nephew of Abû Muslim" (478).

E. 514. "El Laith, son of El Fadl." This emendation of the impossible Labith el-Daulah is probably correct in that it refers to the right individual, but it is hard to see how so great a corruption can have taken place in all the MSS. Probably the original read "Laith Ed Daulah".

E. 541. El Ma'mûn. The gross perversion of fact here is curious, and is an instance of how little the lives can be trusted for external affairs.

E. 544. For Madlajah read Mudlij.

E. 556. For البرية read البرية.

E. 597. Nakyûs. The same place is rendered elsewhere Niciu (e.g. 227, 243).

E. 600. Ibn el Asbat. This is the Ibn Asbat of Arab authors. See e.g. Kindl, 502.

E. 601. "Death put an end to their sufferings." The meaning required by the context seems to be "they were at the point of death".

E. 608. For Tandâ perhaps read Tidâ.

E. 609. عتیبہا واعتابہا. Whether these words will bear the meaning assigned to them or not, the reading of *S. عتیبہا واعتابہا* seems to be the right one—"the reason of their rebellion was the tyranny of the two overseers of taxes to them, their excessive corruption and their harshness."

A. R. G.

CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE ÉCONOMIQUE D'UMMA. Par le Dr. G. CONTENAU, élève diplômé de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Paris: Champion. 1915.

The importance of this formerly unknown town of Umma (if the reading be correct¹) increases as time goes on. As is now well known, it is represented by the Babylonian ruin-mounds bearing the Arabic name of Jokha, which is evidently an early transcription of its old ideographic name *Gišūha*.

The work consists of the copies and translations of 100 tablets belonging to the École pratique des Hautes-Études, acquired in 1912, by the recommendation of Professor Scheil, to serve as practice-tablets for the students of the school in reading Babylonian inscriptions. The copies here given are good, though somewhat conventional.

A few pages are devoted to the part played by Umma in Babylonian history, from which it would seem that

¹ See *The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection* (Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. xvi), pp. vii-viii.

the earliest known ruler was named *Surušgi*, as communicated by Professor Scheil. Others have been communicated by Thureau-Dangin, Scheil, Genouillac, and the author. They number about seventeen, and are set down as having reigned between 2850 and 2188 B.C.

In the main, these texts are somewhat commonplace, as they deal with the delivery of what may be called farm-produce, like so many of the texts of that period, not only from Umma, but also from the other chief cities of Babylonia. Live-stock form the subject of seven tablets, plaited work or the means of producing such work are mentioned on four, woven stuffs are referred to by four, copper and copper vessels are the subjects of seven, etc. The following example will give an idea of the nature of one of the shorter inscriptions (p. 3):—

60 10 8 4 × 60 <i>še-gur-lugal</i>	78 gur 240 qa d'orge,
<i>še-ba ša(g)-gu(d)</i>	mesure royale,
<i>Dingir-saharra</i>	ration du bétail de D-
<i>itu ab²-ta itu pap-e-ú-e-šu</i>	<i>Saharra,</i>
<i>itu-bi itu 8-ám</i>	du mois de <i>Ab²</i> , au mois de
5. <i>ki]-Ur-dingir-Ne-gún-ta</i>	<i>Pap-ú-e</i> ;
R. <i>Lugal-giš-sar šu-ba-ti</i>	celà fait 8 mois.
<i>mu a-du 2-kam Gan-ḥar-ki ba-ḥul</i>	De la part de <i>Ur-d.-Ne-gún</i> ,
	<i>Lugal-giš-sar</i> en a pris
	livraison.
	Année où pour la 2 ^e fois,
	<i>Gan-ḥar</i> a été ravagé.
	(D. 41.)

SEAL

Lugal-giš-sar
dub-sar

Lugal-giš-sar
scribe

dumu Lugal-azag-ga-ni. fils de *Lugal-azag-ga-ni.*

This is the date corresponding with the 28th in the Dungi-list at Philadelphia. It is regarded as Dungi's 34th year by Radau, owing, apparently, at least partly,

to the gap in the list, between the obverse and the reverse.

A few words identifying the dates would have been welcomed by students and those who cannot carry in their heads such copious details as they represent.

On the whole, the transcriptions and translations are well done, but it is more than doubtful whether the determinative prefixes (*dingir*, "god," etc.) were pronounced when the names were uttered. An attempt might also have been made to give the pronunciation of the Sumerian numerals rather than represent them, in the transcriptions, by the usual modern (Arabic) numerals.

The work, however, is a valuable contribution to the study, and well done. There are sections upon the art of Umma, the calendar in use, and on the contents of the tablets. We shall probably have still more important contributions to our knowledge of Assyro-Babylonian texts and literature from Dr. Contenau.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By EDOUARD NAVILLE, LL.D., etc., Professor of the University of Geneva. The Schweich Lectures, 1915. Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford. 1916.

As the author states in the Preface, this work is a further development of the ideas which he put forward in his book, *Archæology of the Old Testament*.

The earliest of the books of the Old Testament, he goes on to say, were written in Babylonian cuneiform, and the later books in Aramaic. "Their present form was given to them when the rabbis turned the books into the vernacular of Jerusalem, to which a new script, the square Hebrew, derived from Aramaic, was adapted. The Judaic dialect, written with that alphabet, is what we call Hebrew."

This and other statements have naturally been recognized as destroying the "Higher Criticism" by cutting away its very foundations, for instead of the use of certain words and phrases in the various books being due to the authors, it must be due to the translators who may have dealt with the various sections of each book.¹

It is impossible to deal with all the points dealt with in this closely-reasoned monograph, but a typical example of Naville's arguments will be found in his treatment of the blessing of Joseph's sons by Jacob (pp. 10, 11). The author notices the simplicity of the language, so beautiful and natural in its "oneness" (so to say) throughout. Yet this gem of consistent Hebrew literary composition is divided by the "Higher Critics" into what have been called "snippets", Jahvist and Elohist, according as the sentences or phrases contained specifically Jahvist or Elohist words or names.

Even ardent admirers of the Higher Criticism, on reading certain of the arguments of a book like this, must feel constrained to admit that all is not well with their theories, and that their enthusiasm has in certain cases been allowed to obscure their common-sense. Whether Professor Naville's theory will prove, in the end, its supremacy over the many very noteworthy contentions of the Higher Critics, however, remains to be seen.

Professor Naville contends that the literary language of Palestine in the time when Abraham entered the country was "Babylonian cuneiform" (p. 36). That the *script* was Babylonian cuneiform seems to be exceedingly probable, but did all the literary lights of the land use only the Babylonian language? In writing to Pharaoh's scribe at Tel-al-Amarna, they certainly used the Babylonian, but in most cases it is Babylonian written by


¹ See the notice of Professor Naville's reply to Professor Gressmann, pp. 188, 189.

people not familiar with it as with their mother-tongue—indeed, the only really satisfactory section of the Tel-al-Amarna letters is that from Babylonia, for in these alone have the language and the writing the true Babylonian stamp.

Far be it from me, however, to contend that this constitutes a real difficulty to the acceptance of Professor Naville's theory. The Pentateuch may have been written by one (Moses, says Professor Naville) who could speak, and therefore write, Akkadian like his mother-tongue. But is it not more probable that, whilst using the cuneiform script, he wrote in his own language? In the tenth chapter of Genesis the name of Nimrod (a lengthening and a shortening, and a mutilation of Amar-uduk or Merodach), and the placing of Babel (Babylon) first, point to a Babylonian source, but why have we Erech instead of Uruch, and still more striking, Calneh instead of Niffur or Nippur? Asshur, again, instead of Assur, points to a Babylonian source, for in the Babylonian (Akkadian) dialect *s* and *sh* were reproduced more as in Hebrew—the Assyrians seem to have reversed this, and pronounced *sh* and *s*.

Naturally the absence of any script of the nature of what might be called "prehistoric Phœnician" is a strong argument in Professor Naville's contention, at least as far as the writing is concerned.

How and when the Phœnician alphabet grew, we do not know, but it must have come into existence, as Professor Naville contends, at a comparatively late date, and we may imagine that it is a Palestinian—not necessarily Phœnician—production. Indeed, it may have been suggested to the first users by the Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform script which, in countries where Egyptian was not used, held sway. One example only may have sufficed to start the invention to a successful development, and that example may have been, as likely as not,

the first letter of the alphabet—the letter *aleph*, א, in line cuneiform , *ālu*, "an ox," here represented by the animal's head. *Beth* has been described as a tent with the peg for fixing it to the ground, *gimel* was probably the picture of a camel, *daleth* was the triangular opening of a tent—"door", and so forth. The genius of one practical man it probably was which cleared away the cumbersome script of Babylonia, and produced the parent of our modern alphabets.

The missing links may never be found, but the "Higher Criticism" will always have to reckon with Professor Naville's theory of the translation of the Hebrew scriptures, which accounts for all the peculiarities of language which scholars have ever found therein, without cutting the sacred books up into "snippets".

T. G. PINCHES.

BANGĀLĀR ITIHĀS: PRATHAM BHĀG. ŚRĪ - RĀKHĀLDĀS VANDYOPĀDHYĀY PRAṆĪT. Calcutta: Bengal Medical Library, 1321 (1914). pp. [3], 10, 27, 326; 31 plates. R. 2.8.

PRĀCĪN MUDRĀ: PRATHAM BHĀG. ŚRĪ - RĀKHĀLDĀS VANDYOPĀDHYĀY PRAṆĪT. Calcutta: Bengal Medical Library, 1322 (1915). pp. [3], 15, [1], 220, 16; 20 plates. R. 2.

Mr. Rākhāldās Banerji, late assistant in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and recently appointed to succeed Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar as Superintendent of the Western Circle in the Archæological Survey, is one of the best known Indian workers in the field of epigraphy and numismatics. His "Studies in Ancient Indian History" (*Indian Antiquary*, 1908), his paper on "The Pāla Kings of Bengal" (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1915), and other writings in English are characterized by

an open mind and the employment of sound methods and reliable materials. The two volumes of which the titles are given above should not be passed over in this Journal simply because they are written in the author's native Bengali. It is, indeed, a gratifying fact that the modern devotion of Bengali writers to their own language should cover the production of works having so strictly sober and methodical a character.

Mr. Banerji's style is simple and entirely matter of fact, more so, indeed, than would be expected in an English work treating of the same subjects. His statements are supported by constant citations of standard works on Indian numismatics, epigraphy, and history, and of the Orientalist journals. There is no expatiation or literary pose, which indeed would be quite out of place where the material consists almost entirely of impersonal facts gleaned from records on stone or coinage. Early Indian history is still, and perhaps will always remain, a patch-work of external facts; and even the possibility of piecing it together at all satisfactorily seemed doubtful until the publication of Mr. Vincent Smith's well-known work.

The history of Bengal in any consecutive sense really commences with the Pāla dynasty in the eighth century A.D. Consequently the first six chapters of Mr. Banerji's work (pp. 1-137) comprise mainly, as he himself indicates in his Preface, the general history of India with a few scattered notices of Bengal. The first chapter deals with pre-history down to the Stone Age, taking note of the chipped flints which have come to light in Bengal. In the *second* chapter we trace the evidence of connexions between pre-Aryan (Dravidian) India and the Mesopotamian kingdoms, the first appearance of Indo-Europeans (in connexion with the Mitanni and Kassites) in that region, the ethnological character (mixed Dravidian and Mongolian) of the population of Bengal, and the earliest references in Sanskrit literature (*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*,

Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, etc.) thereto. An interesting Babylonian seal of about 2000 B.C., discovered in Central India, is cited and illustrated. Chapter iii deals with the Mauryas, Śakas, and Kushans, marshalling the evidence, chiefly numismatic, for the extension of the sovereignty of the two last into Bengal. Mr. Banerji ascribes the rise of the Nandas to a reaction of non-Aryan elements against the Aryan domination. The fall of the Mauryas is dated 185 B.C. The following period is, as regards Bengal, extremely obscure. The Guptas of Magadha no doubt persisted, but they exercised no wide dominion. About the end of the third century A.D. a certain Candrarman of Puskarāṇā, in the Rajputana desert, extended his sway over all Northern India; an inscription of his is found in Bānkurā in Bengal.

Chapters iv and v treat of the Imperial Guptas, who originated in Magadha, and their successors, whose rule was confined to Eastern India. As regards the latter, Mr. Banerji traces their origin from Govindagupta, second son of Candragupta II, and considers that the rise of the Maukhari kingdom of Kanauj was more or less contemporaneous. He holds that the numismatic evidence connects Śaśāṅka, or Narendragupta (Narendrāditya), through the Magadha family, with the Imperial Guptas. The circumstances of the time of Harṣavardhana are treated with some fulness. The defeat of Grahavarman and subsequently of Rājyavardhana, the story of whose treacherous murder Mr. Banerji distrusts, is ascribed to a combination of two Gupta powers, the Guptas of Mālava and Śaśāṅka.

The end of the seventh century B.C. and the early part of the eighth was a time of confusion in India, marked by a beginning of interference on the part of South Indian powers, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and others, in the affairs of the North. To this period belongs Yaśovarman of Kanauj, and even the Kashmir sovereigns (Lalitāditya and others) extended

their influence eastwards. Chapter vi, entitled "Sovereignty in Abeyance" (*Arājakatā*), contains also a discussion of the legendary importation of five Brahman families into Bengal by a king Ādiśūra. The story, which has been much discussed, is also treated in an appendix dealing with the historical value of the *Kulaśāstra*, or caste-book.

In chapters vii (Rise of the Pāla house), viii (Feud of the Gurjaras and Rāṣtrakūṭas), ix (Second Pāla Empire), x (Fall of the Pāla Dynasty), xi (Sena Dynasty), xii (Musalman Conquest) Mr. Banerji is quite on his own ground. The epigraphical material begins to be plentiful, and Mr. Banerji makes abundant use of it. There are also some references, hardly reliable, in Tāranātha's Tibetan history of Buddhism. It is clear that the founders of the Pāla dynasty, Gopāla and Dharmapāla, had a hard struggle with their Rāṣtrakūṭa and Gurjara-Pratihāra enemies. It was the rivalry of the two latter that chiefly assisted them; but it had for India in general a much greater importance, as the Rāṣtrakūṭas, out of fear of the Gurjaras, encouraged the early Musalman inroads. Weakened by the struggles with the Pratihāra Gurjaras of Kanauj, the first Pāla dynasty ended with Vighrahapāla II, in whose time we hear of Kāamboja (Tibeto-Burman) rulers in Northern Bengal. Mahipāla I (second half of the tenth century A.D.), the son of Vighrahapāla II, restored the dynasty. At this period the great powers of South India, Cālukyas of Kalyān, Kalacuris, Colas, and others, make invasions into Hindustan, and soon there comes the time of the Musalman inroads of Mahmūd of Ghaznī and his followers. The fall of the Pāla house is completed about the end of the eleventh century A.D. The Senas, who succeeded, lasted until the Muhammadan conquest. Lakṣmaṇa-sena, a patron of literature, is the subject of monographs by Professor Pischel and by Mr. Banerji.

In appendices to the various chapters Mr. Banerji gives

genealogies or discusses particular matters, such as "the historical value of the *Kulaśāstra*" (ch. vi) and "the Śūra dynasty" (ch. ix). He supplies a full index of proper names. The thirty-one plates in the volume are illustrations of archæology, sculpture, epigraphy, and numismatics.

If we might make a suggestion in view of a re-edition of this excellent work, we would suggest that the precise references to the place and date of the discovery of the materials cited in evidence should be relegated to notes, where they will less interrupt the course of the narrative.

Prācin mudrā is another work of a strictly scientific character. Its chief appeal is to specialists in numismatics, in view of whom we may take note of the contents, which are as follows :—

Chapter i, "Earliest Indian Coins" (with classifications, tables of weights, and citations of literary authorities, Quintus Curtius, Pāṇini, Buddhist authorities, modern writers).

Chapter ii, "Foreign Coins in Early India" (Lydian, Babylonian, Achæmenid standards, Persian, Greek, Greco-Bactrian, and other coins).

Chapter iii, "Coins of Greek kings" (considerations of types and relative dates).

Chapter iv, "Coins of Śaka kings."

Chapter v, "Coins of Kushan kings."

Mr. Banerji has here an interesting discussion of the history of the Kaniṣka dynasty. He holds that the Kaniṣka of the year 41 is the same as in the earlier inscriptions, and that Huviṣka's rule, so far as it was contemporary, was confined to the eastern portion of the empire centring upon Mathura. In the later generations he admits a second Kaniṣka and a second and third Vāsudeva.

Chapter vi, "Coins of the Jānapada king and of the *gaṇas*."

Chapter vii, "Coins of the Guptas."

Chapter viii, "Saurāṣṭra and Mālava Coins" (the Kṣatrapas).

Chapter ix, "Early South Indian Coins" (Āndhras, Bodhi-kings, Koṅgudeśa, Colas, Pallavas, Cālukyas, Kādambas, Yādavas, Vijayanagar).

Chapter x, "Imitations of Sassanian Coins" (Hūnas, etc.).

Chapter xi, "Medieval Coins of Hindustan" (Western).

Chapter xii, Ditto (Madhyadeśa).

The text is accompanied by twenty plates, with descriptions of the coins, and an index of names. It must be admitted that in respect of clearness the printing of the plates leaves something to be desired.

This volume may be cordially recommended to the attention of specialists. The author, as late superintendent of the Coin Department in the Indian Museum, writes with full competence, and his statements are supported by constant reference to the literature.

F. W. THOMAS.

DE BUDDHISTISCHE NON GESCHETST NAAR GEGEVENS DER PĀLI-LITERATUUR. Door MARIA ELISABETH LULIUS VAN GOOR. Leiden, 1915. pp. viii+[2], 247+[1]; 2 plates, with pp. [1], 5 of "Stellingen".

Miss Lulius van Goor's work was undertaken as a thesis for the degree of doctor in the University of Leiden, where she had the advantage of studying with the late Professor Speijer and after his lamented death in 1914 with his successor, Professor J. Ph. Vogel. She also acknowledges indebtedness for much help from Emeritus Professor H. Kern, in whom our Oriental studies have recently lost a veritable patriarch.

The feminine portion of the Buddhist community has been made the subject of special study both by Mrs. Rhys Davids and by Mrs. Bode, who published in the

Transactions of the London Congress (1913, vol. i, pp. 341-61) articles having the common title "Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation". Mrs. Bode's paper, which gives in Pali text and translation—from the commentary on the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya*—the legends of thirteen *Therīs* mentioned in that text, was printed at length in this Journal for 1893. Mrs. Rhys Davids has since (1909) issued under the title "Psalms of the Early Buddhists. 1.—Psalms of the Sisters" a spirited translation of the *Therī-gāthā* with introductions giving the legends (from the commentary), which are also contemplated in the, free, translation. Dr. Neumann's German version (*Thera-* and *Therī-gāthā*), rather literal and independent of the commentary, appeared in 1899. Miss van Goor has made full use of these predecessors, with especial appreciation of our esteemed English colleagues. The Buddhist nun is therefore secure of a sympathetic regard.

Buddha is stated to have consented reluctantly, and only at the intercession of his favourite disciple Ānanda, to the admission of women into his order; and this though he agreed that they could attain all the degrees of sanctity up to Arhatship. He said that but for this concession the order would have lasted 1,000 years, whereas it would now be limited to 500. It is indeed plain that whoever founds a religious organization admitting, and even distributing, individuals under the titles of men and women has in fact come to terms with the world. But it must be added that the foundation of an order is in any case a concession to social needs. One advantage of such an innovation is that it provides a refuge for units ill at ease in an existing system or victimized thereby; a circumstance well exemplified in the stories of the *Theras* and *Therīs*. To some minds there is a piquant contrast between the Buddha of the "Romantic Legend", the hero of a triumphant moral and

metaphysical achievement, and the Buddha of the Vinaya texts, occupied in deciding not seldom trivial points of monastic discipline; while others will find in the same contrast a human, and even a pleasing, probability. Whether the recognition of a feminine department, which was surely inevitable, was, in fact, detrimental to the durability of the system, it is as yet, except as far as India itself is concerned, too early to decide.

Miss van Goor gives at length from the *Culla-vagga*, and from the *Therī-gāthā* commentary, the story of the petition of Mahā-prajāpatī, which also occurs in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* commentary, in Dharmapāla's commentary on the *Therī-gāthā*, in the *Apadāna*, and in the introduction to various *Prātimokṣas*. Buddha gave way to the intercession of his aunt and foster-mother, backed by his well-loved Ānanda, who at a later time did not escape censure for his action on this and other occasions. The assent was subject to the acceptance of eight "extra obligations" (*guru-dharma*), of which the first required even the most senior nun to render outward homage to monks even of the most recent ordination. A subsequent appeal for the setting aside of this rule in favour of a mere seniority is regarded by Miss van Goor (p. 63) as invalidating the story. Miss van Goor legitimately raises the question (p. 58, etc.) whether a Saṅgha of women may not have antedated the *guru-dharmas*; but the particular argument, the improbability of an appeal against an acknowledged pact, does too much honour to human nature, irrespective of sex.

The second chapter portrays the *bhikṣuṇī* as *śrāmaṇerī*, *śikṣamāṇā* (novice under instruction and liable to certain services), candidate for ordination (*upasampadā*); - the duties (*daśaśīla*), ceremonies (*uposatha*, *pravāraṇā*); dwelling (*vihāra*, *ārāma*, *upāśraya*, etc.); and dress, the last very fully with the help of an actual costume presented by Professor Vogel to the Ethnological Museum.

We then deduce from the Vinaya other particulars of daily life, and take note of the somewhat ambiguous ideas associated in Brahmanical literature with the calling.

In chapter iii we deal with the Vinaya in detail. We find that five of the eight *guru-dharmas* really correspond to items in the Pāli *Pācittiya*. In general the rules for monks were applicable *mutatis mutandis* to the nuns. Miss van Goor notes that for a woman entry into a religious order required the assent of relatives, while the man was theoretically at his own disposal; a passage in the *Arthaśāstra*, however, shows that the state may have interposed. Though the Vinaya rules in general are represented as suggested by special instances, with what Miss van Goor (p. 66) regards as a rather helpless lack of foresight, they will have followed, as she suggests, the general lines of earlier institutions.

The *Therī* in legend and the *Therī-gāthā* itself form the subject of chapters iv and v. Here the authoress is in a great measure indebted to her predecessors, Mrs. Rhys Davids and Mrs. Bode. Regarding the authenticity of the *gāthās* she adopts the moderate view (pp. 146 sqq.) of Mrs. Rhys Davids, neither literally accepting the ascriptions in bulk nor inclining to Dr. Neumann's theory of a single authorship. The inconsistencies in the ascriptions, the occurrences of some of the verses in other texts, the formalities and repetitions are taken into consideration. All being weighed, we cannot but agree with Mrs. Rhys Davids that these poems, which in some cases have a high value as literature, give us a true and precious insight into a phase of ancient Indian life and experience. They may in this regard be placed by the side of the *Saptaśatī* of Hāla, which critically presents similar problems.

The last two chapters, vi and vii, relate to the story of *Mahā-prajāpatī*, chapter vii being a translation from the *Apadāna*. Here we are concerned with the ethnological

character of the Śākya and Koliya, the relationship of Māyā and Mahā-prajāpati to each other—it is suggested that they may be a legendary duplication, occasioned by a traditional requirement that Māyā should die seven days after the Buddha's birth—and to Śuddhodana. We may here content ourselves with a reference to the book itself.

Miss van Goor speaks modestly (pp. 142–3) of her translations, and of her capacity to criticize those of her predecessors, though she evidently appreciates that of Mrs. Rhys Davids. The translation from the *Apadāna* I have had no opportunity of comparing with the text; but on points of difficulty Miss van Goor was here able to appeal to Professor Kern. Throughout the volume there are many scholarly notes, philological, lexicographical, critical, etc., with references to the literature; and in some cases the interpretations are novel or independent. On p. 69 I would understand the phrase *kammaṃ kariyati* = *karma kāryate* of the *Arthaśāstra*, i.e. = "is set a task" (hard labour, as a punishment). On pp. 154–5 it may be doubted whether *yoga* has the meanings which Miss van Goor, following Mrs. Rhys Davids, conceives. On p. 212 the *kadalī* is not an inexplicable symbol of the unessential, but a common symbol of the fragile. On p. 133 the custom of a first delivery in the house of a woman's parents is to be evidenced from Brahmanical literature (see e.g. *Harṣacarita*, translation, p. 21 and n.). Some interesting matters are discussed in the appendix of longer notes, pp. 229–44.

The two plates are scenes from Boro-Budur, given as illustrations of costume. The twenty-three "Stellingen" (isolated propositions to be sustained by the candidate for the Doctorate) are, as usual in Leiden dissertations, of a varied character. The first fourteen relate chiefly to Buddhist and Pāli topics.

F. W. THOMAS.

MAHARANA KUMBHA : SOVEREIGN, SOLDIER, SCHOLAR.

By HAR BILAS SARDA. Ajmer, 1917.

This is, as we are told in the preface, the first of a series which the author hopes to write on some of the great men who have made the name of Rajput a synonym for chivalry and heroism in the history of mediaeval India. He has well chosen as his first example Kumbha Karana, commonly called Kumbha, Maharana of Mewar from A.D. 1433 to 1468, who was probably the greatest of the rulers of that part of Rajputana.

Taking for the outline of his history that in Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, the author has filled in many details gathered from inscriptions and MSS., thus giving us a well-told story of his hero, who during a reign of thirty-five years, full of glory and victorious, greatly extended the boundaries of Mewar, strengthened its defences, and adorned it with fine works of art. He built thirty-two fortresses, one of which, Kumbhalgarh or Kumbhalmer, is a wonderful work, and probably was the strongest in Western India. He erected the celebrated *Jaya Stambha*, at Chitore, "a pillar of victory like that of Trajan at Rome, but in infinitely better taste," according to Fergusson, and the Rampur Jain temple in a lonely valley near to Kumbhalgarh, which Tod describes as "one of the largest edifices existing, and cost more than a million sterling, towards which Kumbha contributed 80,000 pounds", and Fergusson, "nearly perfect and probably the most complicated and extensive temple in India." "I know of no other building in India, of the same class, that leaves so pleasing an impression or affords so many hints for the graceful arrangement of columns in the interior." But the Rana was also a scholar and musician and a good Sanskritist; his works on law, philosophy, drama, grammar, logic, and musical science in prose and poetry are extant.

Tod's *Annals* is a wonderful work, but so discursive,

and the spelling of the names of persons and places so inexact, that one who does not know the country often gets confused; we are glad therefore to have this little Indian history book and the promise of more in this very interesting line.

O. C.

EARLY REVENUE HISTORY OF BENGAL AND THE FIFTH REPORT, 1812. By F. D. ASCOLI, of the Indian Civil Service. Oxford, 1917.

This book was the outcome of a course of four lectures delivered at the Dacca College by a distinguished Bengal civilian. It prints the text of the Fifth Report on the Affairs of the East India Company by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed with a view to the question of the renewal of the Charter in 1813, with a careful and detailed summary of the discussions that led up to Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Revenue Settlement of Bengal (including Behar). The condensed arguments of Mr. James Grant, Mr. John Shore (afterwards Sir John Shore and Lord Teignmouth), and Lord Cornwallis on the subject of the Permanent Settlement enable us to see the objects aimed at in the Permanent Revenue Settlement. The book also affords valuable glimpses of the methods adopted for carrying out the Settlement and working it successfully in the early days when the Zamindars themselves by no means looked upon it as a boon, and sales of estates for arrears were frequent.

Mr. Ascoli (p. 71) refers to the ultimate effects of the Permanent Settlement. As stated generally, they are: (1) the creation of a body of landlords whose interests are materially bound up with the welfare of the land; and (2) an increase in the actual prosperity of Bengal. "This statement," Mr. Ascoli cautiously remarks, "is certainly correct in part." It is a pity that Mr. Ascoli's position in

the Indian Civil Service precluded him from discussing it in detail, "as it forms a subject of modern political and economic controversy." Whatever the ultimate effects of the Permanent Settlement, socially, politically, and economically, may be, it is clear that the policy of the Court of Directors in ordering the Permanent Settlement aimed at very definite and limited objects connected with land revenue administration, and was intended to meet specific abuses which had been disclosed in the various experiments made during the twenty-one years since the Company determined "to stand forth as Dewan" in 1772. Mr. Ascoli's excellent and dispassioned account of the Company's difficulties and the unsuccessful remedies that were from time to time applied to meet them, disposes of two favourite theories that are sometimes advanced with regard to the Permanent Settlement. One is, that Lord Cornwallis had great sympathy with the old Zamindar families, and wanted to confer on them the status of English landlords, or that he assumed that they had the same position in the Indian system as the English landlord had in this country. Lord Cornwallis's own minutes prove this to be baseless. Another theory is sometimes advanced, especially in this country, that the land reform which is being advocated in this country by the various schools of socialism for making the land freely available to the community would have been unnecessary in India had it not been for the Permanent Settlement. The assumption that the pre-settlement system was anything like the ideal which would meet the approval of twentieth century land reformers is seen to be absurd as soon as we examine the discussions that took place immediately before and after the Permanent Settlement was proclaimed in Bengal, or inquire into the conditions of the Zamindari tracts in other provinces which are "temporarily settled". Mr. Ascoli's publication of the Fifth Report, with his masterly analysis, will be of

✓ material assistance to the student of revenue history in Bengal and in India generally.

A. Y. A.

A MALAY READER. By R. O. WINSTEDT & C. O. BLAGDEN.
Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1917.

This little book has been compiled by two distinguished Malay scholars, one living in the Malay Peninsula and one in England. Small as it is, it may fairly claim to be a selection of what is best in classical Malay literature. As Mr. Winstedt says in the preface, "those who do not find the matter and the manner of this volume interesting need not trouble to wade further through the large library of romance and verse that has delighted many generations of Malays."

It is not an easy book, even in its romanized form, being full of archaic words that are not in common use at the present time. A reference to the notes, which represent much careful scholarship, will show that there are some words that even the editors are not sure about. The book, as explained in the preface, is intended for candidates for the highest standard in the Civil Service examinations, but no doubt it will interest and encourage others who pause before the difficulty of deciphering the original Malay character, but yet desire to learn something of the best Malay writings and to understand Malays and Malay habits of thought. Many Malay Readers have been published—mostly for use in the vernacular schools—and mostly, as Mr. Wilkinson (papers on Malay subjects) has said, thoroughly bad in regard to style, a mixture of Arabic, English, and Bazaar Malay.

The best romanized Readers are probably those published by Dutch scholars (e.g. Klinkert), but here the Dutch system of transliteration is a great difficulty to English readers.

The extracts are made from about a dozen works, of which the most famous are the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* (the Malay Annals) and the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. Brief bibliographical notes on these and the other books used are given in the notes at the end of the volume. Unlike Javanese literature, which goes back well into the Hindu period, Malay literature is comparatively modern; it is doubtful if there is a single Malay MS. older than the end of the sixteenth century. All the classics are anonymous and undated except the *Taju's-Salatin* ("The Crown of Kings"), the *Bustanu's-Salatin* ("The Garden of Kings"), and the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*.

The first two are probably the work of Arabs of mixed Indian descent, and are stuffed full of Arab words and turns of phrase. The *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* and the *Hang Tuah* are purely Malay in style in spite of occasional Arabic words. They may be described as historical romances, the kind of history that used to be recited by *Jongleurs* and *Troubadours* in the Middle Ages, wholly inaccurate as history, but full of interest in a world careless of literary or historical accuracy. All the literatures of the world have passed through this stage.

As Mr. J. R. Wilkinson says in his admirable paper on Malay literature, "Hassan the *Tĕmĕnggong*, Kitul the *Kling*, Tun Fatimah, and other characters of the Malay Annals represent real men and women, and are not mere embodiments of policy like so many figures in scientific history." The humour, the terseness, the observation of nature that delight us in Malays of the present day are to be found in these books, and for that reason they are worth taking trouble about—

Nil sine magno

Vita labore dedit mortalibus.

It is interesting to know that the names of some of the *rajas* mentioned in the *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai* have been found on recently discovered tombstones. The *Hikayat*

Marong Mahawangsa is not a book of great literary merit, but the episode of the cannibal king selected is vigorous. The nucleus of it appears in the Buddhist Jatakas, and turns up also in Ceylon history.

The Hikayat Abdullah is probably the best-known Malay book in the Straits—generations of Civil Servants have been made to read it, and much of it has been translated into English. It is not a model of literary style, but it is valuable as a record of the times of Sir Stamford Raffles, and parts of it are quite photographic. The Hikayat Sēri Rama illustrates the old Indian story of the Rāmāyana, recast into an Indonesian prose form, and decked forth with incongruous Islamic trappings.

In the story of Rawana's kingdom, Adam converses with Rawana, who has hung himself up by the heels as a hermit. To the Malay mind there is no absurdity in this kind of thing.

There is a strong flavour of the Arabian Nights in the "Perfect Woman" taken from the Hikayat Isma Yatim. Burton would have loved to annotate a tale of this kind. The beast stories at the beginning and the fairy romances at the end represent the predominant form of Malay prose literature even at the present time. The pieces chosen are very characteristic of what the Malays themselves like best. The folk-verse with which the volume ends contains some good specimens of the so-called rhapsodist verse and of Pantuns, those rhymed quatrains so unintelligible to the European mind, so much beloved by the Malay.

The first piece, the "Dawn", taken from the Hikayat Raja Donan, is very charming; it so vividly brings to the mind the break of day in a Malay village set in the jungle. No one who has seen these sights or heard these sounds can ever forget them—

"And we in dreams behold the Hebrides."

This Malay Reader should be welcomed by all whose

business or whose pleasure it is to study the Malay languages or the Malay mind. It is a valuable addition to the admirable work that has already been done by English scholars and printers in the Malay world.

R. N. BLAND.

BHARAVI'S POEM KIRATARJUNIYA, or ARJUNA'S COMBAT WITH THE KIRATA. Translated from the original Sanskrit into German and explained by CARL CAPPELLER, Professor at the University of Jena. Harvard Oriental Series, vol. xv. Cambridge, Massachusetts: published by Harvard University. 1912.

This fine volume, which in respect of all material features, paper, typography, etc., is fully worthy of its place in Professor Lanman's unrivalled series, was dedicated to Professor Delbrück of Jena in 1912, upon the occasion of his 70th birthday. That it has in this country so long awaited a review would be inexcusable, were it not that it does not seem to have reached us before the outbreak of the War. We may thank a special conjuncture, if even now we have been able to gird ourselves for the serious task of reading and reviewing such a work.

As Professor Lanman points out in the note which he has himself prefixed, the *Kirātārjunīya* has never before been translated at length into any European language. Even if we add to the bibliography supplied by Dr. Blau (pp. xxii-v) a few school or university text-books, usually covering only the first few cantos, the great part was for the translator virgin soil. The poem is one of the most difficult of the *Mahākāvyas*, more difficult, for instance, than the *Śiśupālavadha*, which Māgha wrote expressly to surpass it, though some of the later artificial works may present in general more tortuous puzzles. Bhāravi was a great poet of the best Classical period, and his

verse, compact and meaning-laden, offers to the translator a problem such as we find in Vergil. He has not the ease and grace of Kālidāsa, who in date was earlier: he is a hard-thinking poet, in whom we feel at work a certain intension of will. Some would prefer to compare the Sanskrit Classical epics rather with the Alexandrine school, Callimachus, etc., than with the Latins, whose golden age was not weighted with a long (native) literary tradition. But this does not do justice to the scope, sincerity, and seriousness of the Indian classics. The latter, whatever their literary artifices and commonplaces, deal with the real interests of Indian thought.

We would say at once that Professor Cappeller's translation is an excellent piece of work. The German language, in virtue of its synthetic character and elaborate syntax, seems well suited for embracing in a single sentence the complicated matter of a Sanskrit verse: and, so far as a foreigner may judge, Professor Cappeller's style, though aiming at philological exactness, is very fairly readable. For the most part the translation follows the excellent exegesis of Mallinātha's commentary, without which no prudent scholar would have essayed the task: there must be very few passages where it could safely be departed from. Professor Cappeller comes well out of the ordeal provided by the artificial combinations in canto xv.

The footnotes contain mythological, botanical, literary, and other material explanations. They are economized, and in almost all cases they supply a real and necessary guidance: we are spared the evidence of that passion for annotation which cumbers some works with unnecessary, and not seldom borrowed, erudition. The appended philological notes (pp. 153-75) are also brief and useful, explaining words or syntax, adducing parallels from other poems, and especially from the *Śiṣupālavadha*, which so constantly implies the poem. There are two

excursuses, one dealing with Bhāravi's strict Pāṇinian use of the narrative tenses, and the other with the medio-passive (including the impersonal passive) perfect. We have also a glossary of rare words, a list of *alaṅkāras*, a list and scheme of metres, a list of citations of the poem in other works, and a reprint of Rückert's verse translation of viii, 27-57, with some additions.

It will not be expected that in the case of so difficult a work we should accept in all points the interpretation even of so accomplished a scholar as Professor Cappeller. And, as the matters in question are not likely to present themselves for discussion in another connexion, it will be worth while to place them on record here. Accordingly we may venture—with a brevity which will not, it is hoped, be mistaken for uncourteous dogmatism—to call attention to the following points:—

i, 4. "die durch Späher ihre Augen überall haben" (*cāracakṣuṣaḥ*): rather, "who have to see (not everything with their own eyes, but) through spies."

9. "zeigt er . . . mit Klugheit eine männliche Tatkraft": rather, "he (*tena*) by policy supplements, amplifies (*vitanyate. vistāryate*), his energies."

17. "die der Ackersmann fröhlich ernten kann": but *sukhena* means rather "easily" than "joyfully".

29. *akhaṇḍam* = "without a break" (not "das ganze Land"); *cīram* omitted in translation.

30. *śaṭhās* = "the false" (not "die Bösen").

43. *yaśodhanāḥ* = "whose wealth is prestige" (not merely "ruhmgekrönte").

ii, 31. "wie die Natur zum fruchtreichen Herbste": but *loka* here (as Mallinātha points out) means *jana*, "people."

iii, 1. "Eine Gewitter-wolke": this overlooks the comparison of the lightning (*taḍitvantam*) with the tawny-coloured top-knot.

30. "der Diener des Königs aber tat nach seinem

Befehl und begab sich leibhaftig an jenen Ort": Mallinātha has here adopted a wrong reading. The true reading *ādeśa iva* (not *ādeśam iva*), which is found in some MSS., means "like a grammatical substitute", e.g. the root *bhū* for *as* in the future of *asti*, as is proved by the passage (xii, 58) in the *Raghuvamśa*. The Yakṣa appeared like a substitute in the very place where the *muni* had been.

38. "mit gehemmtem Thränenausbruch und mit leiser Stimme": so also Mallinātha, but the sense is rather "with throat weak (voice faint) through restrained tears".

iv, 4. "wer sollte herrliche Schönheit in dem seltenen Verein mit dem nützlichen nicht freudig begrüßen": but the meaning is "beauty enhanced (*prakarṣalakṣmīm*) by union with its like (*anurūpasamgame*)"; cf. x, 50.

6, n. "Das Wasser gilt als Gewand der Sandbank oder Insel": rather the reverse, the lines on the sand being compared with the wavy lines on a white silk robe. Elsewhere we have indeed the contrary idea.

10. "sehnsüchtig nach dem Wiedersehen (mit den Freunden)": rather, "eager to look (at the cows)."

25. "Da das Geschrei des Pfaues . . . ohne verlangen . . . hervordringt": rather, "abandoning its desire (*vihāya vāñchām*) for the peacock's cry . . ."

v, 7. "Wälder mit aufgeblühtem Lotus": why not "forests of blooming lotuses" (*sphuṭasarojanā*)?

8. "mit ihren von Gold erfüllten Spalten": rather, "having fragments (*bhitti*) of gold interspersed"?

12. "ohne zu wanken" (*avicalam*): but it is the clouds which, being motionless, are distinguished only by their sound from the tops of the mountain.

16. "die Redseligkeit bricht ja hervor": rather, "talking is excellent (*virājate*) in season."

49. "wenn auch fromm" (Mallinātha *śānta*): but rather "though destined for success" (*bhavya*)?

vi, 30. "mit freundlichen Worten": rather, "with

gratifying (*abhirāma*) words." Indra is glad to hear of his son's conduct. I would also take *śithilikṛta* as "disposed of".

vii, 7. "der . . . Leib der Frauen der Sonnengluth ausgesetzt war": rather, "the bodies of the women supported (*sahatvam*) the heat."

18. Note that it is the heavenly Ganges stream, as it falls on the *Himālaya's* summit, which is compared to the alighting company.

40. Here by a slip *adhvaśramātura* is translated by the word "reizende" (repeated from the context).

viii, 2. "Lotusäugigen" is hardly enough for *vanajā-yatekṣanāḥ*.

4. "will immer mehr und mehr davon haben": rather, "desires the further and further (or better and better)."

6. "Lippenbiss": the lips of the ladies are stung by the bees (cf. *Śakuntalā*, Act vi).

13. The words *svagocare saty api* are left untranslated.

26. "zum ersten Male zog etwas wie Ehrfurcht in ihre Augen ein": rather, "desire to look (*īkṣanādara-ālokanakutūhala*) came upon them, as if for the first time."

57. *baddhormi* applies to the bed also ("rumped").

ix, 15. "oder die Berggipfel abgerissen": rather, "or the regions of space abolished."

17. "glänzende" "Staubwolke": rather, "lending beauty" (*lambhītakānti*) and "handful of powder" (*cūrṇamuṣṭi*).

30. "der sich während der Hitze mit seinem Weibchen freut": rather, "who during the heat can keep up his spirits in the company of his wife."

54. Mallinātha's interpretation of *hr̥daya* as = "intelligence" (not "heart") is supported by the double antithesis *hr̥ī-pāṭava*, *vimoha-hr̥daya*.

61. *karnaga* applies also to the eyes of the women: *pravibheje* = "made a distinction".

73. "war auch ein zielloses Gebahren schön, bei dem ihre Liebesleidenschaft (nur) dem Geliebten galt": rather, "their lovers were moved to even misplaced desires, inspired by passion."

76. *paribhoga* seems to be left untranslated.

x, 11 and n. What Mallinātha explains by *āvravan* is not *dadhat*, but *apidadhat*, "covering" (not "erfüllend").

15. "das ihre Mühe . . . vergeblich sein werde": rather, "that his effort . . . was superfluous."

19. "bei denen Ruhe und Aufruhr miteinander wechselten": rather, "putting an end to (interrupting) lover-quarrels" (*vyavahita-rativagrahaiḥ*), which the rainy season is supposed to do.

46. "nach verflogenem Weinrausch": rather, "though without intoxication of wine" (*amadhumada*°).

50. Here and elsewhere *anurūpa* (*yogya*) "your equal" seems to be not exactly rendered by "liebenswürdige".

55. "Das möchte noch sein, wenn nur nicht": rather, "so be it! (very well!) it is a mistress that . . ."

56. "ihre Stimme vor Eifersucht zitterte": but it is the under lip that quivers" (*sphuradadharoṣṭha*), an ordinary Indian sign of emotion.

58. *abhisāraṇe* seems better taken with *prakupitam* (so Mallinātha) than with *anunetum*.

63. *dhvastarucayaḥ* (= *naṣṭakāntayaḥ*) = "their beauty overcast", not "their desire crushed" ("ihr Verlangen vereitelt").

xi, 3. Here the ascetic's red jaṭā with the white hairs showing round it (not "filling it") is compared to the sunset with the moon's rays.

5. Here the fat protuberance is the supposed load (not "Trotz der abgezehrten, scheinbar von einem Last beschwerten Glieder dickbäuchig").

11. "In deiner Erscheinung ist die herrlichste Tugendfülle zum Ausdruck gelangt": rather, "your (perfect) form has attained something even better, perfection of virtue."

16. *kalevare* should be taken with *nihspṛhasya*.

18. "bei den Geduldigen, die da Busse üben" should be "bei den Busse-übenden, die geduldig sind".

26. Mallinātha's interpretation of *anyadeheṣu* ("in other births") seems much to be preferred.

38. *sākāṅkṣam anupaskāraṃ* is not well rendered by "Winke enthaltende, ungekünstelte": *ākāṅkṣā* is a technical term in rhetoric, used of the relation of words requiring each other. Render "without laxity or ellipse".

42. "du wünschest ich solle die Frömmigkeit lehren": rather, "you wish to teach me (*māṃ śāsitaṃ*) . . ."

43. *nayadruhaḥ*, "impolitic," not "Bösewicht".

47. *nītāni paṇatām*, "staked," not "verloren".

50. Mallinātha is certainly right in taking *bhāvam ānayaṇe* as "purpose to take".

53. *jyāyān eva*, "selbst der Älteste," seems to give a wrong turn. It is not "even the eldest", but "it was, in fact (and with good reason), the eldest".

65. *udāharaṇam āśiṣu*, "and cited in blessings as an example," not "das Ideal unseres rühmlichen Strebens".

72. "Stammbaum": but *jāti* here means "birth" or "genus" (as man).

xii, 2. "Siegesgewissen": rather, "determined upon victory" (*dhṛtajayadhṛti*).

21. "weltbezwingenden": rather, "world-surpassing" (*bhuvanātivartin*).

xiii, 5. *kṛtajñayā* omitted in translation.

7. "unmöglich": rather, "respected" (*alaṅghyam*).

9. "durch den Lärm der grossen Heeresschaaren." Transpose the adjective "grossen".

23. The sense of the verse, according to which the arrow is at the same time seen at three separate stages by three separate groups of spectators, does not appear in the rendering.

30. "rings von Bäumen umgeben": rather, "that the trees bent round or turned somersaults."

33. "als wäre er zu einem schlechten Dienste verwandt": rather, "like a favour conferred on a bad man" (*upakāra* being nominative).

37. "Frömmigkeit": but *śruta* is "scriptural learning".

57. *yukta* = "suitable" (not "ersprieslich"); *itar-itarāśraya* = mutual (not "gegenseitig fördernde").

60. "an Dienstfertigkeit reich": rather, "whose (who feels that his true) wealth is service" (*upakāra-katva-mātradhana*); cf. *yaśodhana*, i, 43.

xiv, 4. "Bei solchen Rednern bringen manche (Zuhörer) . . .": rather, "even among these speakers only a few of special cleverness succeed in conveying a deep sense."

11. "ohnedass uns Unrecht geschieht": rather, "without fault (on our part)." "sagt nur was recht ist": rather, "mentions only what is meritorious."

36. *anādaropātta* is not "aus Nichtachtung hervorgezogenen", but "carelessly taken". *apūṇapratikārapelava* = "too feeble to react equally (to be his match)".

42. "Innbegriff" does not quite correspond to *gati*.

xv, 12. *dharasamstha* should go with *rākṣasaḥ*, not with *nāga*.

24-8. All the locatives go with *āsura mahāhave*, "battle with the *asuras*," and *iha* refers to the present (a different) fight.

xvi, 14. *atimanyunā* goes with *vriyate*, not with *āmāla-lūnair*: even when cut off, the trunks retain their fury and try to stop the cars.

xvii, 2 n. Why not take *bhūriprabhāvena* with *raṇa*, as Mallinātha does?

13. *vaprānatasya* = "dashing against the banks (of its streams, *rodhasi parīnatasya*)", not "zur Erde geneigten".

27. *aviditaprayoga*, "whose procedure is not discerned (by the adversary)," not "in der Bogenkunde unerfahren".

42. "Wenn die Würde gesunken ist": rather, "when one has falsified good opinion" (*sambhāvanā*).

25, n. For *paryāsa* = *yaugapadya*, read *paryāya* = *ayaugapadya*.

53. *paricyutaudārya ivopacārah* = "like politeness (*upacāra*) without liberality", not "eine Wohltat ohne Edelmuth".

xviii, 36. "Verleiht dir den Anspruch auf heilbringende Verehrung": rather, "is the greatness (the great fruit) of reverence to thee".

F. W. THOMAS.

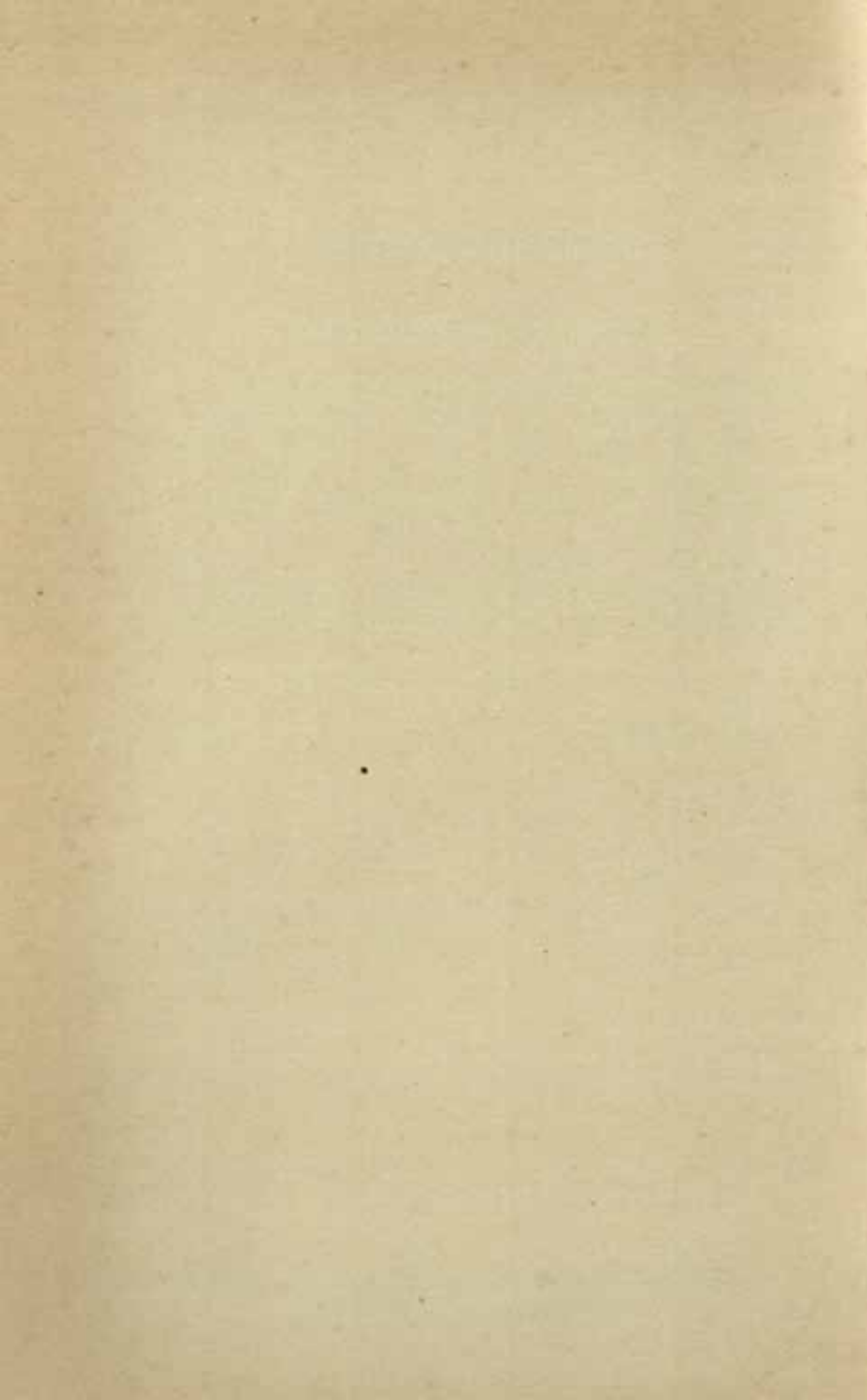
OBITUARY NOTICE

PROFESSOR HENDRIK KERN

IN Professor Kern the Society has lost the oldest of its Honorary Members, his connexion with the Society in that capacity dating from 1878. A man of entirely sound physical and moral nature, he had retained to the advanced age of 84 his powers of work, his scholarly interests, and his kindly outlook. The loss of his wife, towards the close of 1916, was a heavy blow to him, and he survived her only a few months, his death taking place on July 4 of this year.

An account of his life and work will appear in the next number of the Journal.

F. W. T.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(July-September, 1917)

I. PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS GOLD MEDAL

June 12, 1917

At the general meeting of the Society on June 12, with Mr. Longworth Dames, Vice-President, in the chair, the presentation of the Public Schools Gold Medal to A. Mervyn Davies of Bishop's Stortford College was made by Sir John Hewett, G.C.S.I.

THE CHAIRMAN expressed regret that Lord Reay was not yet sufficiently recovered from his severe accident to take part in the proceedings. They would all miss his tactful and illuminating guidance. He considered it fortunate that Sir John Hewett had consented to present the Medal to the author of the winning essay on the Sikhs. No one was better qualified than Sir John to appreciate the importance of the subject at this momentous period in the history not only of India but of the whole world. He proceeded: As numbers go the Sikhs are an insignificant body, only a fraction of the population of their own especial country, the Punjab, something more than a religion and something less than a race; yet a power and an influence far beyond anything their numbers would justify. They cannot, I think, be called a nation, to use the expression adopted by some of the essayists, for it is impossible to imagine a nation to which men do not belong by birth, but only by choice in mature years. Yet they have many of the qualities both of a race and of a nation, including a strong feeling of patriotism. This feeling is now displayed by them not only in favour of their own community but towards the British Empire, to

which the Sikhs, as a body, have transferred the feelings formerly reserved for the Khalsa and for their own leaders. For it must not be forgotten that the Sikhs of Malwa, the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna, were never absorbed into Ranjit Singh's kingdom, nor into the Khalsa army, but were saved from that fate by the British Government, to which the Sikh states of Patiala, Nābha, Jind, and Faridkōt owe their present existence, a fact which they fully appreciate. It would be vain to deny that a few discontented individuals with personal grievances have from time to time been tempted by intrigues from outside to take part in foolish movements, but though some of them have called themselves Sikhs I doubt much whether they were true Sikhs, and nothing is more certain than that they have been absolutely repudiated by the great mass of the real Sikh community and by all its leaders.

Indeed, there is something in the very name of Sikh which should warm all our hearts with sympathy and admiration at the present time. I have just received a letter from a near relation of my own regarding the battle which ended in the retaking of Kut-el-Amāra, in which he says regarding his own regiment, a mixed one, that the Sikhs and Punjabi Mahomedans fought grandly, and then he adds that two purely Sikh regiments, the 36th and 45th, "had their Armageddon" on February 3. They each went into the fight about 650 strong, and came out with less than 100 men. With such a record the Sikhs can look the whole world in the face. And yet their splendid military qualities, as Mr. Davies has well brought out in his essay, are of comparatively modern origin. As founded by Nānak at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries they were a peaceful and retiring sect, almost quietist in their doctrines. Nānak himself was of a humble and self-effacing type. As a Hindu poet has said—

"Nānak nanhā ho-rahā, jaisi nanhi dāb
 Aur ghās jal-jāegā, dāb khūb ki khūb."

("Nānak lived a lowly life, like the lowly dāb-grass, which remains green when the other grass withers.")

Nānak lived to see the foundation of the Mogul Empire by Bābur, and after his death the Gurus who succeeded him were able to develop their creed without much trouble or oppression under the wise system of tolerance introduced by Akbar and followed by his immediate successors. The military development of the Sikhs was due to the lapse into intolerance by Aurangzeb at the same period in which Louis XIV was acting in a very similar way in France, and the same policy that drove crowds of Huguenots into England to enrich its trade and fill its armies was forcing the Mahrattas to rise under Sivaji and Guru Govind Singh to consolidate the Sikhs into a fighting brotherhood which took part in the downfall of the Mogul rule and is now one of the bulwarks of the British Empire.

In conclusion, the Chairman heartily congratulated the winner on his extremely able and brilliantly written essay, which deserved the Medal as well as any that had ever won it. The second essay, by Mr. Waghorn, of Denstone, also showed an excellent grasp of the subject. Denstone won the Medal last year and in 1914. It was perhaps notable that both these schools had a distinctly religious character, Denstone representing the Church of England and Bishop's Stortford the Nonconformist Churches. Long might such rivalry continue. Among the other prize-winners he was glad to see the names of Eton and Merchant Taylors, both frequent winners of the Medal, and of Bromsgrove Schools.

SIR JOHN HEWETT said: When Lord Reay, whose absence we all regret, invited me, as Chairman of the Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies, to make this presentation I accepted the invitation without

hesitation, as it seemed both to convey a compliment to the School and also to show one further sign of the interest of the Royal Asiatic Society in its fortunes. The School indeed must look on your Society as its parent. Both in its corporate capacity and through the individual action of your President and of another distinguished member of the Society, Lord Curzon, it lost no opportunity of supporting the late Lord Cromer in his efforts to establish a national institution situated in the capital for disseminating knowledge of the language, habits, and customs of the peoples of Asia and Africa among the inhabitants of our Islands. Lord Reay was for all too short a time the representative of your Society on the Governing Body. It is very gratifying to the Governing Body to have an opportunity of letting the Society know something of the progress which the School has made since it was appointed in July last.

We have succeeded in collecting a very efficient staff under the guidance of Dr. Denison Ross. Dr. Ross is the master of many languages. He is our Professor of Persian as well as Director of the School, but he also teaches Thibetan, and for the moment he is much occupied with a War Office class in Turkish. We have opened classes in Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian; in the Indian vernaculars, Hindustani and Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, and Telugu; in Swahili, Hausa, and the Bantu languages of Africa; in Pali, Chinese, and Japanese; in Malay and Turkish. We have 124 pupils, among whom are thirty officers of the Army studying Arabic and Turkish. This is a very satisfactory record of progress considering that the School has only been open for five months. We do not restrict our activities to the teaching of the languages of Asia and Africa, but have arranged also for public lectures on their religions, customs, and history. In co-operation with your Society the funds of the Fuflong bequest are being utilized for this purpose.

During the session of 1917-18 we are arranging for special courses of public lectures, at which our friends will be cordially welcomed, on, among other subjects, the history of India, Persia, China, and the Malay Peninsula.

Lord Reay told me that I ought to say something as to the need for every British subject obtaining some knowledge of the history of India. Everyone would, I feel sure, admit the advantage of studying Indian history, but it is only a limited few who carry the theory into practice, and the general ignorance of the British public about India and the Dominions is a source of wonder to other countries, and is discreditable to ourselves. It was encouraging to find the Royal Commission, which recently reported on the Public Services in India, insisting so vigorously on the need for the study of Indian history by those who have made up their minds to adopt a career in that country. It was wisely pointed out that no one can regard himself as qualified to take an active part in the solution of the administrative problems of to-day unless he has acquired a general knowledge of the history of India from the earliest times, and has studied the use and progress of the different religious movements and their respective effect on the manners, feelings, customs, and prejudices of the different classes who have been influenced by them. Religious beliefs occupy such a much larger part of their daily lives with Orientals than with most inhabitants of the West, that it is incumbent on every young man brought into daily contact with Eastern peoples to make himself familiar with the social customs of different classes among them, particularly on the occasions of birth, marriage, and death. Nor can any civil officer nor any one doing business with Indians hope for much success unless he is at the pains to acquire at least a writing knowledge of their customs in the matter of sale and purchase, the conduct of agricultural operations, of etiquette and social behaviour.

It cannot be expected that young men who do not intend to spend their lives in the East should give anything like a close study to the earlier history of India. The constantly repeated tale of one dynasty supplanting another in numerous kingdoms scattered over the continent fails, not unnaturally, to arouse interest in most of those who can never expect to see India with their own eyes, but no citizen of the British Empire can claim to be well informed about it unless he has given some study to at least the history of India since British rule began. Even such an elementary truth as that India is not a nation will not establish itself to one who has not pondered somewhat on its history and customs. The different provinces and the different native states vary in the most fundamental manner in their ethnical constitution and in the languages prevalent in them. When one realizes that the languages of 91 per cent of the inhabitants of the Madras Presidency are of Dravidian origin, that those of the people of Northern India are Aryan, and that in such a tract of country as the Central Provinces (before their boundaries were revised about a dozen years ago) there were about ten million inhabitants, speaking such different languages as various dialects of Hindi, Marathi, Oriya, Telugu, and a number of Dravidian dialects, it becomes evident that it is quite inaccurate to regard India as a nation. That it may ultimately become one in rather a curious way, viz. by the general dissemination of the English language, seems very possible.

Sir Alfred Lyall has commented on the almost invariable process by which in Asia every great proselytizing movement tends to acquire a political and militant character. The Sikhs came into existence as dissenters from Hinduism. As established by Nānak their religion was mild in character. The chief doctrines that all men are equal in the sight of God and that salvation is to be wrought not through forms and ceremonies but by

repentance and good and righteous conduct were essentially gentle. But persecution changed the character of their religion; it became fanatically hostile to Islam, and the scheme of Govind Singh, the last Guru, was to form the Sikhs into a confederacy to destroy the Mahomedan power in the Punjab. By the middle of the eighteenth century the final disintegration of the Moghul Empire was in rapid progress, the Mahrattas had become a great power in the south, and still further south the Mysore kingdom had made for itself a strong position. The Mahrattas were defeated by Ahmed Shah at Panipat, but the latter not very long after his victory went back to Afghanistan. The hold of the Afghans on the Punjab relaxed on his death, and by 1788 the Sikhs had mastered the Central Punjab and threatened Delhi. The final departure of Ahmed Shah marked the end of those invasions which, beginning with Mahmud of Ghazni, lasted for about 700 years. The invaders founded dynasty after dynasty, harried the country, looted the cities, and massacred the people. The coming of the Sikhs not only stopped invasions from the north, but also interfered with the further advance of the Mahrattas from the south. Before the nineteenth century was three years old George Thomas had been defeated and killed, General Perron had fled from India, and Lord Lake had defeated the Mahrattas before Delhi. The Sikhs were then in a position to consolidate their power under their splendid king, Maharaja Ranjit Singh. On his death there was no one fit to wear his mantle. The Government rapidly fell into decay, all power fell into the hands of the military officers, and the army was full of religious ardour and of hatred of the civil government. So the latter resolved to send it against the British, and thus brought about the stiffest conflict which we have had in India. Before peace was finally secured we had lost more men than we lost in the Peninsular War. The

Sikhs showed themselves in the Mutiny to be as loyal friends as they had been gallant enemies. In all our later Eastern wars the Sikh regiments have invariably distinguished themselves. But it is not only in the camp that they have gained distinction. When they set themselves to do anything they do it with all their might. The villages of Sikh colonists on the lands in the Punjab which are irrigated by the canals developed in recent years are among the most flourishing of all the agricultural communities in the continent of India. In technical and mechanical skill the Sikh will hold his own with any Indian competitor. He is a good man at a bargain, and his spirit of enterprise leads him to seek his fortune where he can best hope to improve his lot. Thus it happens that no body of Indians has sent as many men to distant lands as the Sikhs. Although in India you find comparatively few of them in any province outside the Punjab, and the Madras Presidency could only show seven Sikhs out of about 40 million inhabitants when the last census was taken, there were when the War began very few places of great importance in either the Eastern or Western Hemisphere to which some Sikhs had not penetrated, and they had been successful in business in every quarter of the globe. Some trouble, it is true, arose because they came in places under the influence of our enemies; but nevertheless we must admire the sturdy independence and enterprising spirit which led them to set aside all impediments and difficulties when setting out to seek their fortunes far away from their homes.

Mr. Davies has devoted a part of his essay to a very interesting discussion as to whether Sikhism is likely to be absorbed into Hinduism. It is very difficult to forecast the future in regard to such a question. Certainly many portents seemed a few years ago to encourage the apprehension that the religion of the Sikhs might cease

to exist as distinct from Hinduism. But in a recent period there has been a very active Sikh revival, and the occurrence of the great War and the gallant part which the Sikhs have played in it may well determine them to spare no effort to maintain their religion as a separate one. Our experience in the management of the Indian Soldiers' Fund shows how attached the Sikhs were while on the service to their special customs, an attachment which we determined to do our best to encourage. A great many of you will have heard of the Sikh symbols, five in number—the *khes* (the hair which they may never cut), the *kara* or iron bracelet, the *kirpan* or steel dagger, the *kachera* or short drawers which it is their custom to wear, the *kangha* or comb. You can imagine how easily some of these symbols got lost in the trenches, and how eager the Sikhs were to have their losses replaced.

We were fortunately able to do a good deal for them in this direction. Under the personal supervision of Sardar Basheshwar Singh, son of the Prime Minister of the Patiala State, a Sheffield firm made some perfect little daggers and bracelets, 6,000 sets of which we sent to France. We supplied 5,000 pairs of *kacheras*. We despatched nearly 100,000 tins of cocoa-nut oil, which was mainly used by the Sikhs for their hair. The supply of the little combs proved the most difficult matter. They could not be made in England because the saws required to cut the fine teeth were only procurable in Germany. (Laughter.) A horn comb was not suitable, as one could not guarantee that it had not been made from the horn of a cow. Aluminium combs were not a success. Ultimately, with the assistance of friends in India, particularly Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Maharaja of Jind, we obtained a supply of many thousands of wooden combs.

One of the requests most frequently received from the Front was for copies of the Granth Sahib. Sikh friends

in the Punjab sent 300 copies and many other religious books. The authorities of the Sikh dharmshala in Kensington kindly helped us by taking charge of them in London. I saw at the Château Munssot near Marseilles, used as a reinforcement dépôt, and the Harelott Hotel, used as a hospital, evidence of the great value the men attached to having their sacred book with them in France. In both places an elaborate pavilion called a *guradwara* had been erected for its reception, and it was tended with the greatest care.

There is one little somewhat disconnected incident in connexion with the presence of the Sikhs in France which may interest you. A hospital for Indians was established at the old Jesuit College in Boulogne. Owing to it having been impossible to arrange for some time for the cremation with proper ceremony of the Hindu and Sikh sick and wounded who died at the hospital it was arranged that they should be buried. The Indian Soldiers' Fund provided a tombstone for each man with the name of the man buried in it, his regiment, and the date of his death. A young Sikh was lying in the hospital desperately wounded when the arrangements for cremation were reaching completion. It was thought that he could not recover, and he asked whether, if cremated, he would be given a tombstone, and said that if not he would prefer to be buried. You will be glad to learn that he recovered.

The exploits of the Sikh regiments in the War must undoubtedly encourage the Sikh national spirit. The other day the Viceroy, addressing the Sikhs at Lahore, mentioned that the Sikhs had earned 100 Indian orders of merit and over 200 Distinguished Service Medals. The 15th Sikhs, besides serving with distinction in France, rendered conspicuous service in the arduous fighting in the past year in the Libyan Desert, while the 36th, 45th, referred to by your Chairman, and 47th Sikhs

have added to their reputation by their achievements in Mesopotamia.

The 14th Sikhs achieved what has so far been perhaps the most memorable act of Sikh regiments in the War on the 4th or 5th June, 1915, at Gallipoli. They were given a very severe task involving courage of the highest kind, the combination of dash with determination to hold on at all costs in a very difficult adventure. When the regiment went into action on June 4 it had 15 British officers, 14 Indian officers, and 514 rank and file. It came out on June 5 with 3 British officers, 3 Indian officers, and 134 rank and file. Yet, in spite of these tremendous losses, there was not a sign of wavering all day, not an inch of ground was given up, and not a single straggler came back. Sir Ian Hamilton summed up the exploit thus:—

“The history of the Sikhs affords many instances of their value as soldiers, but it may safely be asserted that nothing finer than the grim valour and steady discipline displayed by the 14th Sikhs on June 4 has ever been done by the soldiers of the Khalsa. Their devotion to duty and their splendid loyalty to their order and their leaders make a record their nation should look back upon with pride for many generations.”

With these words ringing in our ears we have, it seems to me, every reason to hope that the generations to come will not have to think of the Sikh and the Khalsa as mere memories on the page of history.

I have great pleasure, Mr. Davies, in presenting to you the Public Schools Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society. I congratulate you and your School, the Bishop's Stortford College, on your admirable essay, which testifies to the wideness of your reading, your capacity for digesting the facts about which you have read, and of framing just and well-balanced conclusions on them. I congratulate you also on the clearness of the language with which you have expressed your views. I hope that you will be led to

study closely other periods of Indian history, and perhaps the knowledge which you gain from these studies may tempt you to seek a career among the peoples of India. You and the other competitors are fortunate in having had the chances you have had of becoming acquainted in your youth with a period of Indian history which teems with interest. In my day the public school boy in Great Britain got no opportunity of studying Indian history; and our equipment for our duties in India was all the poorer by reason of the lack of the opportunities which have been given to you and of which you and your competitors have made such excellent use.

Sir John Hewett then presented the medal and first prize to Mr. Mervyn Davies. The other winners were M. S. Waghorn, Denstone College, second; S. Earl, Eton, third; H. W. Andreae, Bromsgrove, and E. A. J. Heath, Merchant Taylors, bracketed fourth.

MR. F. S. YOUNG, head master of Bishop's Stortford College, expressed his appreciation of the instinct which led the Society to extend the list of schools which were allowed to send in candidates for the medal. This was the first occasion on which his school had competed, and it was a great satisfaction and gratification to him and his colleagues that it had gained the first place. He hoped it would not be the last occasion on which the school would compete. The real value of the competition had been the opportunity it gave the boys to become acquainted with Indian history of comparatively modern times. These were days when, with the principle of democracy ruling, we could not tell what would be the result if the suggestions of the President of the Board of Education were carried into effect. But he was quite certain that one result would be to reduce the difference between education in the public schools and secondary schools of this country, and the secondary schools would become increasingly attractive. If the recommendations of the

Indian Public Services Commission were carried out we should probably find more and more boys entering those services from the secondary schools. He ventured to express a hope that the Society would extend the list still further to include all secondary schools in the country which were prepared to send in candidates for the competition. He shared the regret Sir John Hewett had expressed that in the public school life of a past generation there was no such competition. He himself belonged to the many who had not been able to study Indian history, and not to the limited few who had done so. India depended upon its public services, and they in turn depended upon the schools of this country. The last few years had shown more than ever what were the qualities in which the public school boy excelled—qualities of leadership, self-reliance, sense of responsibility, breadth of knowledge, and faculty for governing others. He agreed with Sir John Hewett that it was of the utmost importance that boys designated for an Indian career should be acquainted with the history of the country. Only as those who were helping to govern India understood the people could they exert their full influence over them and govern them sympathetically and efficiently. Hence it would be impossible to exaggerate the importance of the competition. It was a happy coincidence that this year, for the first time he believed, the winner was from the principality of Wales, and that the Prime Minister was also a Welshman.

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OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
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THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ a	ओ o	ट ṭ	व v
आ ā	औ au	ठ ṭh	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ḷ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ

◌̣ (Anusvāra) ṁ

◌̤ (Amunāsika) ṁ̤

◌̥ (Visarga) ḥ

◌̦ (Jihvāmūliya) ḥ̦

◌̧ (Upadhmanīya) ḩ̣

◌̨ (Acagraha) ˆ

◌̩ (Udātta) ˆ̩

◌̪ (Svarita) ˆ̪

◌̫ (Anudātta) ˆ̫

II

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word omit;	ك k	ا a
elsewhere <u>ء</u> or <u>و</u>	ل l	ي i
ب b	س s	م m
ت t	ش <u>s</u> or <u>sh</u>	و u
ث t or <u>th</u>	ص <u>s</u> or <u>z</u>	و w or v
ج j or <u>dj</u>	ض <u>d</u> , <u>dz</u> , or <u>z</u>	ه h
ح h	ط t	ي y
خ h or <u>kh</u>	ظ <u>z</u>	و au
د d	ع <u>ʿ</u>	wasla ʾ
ذ d or <u>dh</u>	غ <u>g</u> or <u>gh</u>	VOWELS. hamza <u>ء</u> or <u>و</u>
ر r	ف f	<u>ء</u> a
ز z	ق q	<u>ء</u> i
		letter not pronounced ʾ

ADDITIONAL. LETTERS

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKSHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKSHTŪ.	PAKSHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ك when pro- nounced as g k	پ or پ t	ت <u>ts</u>
چ c or <u>ch</u>		چ or چ d	چ g
ژ z or <u>zh</u>		ژ or ژ r	ن n
گ g	ن n		ک <u>ksh</u>

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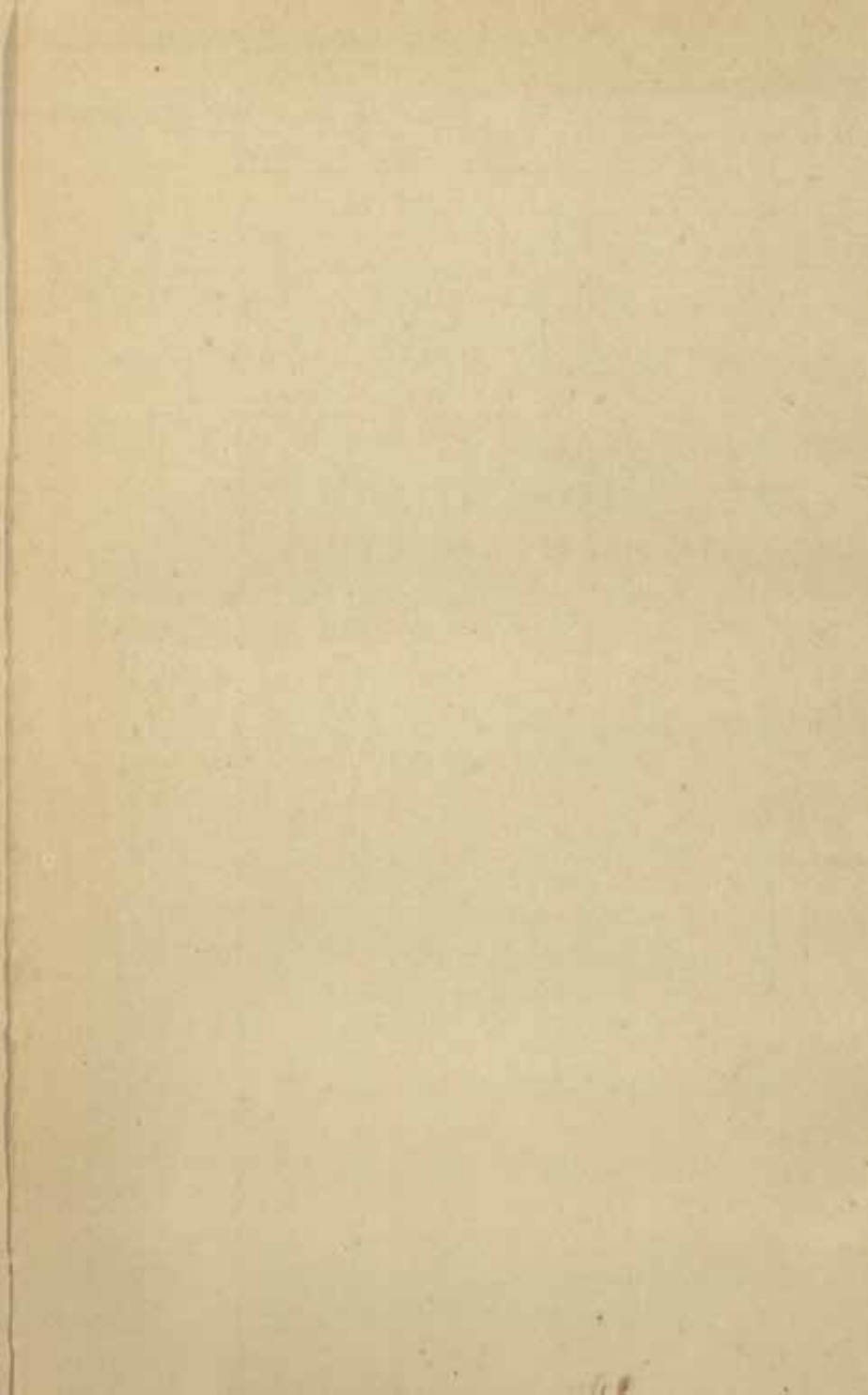
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Deaths ...	1	...	4	3	...	2	...	10
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For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with
the April and October Numbers of the Journal.

TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट ṭ	व v
आ ā	औ au	ठ ṭh	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ḷ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ

◌̣ (Anusrāra) . . . m

◌̤ (Anunāsika) . . . ñ

◌̥ (Visarga) . . . ḥ

× (Jihvāmūliya) . ḥ

× (Upudhmāniya) . ḥ

◌̇ (Acagraha)

◌̈ (Udātta)

◌̉ (Svarita)

◌̊ (Anudātta)

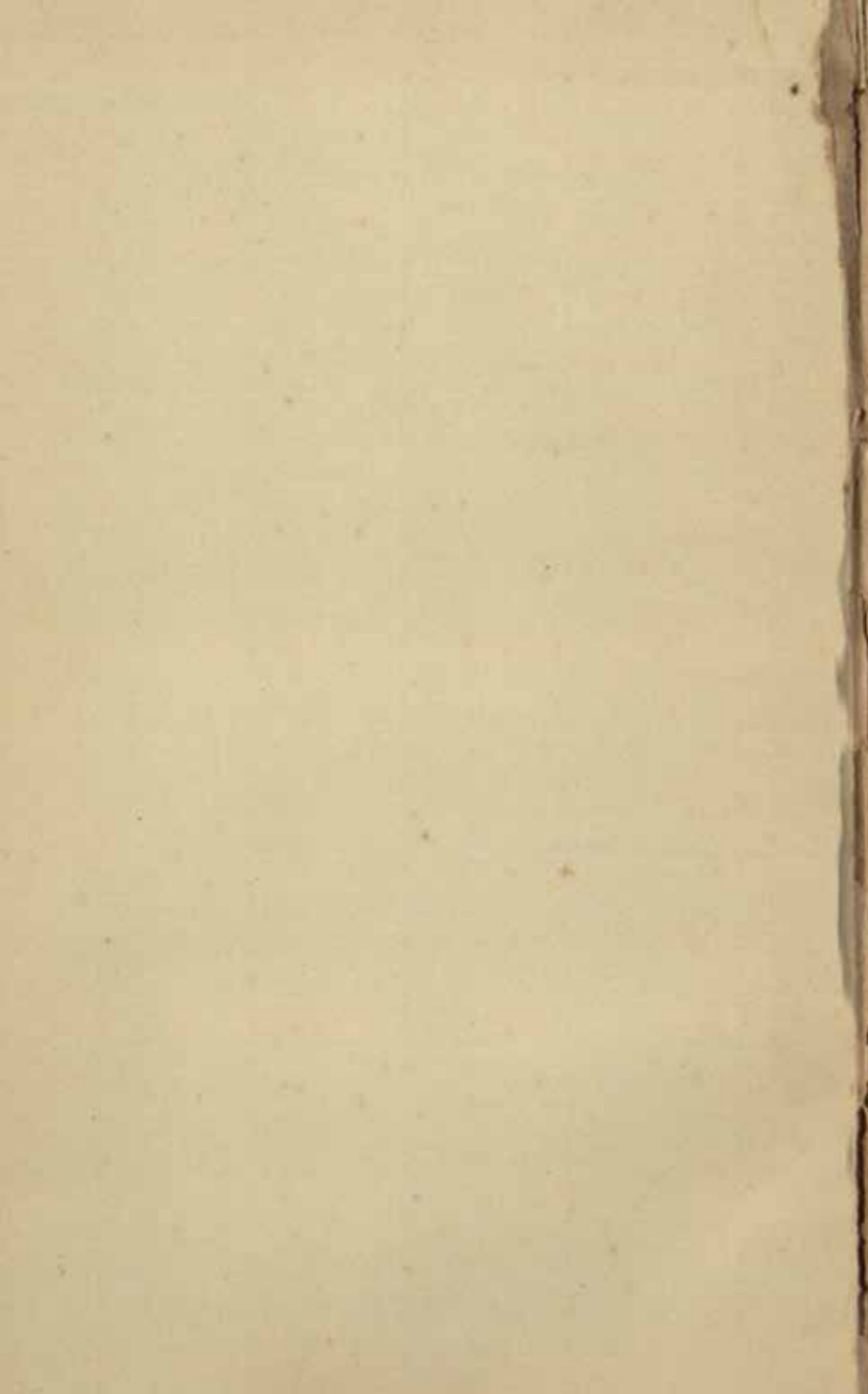
II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

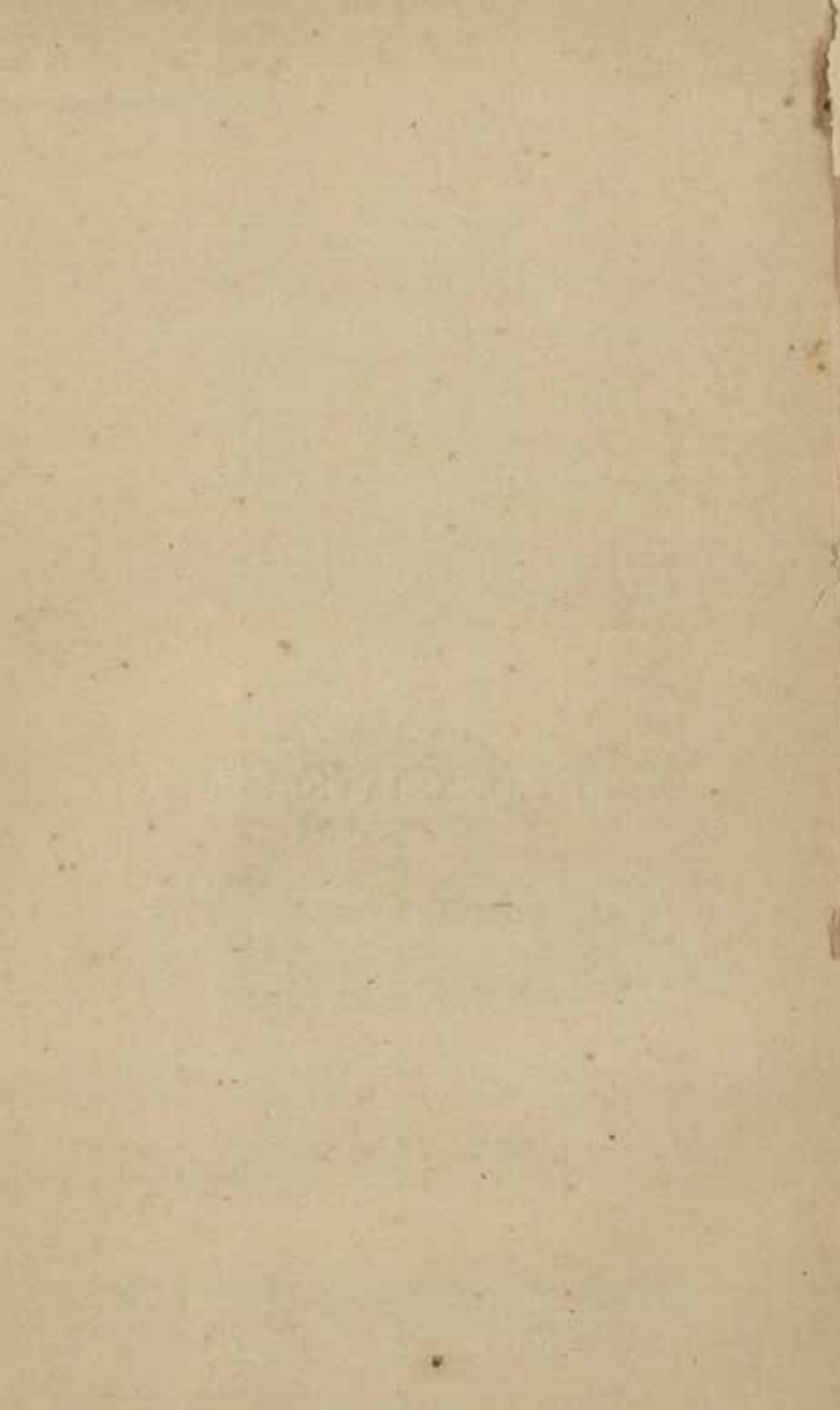
ا at beginning of word omit; elsewhere . . . <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u>	ك k	آ a
ب b	ل l	ي i
س s	م m	و u
ت t	ش s or sh	ن n
ث t or th	ص s or z	و w or v
ج j or dj	ض d, dz, or z	ه h
ح h	ط t	ي y
خ h or kh	ظ z	و au
د d	ع ʿ	واو ʾ
ذ d or dh	غ g or gh	Vowels. hamza <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u>
ر r	ف f	ـ a silent t . . . h
ز z	ق q	ـ i letter not pronounced . . .
		ـ u

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پ p	ک when pronounced as g k	ت or پ t	ت ts
چ c or ch		د or د d	د g
ژ z or zh	ن n	ر or ر r	ن n
گ g			ش ksh



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